



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

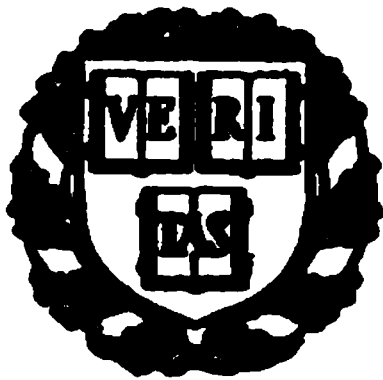






Bt 2108.80

**Harvard College  
Library**



**FROM THE BEQUEST OF  
FRANCIS BROWN HAYES**

**Class of 1839**

**OF LEXINGTON, MASSACHUSETTS**























*Engraved by W. Watkins*

HENRY HUNT, ESQ: M.P.  
BORN NOV. 8. 1773 DIED FEB. 25. 1850

*A. Hunt*

*London: Published for the Proprietors, by John Saunders, 25, Newgate Street 1855*



ESSAY  
History of the  
Private and Political Life  
of  
HENRY HUNT, ESQ.  
M.P. for Preston.  
his times and contemporaries.  
By Robert Huish, Esq.  
VOL. I.

*This Essay by Mr. Huish was the first act of my life that gained me the name of a large multitude of his*

HUNT'S DARING EXPLOIT.

LONDON.

Published for the Proprietors by J. Saunders, 25, Newgate Street.

1835.







THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE  
OF THE LATE  
**HENRY HUNT, Esq. M. P.**  
FOR PRESTON,  
HIS TIMES AND COTEMPORARIES;  
EXHIBITING  
THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THOSE GREAT POLITICAL EVENTS  
WHICH LED TO THE PASSING OF THE  
REFORM ACT :  
EMBRACING ALSO THE  
HISTORY OF THE MOMENTOUS CRISIS,  
BY WHICH THE  
TORY GOVERNMENT  
OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN ABOLISHED.

---

BY ROBERT HUISH, Esq. F.L.A. F.Z.S.  
Author of "The Last Voyage of Capt. Ross," "Travels of Richard Lander into  
the Interior of Africa." "Memoirs of William Cobbett Esq. M. P." &c. &c.

---

VOL. I.

---

**London :**

*Published for the Proprietors, by*  
**JOHN SAUNDERS, 25, NEWGATE STREET.**

---

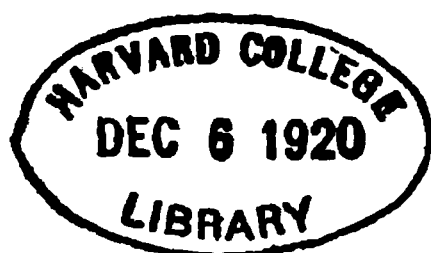
MDCCCXXXVI.

1836



£2108.80

✓



*Hayes fund  
(2nd. in 1)*

---

M. Abel, Printer, 52, Broad-wall, Christ-church, Surrey.



## INTRODUCTION.

THE uses of biography have been long acknowledged, for what is biographical history but the philosophy of teaching by example? and this definition will be found to be particularly just, when applied to that branch which is devoted to the memoirs of those persons, who have been conspicuous in their day, either by their own actions, or by the influence which they possessed over those of others. The efficiency of every such biography for a moral purpose, consists in the truth with which it is told, and the lesson it is intended to impart. Hence it is obvious that fancy has little to do with the province of the biographer; it is his duty to relate facts, as they happened, without exaggeration or distortion, to specify their causes and trace the actions to their motives and consequences. This, however, cannot be done without delineating the primary movers and agents of the transactions, exactly as they were known to the most intimate of their associates. In default of more general information, there is, perhaps, no source so spurious and suspicious as that which is furnished by the individual himself; the great and leading principle of the *audi alteram partem* is thereby extinguished, and were we to adopt that mode of depicting human life, through the medium, as it were, of a reverted telescope, and particularly as that life may have been remarkable in the conduct of those, who now cease to affect the world, except as warnings or examples, it would have the effect of producing false ideas of the faculties of man, and the most pernicious notions of his duties. The mistake of describing the fair side of human nature only, has a direct tendency to contract the mind within



a sphere, wherein little exertion will seem requisite to become eminent, either in knowledge or virtue.

We include not ourselves in the number of those good-natured people, who consider that nothing should be said of the dead, but what is good, for we dissent in toto from the principle. It seems indeed to inculcate a spirit of benevolence but it is sacrificing the interests of the living to a mawkish sensibility for the dead, at all events it never could have been intended to operate as an act of indemnity to cover the deeds of those, who have endeavoured to loosen the foundations of morality by their precepts, or to render vice attractive by their examples. The profligacies and debaucheries of a George IV., ought not to be concealed because he is gone to answer for them at a tribunal where no respect is paid to kingly dignity. They will stand forward as a warning to future princes, that they may thereby escape the hatred and indignation of the people, over whom a wayward fortune has destined them to rule. We have an imperative duty imposed upon us, of doing strict justice concerning all whom we may be called upon to give the testimony of our knowledge, and of adhering strictly to the truth, in what we relate of the conduct of others, whether they be in the habit of speaking for themselves, or are placed beyond the possibility of being affected either by our praise or censure, or were the doctrine otherwise, and did it lay survivors under the immutable obligation of concealing the obliquities of those who have been removed from this busy stage, where every action of the humblest individual has some connexion with his contemporaries and effect on posterity, history would be no better than romance, by depriving mankind of the lessons for the regulations of life, which are afforded by the contemplation of human infirmity. To deprive the living of the examples which the dead hold forth is tantamount to concealing from the pilot the rocks on which his vessel may be wrecked; coloured by the partiality of friendship and shaded by an excess of liberality, the examples of even the most upright men would lose much of their efficacy, for the want



of being rendered familiar by those peculiar touches of character which can alone enable the mind to form a correct estimate of those qualities which are the object of admiration. Active virtue is the most brilliant in the resistance of temptation, and in that conflict, which brings the passions under the dominion of reason ; but the nature of this trial, and the value of the contest, cannot be appreciated without inspecting human nature in the varieties of public and private life. Now in this study, the whole man must be investigated, if any improvement be expected from the inquiry, but that will be looked for in vain, unless the ruling principle of the mind be distinctly marked, the favourite pursuits clearly exhibited, and all the circumstances relating to them faithfully detailed. No judgment is to be formed of men from particular incidents, and it would be as useless to think of obtaining a correct knowledge of their real character in the bustle of the world, as it would be idle to leave the completion of our own to the meditations of a cloister. Virtue and vice are so often confounded, through the ignorance or weakness of mankind, that to be guarded against the artifices which are used to pass off the one for the other, it is necessary to examine both as they appear recorded in the lives of those who have distinguished themselves by their merit, or become notorious for their crimes.

Some have supposed that no good can result to society from the publication of human imperfections, and that the moral interests of the age are little concerned in the private pursuits of men in high stations. Nations are taught wisdom as much by errors and misfortunes as by great achievements. Individuals reap instruction as much from the vices as they do from the virtue of individuals, but neither on the one hand would splendid actions operate effectually as objects of imitation, nor on the other, could failings be rendered beneficial as warnings, if the private history of parties immediately interested in them were disregarded. If the memoirs of them are to be noticed at all, they must be related with a scrupulous regard to truth, though by so doing



the fame of the dead should be affected or the feelings of the survivors be hurt by the exposure.

An evil practice has of late years prevailed of eulogizing persons of note, instead of giving a detailed account of their pursuits and sentiments, the habits they acquired and the errors into which they occasionally fell. This method of substituting panegyric for history has become so general, that it would not be surprising to see a justificatory memoir of Guy Fawkes, or an apology for the conduct of Nell Gwynne, or Mrs. Jordan.

Though hardly any thing can be more odious than the depraved appetite, which delighting chiefly in secret history, makes no scruple of rending off the cerements of the dead to the annoyance of the living, still there are some occasions when the paramount interests of mankind demand the detection of hypocrisy, and the exposure of folly, that the young and inexperienced may be guarded against the error of substituting accomplishments for duties, or of supposing that the admiration of virtue is equivalent to the discharge of its obligations.

Passion and prejudice have too long prevailed over the public mind with respect to circumstances concerning which posterity will demand an honest report. It is therefore time, that the voice of justice and humanity should be calmly heard, and that reason should take her seat, to record facts before they shall have faded from the memory, and before the tongue shall be sealed up in silence, or the hand be mouldered into dust, that may have the power of communicating them to the world.



# CONTENTS.

---

## VOLUME I.

### CHAPTER I

Birth of Mr. Henry Hunt. Confederacy of Hunt, Grove, and Penruddock. Political Conduct of Cromwell. Discomfiture of Confederates. Heroic Conduct of Margery Hunt. Escape of Colonel Hunt. Examination of Miss Margery Hunt. Execution of Grove and Penruddock. Colonel Hunt's Escape to France. Perilous situation of Colonel Hunt's Sisters. Restoration of Charles the Second. Ingratitude of Charles the Second. - - 1 to 14.

### CHAPTER II.

Birth-place of Mr. Henry Hunt. His choice of a Profession. General Character of the Cergy. Mr. Hunt and the Bishops. Life of the Farmer and Clergyman contrasted. Mr. Hunt's first Agricultural Essay. Autobiography of Mr. Hunt. Requisites to the Character of a Farmer. Mr. Hunt's Family Circle. Religious Character of Mrs. Hunt. Mr. Hunt's family at Church. Illness of Mrs. Hunt. Death of Mrs. Hunt. Philosophy of Godwin. Parental advice. Education of Henry Hunt. Early Patriotism of Henry Hunt. Country Politicians. Mr. Hunt on the French Revolution. The Yeomanry Club. - 15 to 39

### CHAPTER III

Principles of Political Philosophy. The Political Constitution of Alfred. The Revolution of 1688. Mr. Flood's plan of Reform. Decree of the National Assembly of France. Altercation between Mr. Hunt and his Son. Henry Hunt's Departure from Home. Henry Hunt's Encounter with the Commissioner. The Royal Family. Launch of the Prince of Wales. The King and the Wiltshire Farmer. Napoleon Buonaparte. " - 40 to 60.

### CHAPTER IV.

Henry Hunt's Return to his Home. His Second Departure. Engages with the Captain of a Slave Ship. Providential interference of Mr. Hunt. Generous conduct of the Captain. Arrival at Home. Patriotism of Henry Hunt. Loyalty at a Theatre. Political Agitation in England. " - 61 73.

### CHAPTER V

Proceedings of Parliament. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The Pop-gun Plot. Trial of Hardy, Tooke, &c. Departure of Mr. Carrington. Mr. Carrington's Successor. A Drunken Clergyman. The Drunken Curates. - 74 to 81.



## CHAPTER VI.

The threatened Invasion of the French. Henry Hunt Enters the Yeomanry Cavalry. Hunt's opinion of the Yeomanry. Riots at Enford. Resolute Conduct of Hunt. Seizure of Truman. Suppression of the Riots. Policy of Pitt. Attack on the Public Press. The Monopoly of the Quakers. Mr. Hunt's Gymnastic powers. Proceedings of the Everley Troop. Mr. Hunt's ridicule of the Everly Troop. Departure of the Troop for Salisbury. Dinner at Amesbury. Termination of the Affair at Salisbury. 82 to 112

## CHAPTER VII.

The Halcomb Family. Henry Hunt and his Rival. Visit of the Halcombs. Henry's Designs upon the Heart of Miss Halcomb. Arrival of Miss Halcomb at Littleton. Introduction of Miss Halcomb to Henry Hunt. Henry Hunt in love with Miss Halcomb. Miss Halcomb's Consent obtained. Mr. Hunt's Objections to the Marriage. Arguments of Mr. Hunt. Interview with Miss Halcomb. Progress of the Courtship. Singular Trait in the Character of Henry Hunt. Consent of Mr. Halcomb. Persevering opposition of Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt's Consent to the Marriage. Arrangements for the Marriage. - - - 113 to 139.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Marriage of Henry Hunt Singular Conduct of Mrs. Hunt's Mother. Departure for Marlborough. Arrival at Weddington Farm. Birth of the first Child. Establishment of Henry Hunt. Extravagance of Henry Hunt. Death of the Infant. Religious scruples of Mr. Hunt. A Country Clergyman. Burial of the Infant. Domestic Happiness. Extension of Service of the Yeomanry Cavalry. Meeting of the Everly Troop. First Public Speech of Henry Hunt. Resignation of Henry Hunt. Letter from Lord Bruce. Enters the Marlborough Troop. Independence of Hunt's Character. Accident to Mr. Hunt. Illness and Last Moments. His last Advice and Death. - 140 to 191.

## CHAPTER IX.

Funeral of Mr. Hunt. Removal to Chisenbury House. Extravagance of Henry Hunt. Charity of Mr. Hunt. His Conduct towards the Poor. Insult offered to Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt and Lord Bruce. Prosecution against Mr. Hunt. Sentence passed on Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt's Self-defence. Acquisition of knowledge by Mr. Hunt. Visit to Colonel Despard. Liberation of Mr. Hunt from the King's Bench. Character of a Whig. Policy of Pitt. Excess of Taxation: Venality of the Public Press. 192 to 268.

## CHAPTER X.

Alarm of Invasion. Patriotic offer of Mr. Hunt. Public Meetings attended by Mr. Hunt. Important Epoch of Mr. Hunt's Life. Mr. Hunt commences Brewer. Mr. Hunt and the Excise. Conduct of the Editor of the New Times. - - 269 to 317.



CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Hunt's First Public Entry into Political life. Hunt's first Interview with Cobbett. Hunt's Opinion of Cobbett. Death of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Hunt's First Public Address. The Bristol Election. 318 to 369.

CHAPTER XII.

Conduct of Mr. Cobbett. Astley's action against Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt and Lord Ellenborough. Meetings at Winchester and Salisbury. Disposal of Chisenbury Farm. 370 to 398.

CHAPTER XII.

The Bristol Election. Speech of Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt assisted by Mr. Cobbett. Close of the Election. Reflections on Mr. Hunt's Character. 309 to 432.

CHAPTER XIII.

Private Pursuits of Mr. Hunt. Proceedings at the Bank. Proclamation of Peace. Visit of the Allied Sovereigns. Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Southcote. Education of Judge Best. 433 to 460.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER I.

The Representative System. Origin of House of Commons. Letter from Mr. Thistlewood. Hunt introduced to Watson and Thistlewood. Parliamentary Reform. Meeting at Spa Fields. Heads of Mr. Hunt's Speech. Mr. Hunt's Dinner Party. Suspicious Conduct of Castles. Cobbett's statement of the Meeting. Formation of the Hampden Club. Petition of Mr. Hunt. Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Conduct of Lord Sidmouth. Meeting in Hampshire. 1 to 64.

CHAPTER II.

Cobbett's Flight to America. Trial of Watson, Thistlewood &c. Examination of Castles. Examination of Mr. Hunt. Address of Mr. Wetherell. Imprudence of Mr. Hunt. 64 to 102.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Hunt in the Common Hall. Oliver, the Spy. Trial of Hone. Death of Lord Ellenborough. Meeting in Palace Yard. Mr. Hunt nominated for Westminster. Cleary's letter to Mr. Hunt. Challenge from Cleary. The Westminster election. Death of Sir Samuel Romilly. Major Cartwright. Meeting in Smithfield.



Mr. Hunt invited to Manchester. The Manchester Meeting  
 Proclamation of the Prince Regent. Preliminaries of the Meeting  
 Procession of the Unions. Attack of the Cavalry. Mr. Hunt  
 conveyed to Prison. Final Examination of the Prisoners. Aban-  
 donment of the Charge of High Treason. Speech of Mr. Hunt.  
 Bail given by Mr. Hunt. Return of Mr. Hunt to Manchester.  
 Letter of Mr. Charles Pearson. Dinner at the Crown and Anchor  
 Mr. Hunt's Speech. Trial of Mr. Hunt. Speech of Mr. Scarlett.  
 Speech of Mr. Hunt. Evidence of Edmund Grundy. Evidence  
 of James Dyson. Evidence of John Barlow. Evidence of Mr.  
 Tyas. Evidence of Henry Andrews. Close of the Defence.  
 Reply of Mr. Scarlett. Charge of Mr. Justice Bayley. Verdict  
 of the Jury. Motion for a New Trial. Statement of Mr. Hunt.  
 Presentation of Affidavits. Sentence on Mr. Hunt. Treatment  
 in Ilchester Jail. Acts of Mr. Hunt in Ilchester Jail. Mr. Hunt's  
 Radical Museum. Mr. Hunt's Radical Coffee. Circumstances  
 attending Mr. Hunt's Liberation. Liberation of Mr. Hunt  
 Speech of Mr. Hunt. Public Breakfast given to Mr. Hunt. In-  
 scription on the Flagon and Salver. Mr. Hunt's arrival at Glas-  
 tonbury. Mr. Hunt's address to the Constables. Entrance of  
 Mr. Hunt into London. Dinner at the Eagle Tavern. Mr. Hunt's  
 Nomination for Preston. Mr. Hunt Elected for Preston. Speech  
 of Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt's Character of Cobbett. Mr. Hunt's  
 First Speech in Parliament. Mr. Hunt's Motion. The Reform  
 Bill. Mr. Hunt Speech on the Reform Bill. Cobbett's Opinion  
 of Mr. Hunt's Speech. Grant to the Queen and Princess Vic-  
 toria. Dishonesty of Mr. Mitchell. Mr. Hunt's Northern Tour.  
 His Reception at Blackburn, Manchester, and Preston. Decline  
 of Mr. Hunt's Popularity. Election at Preston. His Defeat at  
 Preston. Mr. Hunt's abuse of the Radical Members and Editors  
 of Newspapers. His Commercial Pursuits. Death, Burial, and  
 General Character of Mr. Hunt. - - - 103 to 489.



THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE  
OF THE LATE  
HENRY HUNT, ESQ.,

M. P. FOR PRESTON,

ETC., ETC.

---

CHAPTER I.

MR. HUNT, like Sir Walter Raleigh, and many other patriotic and eminent men, wrote the memoirs of himself and his cotemporaries in a prison; and a greater man than either of them, the most illustrious man of his times, employed himself, whilst a prisoner on the barren rock of St. Helena, in writing his own History. In a comparative point of view, all of them were martyrs to the cause which they espoused: the imprisonment of Mr. Hunt arose from an unconquerable desire, inherent in his nature, to promote the universal liberty of man, chimerical and reprehensible as the project may appear to the hereditary members of a bloated aristocracy, or to the crowd of legitimate and illegitimate pensioners, royal, noble, and ignoble, who, like leeches, live upon the suction of the hard earnings of the labouring community. The mind of Mr. Hunt was in itself too enlarged and comprehensive to place any value on the factitious importance which the frivolous and the foolish are prone to attach to hereditary descent, and although, according to old family documents, his progenitors arrived in England with William the Conqueror, which is more than can be said of the Beauclerk's, the Grafton's, and



the Fitzclarences, yet he frequently avowed that he was prouder of his own father than of any other of his ancestors, because he knew him to be an honest and an excellent man, and one who, by his industry and talent, may be said to have been the second founder of a family. In regard to his grandfather, "it is of very little consequence," Mr. Hunt says, "whether I ever had one or not, except as far as relates to the coincidence of the events of the present times with those, which occurred in the reigns of Charles the First and Second, and during the protectorate of Cromwell." Mr. Hunt, however, was, in one respect, not quite so fortunate as the brave and enlightened patriot Prynne, who was imprisoned in Dunstons Castle, in the same county in which he himself was incarcerated. Prynne had his nose slit and his ears cut off, for speaking and writing his mind, which was no more than Mr. Hunt did himself; but it must not be forgotten that Prynne lived to see the tyrant's head struck off, and the infamous judge, who passed the cruel sentence upon him, brought to a just and exemplary punishment.

Mr. Henry Hunt was born at Weddington Farm, in the parish of Upavon, in the county of Wilts, on the 6th day of November, 1773. His ancestor was a colonel in the army of William the Conqueror, and became possessed of very considerable estates in the counties of Wilts and Somerset, which passed from father to son down to the civil wars in the reign of Charles the First, when in consequence of the tyrannical government of that weak and wicked prince, resistance became a duty, and at length, after having, by the means of corrupt judges and packed juries, not only amerced and incarcerated, but caused to be executed many of the wisest, bravest, and most patriotic men of the age, was ultimately himself brought to justice, and forfeited his head upon the scaffold.

When the Commonwealth was established, and Cromwell declared Lord Protector, the great-great-grandfather of Mr. Hunt, Col. Thomas Hunt, who was in possession of the family estates in Wiltshire, unfortunately took a decided and pro-



minent part in favour of Charles the Second, who had fled, and was then sojourning in France, waiting an opportunity for his restoration, and instigating those, who were known to be his partisans in this country, to resist and overthrow the government and constitution of the country as then by law established. Charles was in constant correspondence with Colonel Hunt, who, together with Mr. Grove and Mr. Penruddock, were all country gentlemen of large property and considerable influence, residing in the county of Wilts, and avowed loyalists, firmly attached to the royal family of Stuart; and as it was well known by Cromwell that Charles had a number of powerful partisans in various parts of the kingdom, he took good care to have all their motions well watched, and as he kept a host of spies in his employ, they found it next to impossible to form or arrange any general plan of co-operation, without its coming to the knowledge of his agents. Many well-digested schemes had been detected and frustrated by these watchful, well-paid minions of the Protector; but the loyalists were not to be deterred from their purpose, although many of them received intimation from Cromwell that he was aware of all their plans and intentions; he rested satisfied with the knowledge and the conviction that he not only kept their restless disposition in check, but that he was at all times prepared to put them down with a high hand, in case they should ever dare to break out into open violence, or attempt to put their pretensions into execution. However, as Hunt, Grove, and Penruddock, with many other friends in the west, became very impatient, it was agreed to attempt a general communication, by means of a meeting of the disaffected at a great stag-hunt, which was announced to be about to take place somewhere in the forest, in the neighbourhood of Wokingham, between Reading and Windsor. To this stag-hunt all the known partisans of the house of Stuart were invited, and when assembled there in great numbers from all parts of the kingdom, it was agreed amongst them that each man should raise a force agreeably to his means, some horse and some foot, by a particular day, in order to attack the troops of Cromwell,



who was a great deal too wary and cunning to suffer such an extraordinary assembly under any circumstances, and particularly of such suspicious persons as those who attended the hunt were known to be, without sending some of his agents to join them, whereby he might become acquainted with whatever project they might have in contemplation. They all departed after the hunt was over, having fixed to be ready and join in the field by a particular day. Cromwell's agents did their duty, and he was no sooner informed of the plan which was laid, than he made all due preparation for meeting any force that might be brought into the field against him by these powerful malcontents. He not only did this, but he employed his agents to win over some of the most formidable of his adversaries by bribes and promises. Having succeeded in this, he wrote to all the remaining conspirators, and informed them separately that he was perfectly aware of all their plots, and of their intention to bring a force into the field against him on a particular day; he assured them that he had made all necessary preparations, not only to meet and to defeat them with an overwhelming force of well-disciplined troops, but that he had also made friends of some on whom the conspirators placed their greatest reliance. He concluded by saying, that as their project would be sure to end in discomfiture, ruin, and disgrace, he advised them to abandon their plan altogether; and in that case he promised each of the parties his pardon, and that it should not be taken any further notice of. This had the desired effect with the majority of the numerous partisans of Charles, who had pledged themselves to take the field, for when they found that all their plans had come to the knowledge of Cromwell, they anticipated that he would be prepared to meet them with such a force, as would not be prudent in them to encounter; and, as it is universally admitted, that prudence is the better part of valour, they at once abandoned their intended insurrection, and trusted to the clemency of him, whom they had resolved to hurl from the eminence which they professed to maintain that he had usurped. Not so, however, with the three Wiltshire royalists; they had also received the



ircular intimation from Cromwell, but they scorned to be worse than their words: they took no notice of his proffered pardon; they each raised a troop of horse, as they had promised, and having armed and accoutred their men by the time appointed, they marched into Salisbury, where the judges of Cromwell were then holding the assizes, and without any further ceremony struck the first blow, by consigning the Lord Protector's judges to prison, having first liberated the prisoners they were about to try. The next day they marched into Hampshire, towards the appointed rendezvous, as had been previously agreed upon; but when they arrived there, instead of meeting, as they expected, any of their friends who were parties at the stag-hunt, they found Cromwell's army, who had intimation of their movements, already there in considerable force, ready to overwhelm them. Cromwell, however, endeavoured to carry his point by policy: in the first instance, rather than sacrifice any lives in such an unequal conflict, he sent a flag of truce, and promised, if they would lay down their arms, they should be pardoned, and all officers and men, might return to their homes without any molestation. A consultation and council of war were held, when Hunt, Grove, and Penruddock came to a determination to die sword in hand, rather than trust to the clemency of him, whom they deemed an usurper, and they returned an answer accordingly. In the mean time, Cromwell had sent some of his agents amongst the men, to whom they pointed out the desperate situation in which their commanders had placed them, and urged them at once to accept the offer of the Protector, and return to their homes; and when Grove, Hunt, and Penruddock ordered their men to prepare for the attack, they one and all refused, and immediately laid down their arms, upon which they were instantly surrounded and made prisoners; and instead of Cromwell keeping his word with these poor fellows, he ordered every common man to be instantly hung upon the boughs of trees and elsewhere, and the officers to be committed to three separate jails in the west of England, upon a charge of high treason, for making war against the troops



of the Commonwealth, in order to depose the Protector, and with an intent to alter the government and constitution of the country, as by the then law established; upon which charge they were tried, found guilty, and sentenced, by the very judges whom they had before imprisoned at Salisbury, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, but upon petition, their sentence was mitigated by Cromwell to that of being beheaded. Colonel Hunt was sent back after trial to be executed at the very jail of Ilchester, and possibly might have been confined, if not in the same room, yet upon the very same spot where his descendant afterwards penned the memoirs of his life. The account of all these transactions, which form a curious part of the History of England, but are very imperfectly recorded in Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, descended by tradition and written documents to Mr. Henry Hunt, as the heir of the family, and which documents in proof thereof were in his possession at his death. In those documents it is recorded that Colonel Hunt's two sisters, Elizabeth and Margery, came to visit him the night previously to his execution, which was ordered to take place at day-break the following morning. The regulations of Ilchester jail were not then so strictly performed as they were at the time of Mr. Henry Hunt's imprisonment, for a set of men, whom political connexions and interests had placed upon the magisterial bench, had not then presumed to outrage every feeling of humanity by their savage restrictions on the inmates of a prison, and accordingly no objection was made to Margery, the sister of Colonel Hunt, sleeping in the room with him, when he seized an opportunity of dressing himself in his sister's clothes, and walked out of the prison with his other sister unperceived, and succeeded in making his escape. It is, however, recorded by himself, that being a stranger in the neighbourhood, and fearful of keeping on the highway, he lost himself in the night, and wandered about, so that when daylight arrived, he had not got so far from the jail, but that he heard the bell toll for his execution. At this awful period he met a collier carrying a bag of coals upon his horse, and having ascertained, by some conversation which he had with him, that



he was friendly to the cause of the Stuarts and hostile to the Protector, he was induced to discover himself, and to place his person and his life in his power, of which he had no reason to repent, as the man proved faithful, and assisted him to escape to France, where he remained with the second Charles, and returned in company with him at the time of the Restoration.

In speaking of this important event in the early history of his family, Mr. Hunt dwells upon it with a degree of pride and exultation, considering it an honour to bear the name of a family amongst whom can be included such individuals as Colonel Hunt and his heroic sister. The circumstances attending the escape of the former, are, as Mr. Hunt very justly expresses himself, too interesting to be omitted in his memoirs, as they relate to historical events somewhat similar to the present times, in which his forefathers took a conspicuous part, and whose fate in some degree resembled his own, although not distinguished exactly by such fatal measures as fell to the lot of his ancestors.

The particulars of the escape of his ancestor are thus described by Mr. Hunt. "The collier took him up behind him, dressed as he was in female attire, and having struck across the country by some private roads, he arrived at his habitation, a low cottage situated on the side of a large common, where he remained concealed, anxiously awaiting the approach of night, and dreading every moment the appearance of the officers of justice in pursuit of their victim. In the mean time, the collier had procured two muskets and a blunderbuss, which he had got loaded, determined to stand by the colonel; who, if driven to extremities, was resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible, but not to be taken again alive."

Whilst the colonel was thus concealed in the cottage, every preparation had been making in the jail for his execution, and when the officers of death arrived to unbolt the door of the intended victim, how great was their surprise and indignation to find in his bed a woman, a brave and patriotic female, who gloried in having saved the life of a high-spirited and beloved



brother. With what delight have we read of the conduct of Madame Lavalette, who saved her husband from an untimely death by similar means; who by her virtuous devotion rescued the victim marked out for the treacherous revenge of a weak, wicked, and pusillanimous prince. With what pleasure has every humane and patriotic bosom been roused into admiration at the noble, generous, and successful exertions of Sir Robert Wilson and his high-minded companions to assist in snatching the life of that devoted victim from the bloody hand of the executioner. But many brave men have voluntarily sacrificed themselves to save the life of a friend; in the pages of history we find that many an excellent wife has done the same to save a beloved husband, but where shall we find a similar instance of disinterested devotion in a sister? "To be the descendant of such a woman," says Mr. Hunt, "to bear the same name, and belong to the same family, is in itself something that I am proud to boast of. With what delight have I, while yet a boy, listened to this recital, while my father dwelt on it with rapture; his eye glistening with a dignified pride as he recounted this tale of the heroine of the family. How often have I been sent up stairs to unlock the old oak chest, and to bring down the musty records of those eventful days, that they might be unrolled, either to refresh my father's memory or to vouch for particular acts and circumstances. How many times, subsequently, has it been my lot to turn to this or that particular event, and while he enjoyed his pipe, how did I, at his command, read the minute details, as I found them written upon the old musty parchments and papers."

To proceed, however, with the narrative. Colonel Desbrowe, who then had the command of Cromwell's troops at Ilchester, was instantly informed of the flight of the prisoner; he ordered Margery to appear before him, which she did, habited in her brother's clothes, and he threatened to have her executed instantly, without judge or jury, in her brother's stead, if she did not inform him immediately of the whole plot, and assist in the re-capture of her brother. She calmly replied, that she had not the least objection to comply with his demand, as far as



she knew of the plot. She confessed that she went into the prison to visit her brother with the intention to effect his escape, if possible; that neither her brother, nor even her sister, had the slightest knowledge of her intentions till she proposed it to him in prison; that there she found him resigned to his fate, and it was with the greatest difficulty that she at last prevailed upon him to carry her plans into execution; that all she now knew of him was, that he had left the room with his sister Elizabeth, but which way, or whither he was gone, she knew nothing: then, with great and dignified firmness, she added, even if she had known any thing of his route, Colonel Desbrowe must be aware, that as she had the courage and goodness to plan and effect his escape, no threats, not even the torture, should induce her to do any thing that might place him in their power again.

Elizabeth was instantly taken into custody and examined also, but she knew nothing more than her sister. They were both consigned to the dungeon that their brother had quitted; and the scaffold, although it remained fixed for some days, mourned for the loss of its victim, and the gaping multitude stared in vain for the consummation of the bloody sacrifice.

Colonel Desbrowe, in the mean time, sent off an express to government, raised a hue and cry to search every house which they passed, and despatched messengers to all the outports, so that neither expense, pains, nor trouble, were spared to retake the fugitive.

In the interim, the sentence of Grove and Penruddock was put in execution. They were both beheaded on the same morning, one at Exeter, and the other at some other jail.

There are many curious coincidences connected with the life of Mr. Hunt in regard to the prosecution of his predecessor on political grounds, that they appear almost to be one continued scene of the same drama, with merely an occasional change in the actors, but every circumstance tending to bring about a catastrophe as disgraceful to those who were the perpetrators of it, as it was at variance with the real principles of the English constitution. The coincidence has been already



mentioned of his predecessor and himself being confined in the same jail, and both on account of their political biases; and that the military government of the place was intrusted to the care and vigilance of a Colonel Desbrowe, who appears to have been well fitted for the office which he occupied. The lineal descendant of that very Colonel Desbrowe was, at the time of Mr. Hunt's imprisonment in Ilchester jail, also an officer in the service of the reigning family, and an attendant upon the immediate person of the sovereign. At what time the family of Desbrowe considered it to be their interest to veer from republicanism to royalty, and to appear at the court of George the Third as the most consummate courtiers of the day, there are no data extant to determine, but there are some families, which have the tact and skill of adhering to the reigning powers, and making their principles subservient to their interest, regardless of the feculent mass through which they may have to wade, in order to arrive at the point which they have in view.

With all the engines which an incensed government could set in motion, the escape of Colonel Hunt was scarcely to be expected. He remained concealed in the cottage of his protector, but when night came, they were too agitated to retire to rest; they therefore barricadoed the door of their little fortress as well as they could, and having put out the light, took their station at the bed-room window, each with a loaded firelock, and all the arms and ammunition they could muster for reloading, preparatory to the best and most determined defence, in case of necessity. In this, they were ably and resolutely assisted by the wife of the collier, both of whom are recorded to have evinced the most heroic courage, coolness, and presence of mind, upon this, to them, most desperate and trying occasion, which qualities were soon put to the test by the sudden and boisterous arrival of the hue and cry, consisting of about eight or ten mounted troops, accompanied by an officer belonging to the sheriff. At this time Colonel Hunt and the collier were standing at the window, each with a loaded musket; the collier's wife standing behind, with a loaded blunderbuss in one hand, and with the other she was to supply the powder and



slugs, for they had no ball, for reloading. They were in this order, when the commander of the gang loudly halloed and demanded admittance. This, as was agreed upon by the party within, was repeated three times before any answer was given, or any movement made from within. At length, the collier opened the casement of the thatched cottage, and rubbing his eyes, as if he had just awoke out of his first sleep, he exclaimed, in the broad Somersetshire dialect, "What's thow makin such a naise there?" The reply was, "we want admittance; we are the hue and cry, come to search every house for a prisoner that has escaped from Ilchester jail in woman's clothes." At which the collier exclaimed, "Ha! ha! ha! what a pack of fools to come to look for a man in woman's clothes at this time o'night." The officer, with a stern voice, demanded immediate admittance, saying they had a warrant, signed by Colonel Desbrowe, for searching every house, and that unless he came down and opened the door, they would force their way in immediately: upon which the collier turned round and said, as if speaking to his wife, "Come, dame, you must get up and strike a light, and we will let the gentlemen in presently." There was some pretended delay in finding the tinder-box, and at length the collier began striking the steel with the flint, and after bestowing a few curses on the dampness of the tinder, intentionally struck down the tinder-box, tinder and all; upon which he said, "there now, they must come in and search in the dark." All the time they were actually preparing to fire upon the hue and cry; and just as they had taken aim, and were upon the point of drawing their triggers, the captain of the gang gave the collier two or three hearty curses, and said to the men, "Come, let us be off to some more likely place; there is nobody here but that stupid fellow, that does not appear to know his right hand from his left." They therefore galloped off to search the next house, leaving to Colonel Hunt and his faithful friends in adversity, the uninterrupted possession of his safe and secure retreat, where he remained concealed, till, in the disguise of some of the collier's clothes, he contrived, soon afterwards, to escape to France, accompanied



by his friend. He was received by Charles with open arms, with every demonstration of gratitude, and professions of future reward, in case he should succeed in re-establishing himself upon the throne of England. The man, who expects to receive any thing substantial from the promises of a prince, will meet with the same degree of fulfilment of his expectations, as if he were to look for humility in a bishop, honesty in an attorney, or chastity in a harlot. Kings and princes, from their first introduction into human society, have been notorious for the infraction of their promises: in fact, it is a scriptural admonition—"put not your trust in princes;" and yet, in the same book, we are told that there is a divinity in kings; which, however, to the capacity of the present age, very much resembles the north-west passage; it may possibly exist, but the discovery of its reality is a task not easily to be accomplished. The sequel will perhaps show, whether Charles, in the fulfilment of his promises, adhered to the custom of all his royal predecessors, beginning at David, who, although a man after God's own heart, is scarcely to be equalled in modern times for the infraction of his promises, or whether he constituted a particular species in the menagery of kings, and honourably and conscientiously adhered to the promises, which he made to those who stood by him in his adversity, and who were willing to sacrifice health, fortune, happiness, and even life itself, in the re-establishment of his desperate fortunes.

In the mean-while, Cromwell, enraged at the escape of one, who had exhibited such intrepid and persevering hostility to his power, confiscated the whole of his estates, kept his sisters Elizabeth and Margery close prisoners in the jail of Ilchester, and frequently threatened to execute the latter, unless Colonel Hunt would return from France, and surrender himself to his fate. This reaching the ears of Colonel Hunt in France, and fearing for the fate of such amiable women, he at length resolved to return, and rescue them from this unpleasant and precarious situation, by resigning himself into the hands of Cromwell. Charles remonstrated in vain, as Hunt appeared resolute in his determination. The prince, therefore, put him



under arrest, and forcibly detained him in custody, to prevent him from surrendering himself. His two sisters were confined two years in Ilchester jail; another curious coincidence, as their descendant was afterwards confined for the same term in the same prison, and both of them martyrs to the existing government of the country.

When his sisters were set at liberty, Charles released Colonel Hunt from his confinement; he remained in constant attendance about his person; returned with him in the same vessel, and assisted in his restoration to the throne, which had been withheld from him during the life of Cromwell.

Colonel Hunt, as well as all his friends, expected the immediate restoration of his estates, which had been confiscated. In fact, no one could have expected less than this act of justice at least, in return for his long, zealous, and faithful services. But, on the contrary, the secret advisers of the *grateful* prince recommended to him by all means to endeavour to conciliate his enemies, and to let his friends shift for themselves; which advice, in this instance, he followed to the very letter. As Colonel Hunt's estates had fallen into powerful hands, Charles absolutely refused to take any measures for their restoration. Thus was this faithful partisan of royalty rewarded for all his services, by one of the basest acts of ingratitude that ever disgraced the character even of a prince. Ingratitude, however, appears to be a vice peculiarly belonging to royalty, of which the English history furnishes such incontestible proofs. If we consult the reigns of John, of Henry the Fifth, Henry the Eighth, or Queen Elizabeth, the most ungrateful she-king who ever filled a throne, and to descend more particularly to our immediate times, to the reign of George the Fourth, we shall find that the infraction of promises appears to form as an essential part of royalty as any of the prerogatives which the people in their blindness and stupidity have bestowed upon kings. In regard to the latter, however, there fortunately exists some remedy, for those who have the power to give, possess also the power to take away: with the former, however, we must be content to let it remain as a constituent of



We will pass over the years of the juvenility of Mr. Hunt, and proceed to that period, which may be considered as the most momentous in the life of a human being, when he is called upon to select that business or profession, on which his future happiness is supposed to depend. There were, perhaps, no set of men of whom Mr. Hunt's father had a more contemptible and degrading opinion, than of the general run of the clergymen, who act the bashaw in the country villages, and who, rather than being looked upon as the pastor and shepherd of the flock entrusted to their care, generally live with them in a state of animosity, partly from the high aristocratical pride which they exhibit, and partly from the too rigid exaction of the tithes, which the law grants for the support and maintenance of the poor, but which custom has converted into the means of enabling the clergyman to spend his time in profligacy and riotous living, whilst the flock are allowed to go astray, to the utter perdition of their souls, and to the ruin of their temporal welfare. With sentiments like these operating on the mind of Mr. Hunt's father, it is rather surprising that of all professions, that of a clergyman should be the one which he selected for his son. On the condition of his taking orders and going into the church, he proposed to send his son to Oxford, and to purchase the next presentation to a living of upwards of a thousand a-year, which was offered to him at that time at a very moderate price, subject to the life of the incumbent, who was upwards of seventy years of age. Young Hunt, however, had no predilection for the church. His inclination led him to a more active mode of life, independently of which, he had imbibed a prejudice against the members of the church, on account of the conduct of the parson of their parish of the name of Griffith, who knew the theory of christianity most perfectly, but as to the practice of it, it was wholly beneath his consideration. The life of a farmer appeared in the eyes of the stripling to be accompanied with many pleasures, from which he would be shut out, at least openly, whatever he might do in secret, were he to enrol himself amongst the ministers of the church, and therefore he gave his father his ulti-



mate decision that he would not take holy orders, but apply himself to the vocation of a farmer. His father desired him to reflect well upon it before he pronounced his irrevocable resolution, at the same time young Hunt perceived that his father was not displeased at the determination to which he had arrived. He would not, he said, prejudice his choice, but whether he were a clergyman or a farmer, he hoped he would make an honest, good, and brave man; "but," he added, "if you intend to be a farmer, I trust that it is not from an idea that a farmer's life is composed merely of coursing, hunting, shooting, and fishing; these alone," said he, "are very well, when occasionally and moderately used as a recreation, but a farmer must learn his business before he is capable of conducting and managing a farm, for remember the old couplet, 'He that by the plough would thrive, must either hold himself or drive.' I would therefore have you think this matter over well before you finally make your choice. If you should like to be a clergyman, I have now an opportunity of purchasing the next presentation to a living, and you will then have secured to you for life a thousand, or perhaps twelve hundred pounds a-year; and you will have nothing else to do, for six days out of seven, but to hunt, shoot, and fish by day, and play cards, talk scandal with the old maids of the parish, and win the money of the wives and children of your parish at speculation or Pope Joan. Although this," said he, "may appear to you a very inglorious sort of a life, yet it is a very easy one. All that will be expected of you is to read prayers and preach a sermon, which will cost you threepence once a-week, or by a visit to the metropolis, you can lay in a stock of manuscript sermons, which will last you for the whole of your life. Fifty or sixty are a sufficient stock for any clergyman, and by taking them in regular rotation, the chances are a hundred to one in your favour, that not one of your parishioners will ever remember that the sermon was preached before. Or should it happen that you have made the discovery that some of the more officious of your parishioners have been so foolish as to take a memorandum of your texts, you have



then nothing more to do than to change them, for you will find that the sermons which you may have purchased are of that convenient and accommodating kind, that they will apply to any text which it may be your pleasure to affix to them \*. These are the customs of modern clergymen, and they might do very well, and get on very smoothly in this way, if they did not screw up their tithes too high, and get drunk too often, so as to cause a serious complaint to be made to the bishop by some of the parishioners, which you may rest assured they never will do by you, let your conduct be ever so immoral, or ever so irreligious, provided that you let the farmers have their tithes at an easy rate. Do that, and no complaint will ever be made against you to the bishop."

Whilst his father was thus laying before the attentive youth the character of the English clergy, Mrs. Hunt returned from visiting a poor gypsy woman, who had that morning been delivered of a fine child under an adjoining hedge, without any other covering, but one of their small tents, which are merely composed of a ragged piece of canvas thrown over a few arched sticks stuck into the ground. She came into the room just in time to hear the latter part of her husband's observations, describing the customs of a modern clergyman. With her accustomed charitable feelings she said, "Really, my dear, although there is too much truth in the picture, which you have drawn, yet you have been a little too severe upon the clergy, when speaking of them in the mass. There are many excellent and worthy men, who follow the precepts of their great Master, who are an ornament to that society to which they belong, and are therefore most deserving members of, and do great credit to the profession, which you have so indiscriminately reprobated."

\* We know that there are several persons in the metropolis who gain their livelihood entirely by the writing of sermons, and they are a commodity in general request by the grave and reverend frequenters of the Chapter Coffee-house, otherwise, the house of call for parsons, and it is a well known fact, that the most impressive sermons delivered by a celebrated divine, not a hundred miles from St. Paul's, were all composed by a highly gifted and talented reprobate, known for a length of time as a sojourner within the rules of the King's Bench prison.



“Do not tell me,” said Mr. Hunt, “about ornaments of society; the best of them are the drones of society, and without contributing anything to the common stock, they feed upon the choicest honey, collected by the labour of the industrious bees. To be sure, when they do the duty allotted to them conscientiously, and do not screw up their tithes too high, they may be very necessary evils, but you are aware, my dear, that what I say is true as to most of them that we know, and I am not sorry that our son Henry appears to have no inclination towards that course of life.”

“But,” said Mrs. Hunt, “because some of the clergy bear the character that you say they do, is that any reason that Henry should follow their example? If he should be a clergyman, he will have great power of doing good amongst his parishioners; he may, in time, become a magistrate, or perhaps a doctor of divinity, and who knows but he may, by and bye, be a bishop.”

Mr. Hunt now began to grow a little testy. “A bishop, indeed!” said he, “God forbid that I should ever live to see him act in such a way as to obtain a bishopric, even if he were to go into the church.”

Mrs. Hunt testified her surprise at this language, and inquired, if he would not wish his son to gain the top of his profession, to which he answered sternly, “No, indeed, I would not. The road to such preferment is generally so disgraceful, that I never wish to see him tread its path. He will never attain such an *honour*, but by the most *dishonourable* means. Would you like to see him the tutor to the son of some nobleman? This is the first step to promotion. When he is in that situation, if his pupil should be of an abandoned character, and he will condescend to pander to his vices, laugh at his follies, and flatter his vanity, which he must do, or be dismissed from his situation, why, then, should this sprig of nobility become a member of state, or a man in power, knowing the servility of his late tutor, and that he will make a willing tool for the administration to which he belongs, then, forsooth, he is a proper man, and may possibly become a bishop.”



receiving sixpence a-day for doing. Driving plough was therefore not only soon learned, but it became very irksome to him, and as he thought himself full as good a man as the lad that was holding, he demanded, before the week was up, that he should change places with him. This was refused, and that now occurred, which is very common upon such occasions. Young Hunt threw away the whip, and having seized the handle of the plough, a struggle ensued, which led to blows. At length, the horses and plough were both abandoned, and a regular fight took place between him and the under carter, who had been holding the plough to which the former was the driver. The carter was soon compelled to cry, hold ! and, without further ceremony, young Hunt took possession of the plough. This trivial circumstance is mentioned to show the reader that Henry had chosen a profession to the practical knowledge of which he was obliged to fight his way, which would not have been the case, had he chosen the quiet and peaceable profession of the parson, although a pugnacious clergyman is by no means a *rara avis* in the menagery of the clerical bipeds.

In tracing the development of an adolescent character, which at maturity becomes eminent for extraordinary qualities, it is too often the custom to overlook the display of the minor traits, and to direct the attention to those bold and determined ones, from which are supposed to emanate the real principle and integrity of the individual. It must, indeed, be admitted, that the human character is a book, which can be read but by few ; and, further, there is scarcely a single page in it which two people can read alike ; but in the early culture of the innate dispositions, which display themselves when the character begins to unfold itself, an erroneous estimate is generally formed of the strength, vivacity, and tendency of these dispositions ; and hence, the very one, which in itself constitutes the leading feature of the character, is wholly neglected or overlooked, whilst another is fostered and encouraged, which, in the direction of the future conduct of the individual, ought to be regarded more as an auxiliary than a principal, and in some



instances requiring restraint rather than encouragement. It is seldom, in cases of autobiography, that the minor traits of character are in the least touched upon, the attention appearing to be directed more to the universality of one commanding passion, and to a full elucidation of those circumstances, which impart a favourable colour to the designs and actions of the individual, than to a general exhibition of the whole character as it displays itself in the general relations of human life. In the confessions of Rousseau every minute point of the character, the innermost recesses of the heart, are fully and unequivocally laid open, whilst, in the autobiography of Lavater, we have a mere twaddling, sickening, nauseous, whining complaint of the natural corruption of the human heart, and its inability to withstand the temptations, to which it is exposed. In a candid exposition of the defects and frailties of his character, Mr. Hunt, in the history of his own life, comes nearer to Rousseau than any other person with whom we are acquainted, who has undertaken the difficult and trying task of inditing his own memoirs. On this subject Mr. Hunt thus expresses himself: "In detailing the events of my own life I am confined to the strict limits which truth imposes upon my pen; for if I wished either to exaggerate or embellish, by any imaginary touches, such as may be admissible, and, in fact, such as are indulged in by the writers of common events, I should be liable to immediate detection and exposure, because I am detailing circumstances which, although they are long past, are still in the recollection of many living witnesses. On the other hand, there are certainly many facts and anecdotes, which are only known to myself, and those immediately connected with them, and these, when I arrive at them, will, I doubt not, be read with a lively interest by those, who are not yet in the secret respecting the mode in which many public and private intrigues are carried on and effected. All that I can promise is, that I will, to the best of my knowledge and recollection, which I find by no means impaired by imprisonment, record the truth, for I wish the public to be made acquainted with those circumstances which appear to me to have materially contributed to the



formation of that character which has been so vilified, abused, and misrepresented by the venal tools and corrupt agents of a system of persevering, fatal misrule, such as was never equalled in any age nor in any country."

To return to our history. Henry appears to have undergone some severe sufferings in his endeavours to become a good ploughman; his mother also began to lament the undertaking, and threw out hints, how much better and easier it would have been to have gone to Oxford, and have been preparing himself by study to become a parson, instead of being a clodhopper. On the contrary, his father daily witnessed, with considerable anxiety, the zealous and persevering exertions of his son; and as the latter proceeded, he was encouraged by his father by the most animating hopes of future prospects, informing him, at the same time, that he had remarked, with no small pleasure, his determination to excel in every thing that he undertook, and that he set about every thing with an enthusiasm calculated to surmount all difficulties; which was, as he justly observed, the only way to attain any object, or to arrive at any degree of perfection.

The following remarks of Mr. Hunt on the occupation of a farmer, are well deserving the attention of those, who have a predilection for that particular pursuit, and who frequently enter it, ignorant of the necessity of any previous preparation, and attribute their failure to every other cause but the real one, which is their own ignorance and incompetency.

"Persons," says Mr. Hunt, "are very much mistaken if they think anybody will make a farmer, and that to be a good husbandman is the natural result of living in the country. To make a good farmer, a man must have served a double apprenticeship to the profession, and after that, he must be a philosopher and a chemist. No business requires the exercise of a man's patience and his reasoning faculties, so much as that of a farmer. Every day, nay, every hour, produces something new, something fresh, which calls forth the active use of his reason, his exertion, and his talent. No two seasons are alike, and scarcely any two days. In every other profession or busi-



ness, a clever intelligent person can calculate for any given number of hands, nearly the work of a week, a month, or almost a year in advance. The manufacturer or tradesman has a constant, regular routine of business for his workmen to perform, and if he be called from his home for any length of time, he can leave orders what work almost every man shall do till his return; but the farmer's occupation, and that of all his servants, changes with the weather; nay, it becomes his peculiar care, at some periods of the year, to watch with anxiety every change of the wind, and his business is to observe the direction of every cloud—in fact, it is necessary, before a man can be a good farmer, that he should be a good practical philosopher.”

Whilst young Hunt was thus progressing in his agricultural knowledge, a heavy domestic affliction befel his family in the death of Mrs. Hunt, his mother. This circumstance will tend to throw considerable light upon the character of Mr. Hunt when a youth, and contribute, in some measure, to relieve it from the odium, which some of his enemies have industriously, and, in some instances, successfully endeavoured to cast upon it, respecting his total want of filial affection. The account shall be given in Mr. Hunt's own words.

“About this time, my mother, who had been for several years in a very declining state of health from a violent nervous affection, which produced a constant oppressive headache, was put to bed of a son, her sixth child, and to the great joy of my father, as well as all her friends, as she recovered her strength, and the natural effects of her lying-in wore off, she appeared also to have recovered her general good health and her usual cheerfulness. She was always benignant, kind, and affectionate, but the effect of her headache had produced a sombre sadness, which threw a gloom around and affected the whole family, and prevented that sort of hilarity and cheerfulness which was the usual companion of our abode. My father was of a generous, hospitable, social disposition, and was never so happy and blessed as when he had his friends surrounding him and partaking of those comforts which he had acquired by his



industry, skill, and persevering attention to his business; but even these sociable enjoyments with his friends had been very much curtailed by my dear mother's melancholy indisposition.

“The restoration of her health was hailed by my father as the greatest blessing the Divine Providence could have bestowed upon him and his family, and we were all made to join him in audibly offering up our nightly prayers and grateful acknowledgments to the all-wise and beneficent Creator, for this, to us the greatest of earthly blessings. My father was enraptured, and a hundred times a day, while he burst forth into sincere and extatic praise and adoration of the goodness of the Divine Being, he would enjoin us, his children, never to forget his mercy and loving kindness, in restoring his dear Elizabeth to health. He also called in his friends again to partake of his hospitable board. In fact, he would sometimes exclaim to my mother, that he was almost too happy for a mortal, in this vale of misery and probation. My amiable mother used gently to chide him, and to tell him that the best way to manifest their gratitude to Divine Providence for the happiness which he bestowed, was never to let a day pass over their heads without doing some good act to prove their willingness to deserve it. She would add, with her eye beaming a heavenly smile, ‘as our blessed Saviour has bestowed every earthly comfort upon us, let it be part of our duty and our pleasure to dispense happiness among our poorer and less fortunate neighbours, for recollect, that all doings without charity are nothing worth.’

“My mother had not yet been able personally to perform any of her accustomed charitable visits since her lying-in, for she was too strict an observer of her religious duties to go from home till she had gone to the parish church and publicly offered up her prayers and thanksgivings to her blessed Creator and Saviour. The following Sunday was fixed upon as the day for the religious ceremony. My father expostulated, saying that the church was damp, and that she had better defer it till the next Sunday, and in the meantime take some gentle walks abroad to inure herself by degrees to bear the walk and



the fatigue of remaining in the church during the length of the service. He expressed his great dread of her catching cold, and having a relapse in consequence; but she firmly replied, that she never feared any evil when she was performing a sacred religious duty; that God was too wise and too good to permit one of his creatures to suffer when in the act of obeying his commands; and she urged so many pious reasons to show the necessity of her not delaying to perform what she termed her indispensable duty, that my father silently, but very reluctantly, submitted to her decision.

“But, alas! alas! my father’s prophetic forebodings were but too well founded. The ways of God are just, and the dispensations of his wisdom are not to be scanned, much more disputed, by impious man; to submit to his divine will without repining, is the imperative duty of every sincere Christian. I shall never forget the day, nor the care and anxiety of my excellent father. We set off early in order to walk leisurely to church, and that my mother should not be so heated as to render her liable to catch cold. My mother, who was a tall, thin, elegant figure, and very fair, had a roseate flush spread over her delicate features, and she looked beautifully as she knelt to offer up her grateful and sincere adoration to the omnipotent, omnipresent Disposer of All. I believe that my father was the only person amongst the whole congregation who did not, at that moment, enjoy unmixed delight. I could discover that his inquiring eye was more frequently fixed upon my mother than it was upon his prayer-book; a sort of uneasy doubt sat visible upon his brow, and it was plainly to be perceived that his prayers were interrupted by his meditations upon the fearful consequences, which he apprehended might be the result of my mother’s retaking cold by remaining within the walls of a large damp building, and that building only inhabited for a few hours once a-week. But while he was anticipating earthly misery by the loss of the greatest blessing that kind heaven had ever bestowed upon man, the soul and body of my angelic mother were alike absorbed in the most devout and earnest prayer. In the mean time, the beautiful



roseate hue that had spread such a lustre over her fair face, disappeared. My father's intense anxiety had become so obvious to me, that the dreadful uneasiness of mind, which he displayed drew my attention to the paleness, which had succeeded the colour upon her cheek. The instant, the clergyman began to pronounce the concluding prayer, 'the peace of God' &c., my father flew across the seat while my mother was yet on her knees, joining most fervently and devoutly in that beautiful sentence, and exclaimed, in a loud half whisper which was heard all over the church, 'for God's sake! are you not well, my love?' She appeared surprised at the earnestness of his manner, and rather hurt at being interrupted in her devotions, she replied that she was very well, only a little cold. He hurried her out of the church, and on her arrival at home she was rather fatigued, but she partook of her dinner with a good appetite, and my father began to hope that his fears were groundless. His hope was soon blighted; my mother suddenly screamed out, saying that she had a violent pain in one of her feet; my father, however, to hide his own forebodings, endeavoured to rally her, and, in a joking way, told her she was going to have the gout. She retired early to rest, but at midnight my father came into my bed-room to awake me, and desired me to rise immediately, take my horse, and go for the family apothecary, who lived at the distance of about five miles. By two o'clock I was at my mother's bed-side with the apothecary, and the following day, Dr. Barwise of Devizes attended her, and pronounced her in considerable danger. I was now incessantly employed in going to and from the medical attendants and assisting to wait upon my mother; and from the time of her first attack she took nothing but from the hand either of myself or my father. Her illness was now pronounced to be a determined putrid fever, and she was continually in a delirious state. At length she was pronounced by the physician past all hopes of recovery. My poor father was frantic; he, who possessed the most manly resolution and firmness upon all other occasions, was now, by excessive grief and despair, reduced almost to the level of a child; he alternately wept and prayed,



but he wept and prayed in vain. I was at this time under seventeen years of age, and I had scarcely time to vent my sorrow. Although I was distressed beyond measure at the sufferings of my mother, yet the affliction, the indescribable anguish of my father demanded almost as much of my attention as the illness of my mother. To see his noble soul bent down to the earth, driven almost to the madness of desperation, was to me a more heartrending spectacle than the delirium which produced a sort of stupor in my mother. She had not been sensible, for any considerable period of time together, for two days, and we were under dreadful apprehensions that she would be taken from us without ever recovering her reason. This my poor father dreaded excessively; yet the very thing we most prayed for, when it was ultimately granted to us, proved our greatest affliction, so incapable are poor frail mortals of judging what is best for them under such trying circumstances.

“ My mother had now lain, as it were, in a doze for about two hours, and my father and myself, who were anxiously watching every breath, observed her wake up, as if it were from a sound sleep; she appeared to feel as if she had recovered from a trance; she spoke, and, to the great joy of my father and myself, she was perfectly collected. But our joy was of the most transient nature. She looked around in the most melancholy manner, and having inquired where all the children were gone, she expressed a great desire to see them before she breathed her last, for she said she was perfectly sensible of her situation, and she must see her children once more. They had all been removed to the house of a friend, as those who remained were considered in imminent danger from infection, the putrid state of my mother having assumed a very alarming appearance, and no one was now left, except my father, myself, and the nurse, the maid servant having already failed with the fever. My poor father had entreated, nay, had commanded me also to save myself by flight, but upon my knees I implored him to let me remain and participate with him in performing the last sad offices for my dear



mother. My father was now become in reality an object of much greater pity than my dying parent.

“ My mother repeated so earnestly her wish to see her children, that they were immediately sent for, and she took a last sad farewell of them. They were hastened out of the room, that they might be removed at once from such a melancholy scene, and from the serious danger of contagion, arising from the dreadful state of their mother. To those, who have never witnessed a parting of the sort, any attempt of mine to convey to them even a slight representation of the agony it inflicts on those who undergo it, would be in vain, for it is impossible. The great exertion of my poor mother during this affecting scene, was such as left her almost without the power of speech; her respiration became excessively thick, and my afflicted father exclaimed, ‘ I shall never hear her voice again.’ She, however, soon recovered a little, and in the most plaintive strain lamented her approaching end, and prayed aloud to her blessed Saviour to spare her life, that she might have the happiness of seeing her children brought up: in fact, this most excellent of women appeared very much to dread the hand of death. My father now implored her to be tranquillised, and in the most tender and affectionate manner assured her, that of all living creatures, she was, he thought, the best prepared to enter the presence of her creator. She calmly replied, that although, to the best of her knowledge, she had never intentionally injured any human being, either in thought, word, or deed; though she had never neglected her duty to her Maker, but had always acted, to the best of her judgment, so as to deserve his mercy, yet she trembled, and doubted, and feared to die. My father now observed that her voice faltered, and to draw her attention from such a painful, heart-rending subject, he asked her if she knew me, supposing that she was becoming insensible. With the kindest look, she took my hand and gently replied, ‘ I know him perfectly well; God bless him.’ She then seized his hand also, and instantly expired, grasping both. Thus breathed the last of as bright, as lovely,



and as perfect a pattern of christianity as ever lived to grace society, and to adorn and bless a husband and a family.

“ My father’s sorrow was now become too intense for outward show ; he stood dumb and motionless, with his eyes fixed and rivetted upon her, in whose death he felt that he had sustained an irretrievable loss. We had both still hold of her hands ; his mute, immovable figure looked like a statue, and I fancied that his heart was breaking. I seized him by the hand, and in the most supplicating manner implored him to leave the room. My extreme sorrow seemed to awake him from his trance ; I led him gently, and he followed involuntarily out of the chamber. Having seated him in his arm-chair, I knelt before him and threw my head in his lap ; there I gave vent to my grief, and mingled my tears with those which were now flowing in streams down his manly cheeks. To endeavour to describe what I felt upon this melancholy event, would be puerile in the extreme ; none but those who have been placed in a similar situation, are capable of comprehending the distress which enters the soul of such a husband and child, who had witnessed the last sad moments of such a wife and mother.”

In describing thus minutely the illness and death of his mother, Mr. Hunt, although unnecessarily, entreats the indulgence of his readers ; but in all instances of autobiography, it is the description of scenes like the foregoing, which furnish us with a clear insight into the real character of the individual, and enables us to draw a just conclusion relative to the actual degree of virtue, which was inherent in it. Mr. Hunt, however, affirms, that he considers the death of his mother to have been not only the most important event of his life, but that it was a matter of more serious consequence to him than all the occurrences of his previous existence multiplied ten times tenfold : every incident of his future life, for many years afterwards, may be fairly said to have been influenced, in some degree, or in some way or other, by the ever-to-be-regretted and never-to-be forgotten loss of his mother. It cannot have escaped the observation of every one, who has paid the least attention to the influence which certain events have had upon



his future destiny, that there is, in general, one in particular, although at the time of its occurrence so unimportant and insignificant as scarcely to deserve any notice, on which, like the first link of a chain, all the subsequent ones appear to depend, and to which they can be traced through a series of years, with the direct certainty of a mathematical calculation. The system of Godwin, of causes generated in Eternity, although sneered at and ridiculed by those, who have not the penetration nor talent to understand it, is yet founded on the most incontrovertible truths, and although we may not be able exactly to affirm, that if Alexander had not bathed in the Cydnus, Shakspeare would not have written his plays, or that if Shakspeare had not been a deer-stealer, William the Fourth would not have sitten on the throne of England, yet it is certain that the birth of an individual in the year 1835 may be traced to a series of causes, the first of which may perhaps have happened at the moment when Henry the Eighth fell in love with Anne Boleyn, George the Fourth with Mrs. Robinson, or William the Fourth with Mrs. Jordan. We know that this is a picture which the opponents of predestination have a great aversion from contemplating; but it is not the only one by many, respecting which, prejudice has taken such a strong hold of the mind, that the rays of truth recoil from it, like an arrow from a block of marble.

Henry Hunt's father was now left a widower in the prime of life, at least he considered himself as such at the age of fifty-eight, which, it must be owned, is rather an advanced period for a man in the present degenerated and degenerating state of his nature to consider as the prime of life: he was left with six children, Henry the youngest, three daughters and two sons. With such a family, the loss of a mother is at all times, and under almost all circumstances, most serious and deplorable, but the loss of such a mother as theirs had shown herself to be was most distressing. Thus, indeed, was a house of joy turned into a house of mourning—it was not the same house, it was not the same family.

The grief in which Mr. Hunt was absorbed, would not



allow him to attend to his agricultural affairs, and therefore the whole weight of them devolved upon his son Henry; but to make use of his own words, "I shall never forget," he says, "the authority which I now began to assume; I was as dictatorial over the servants, and gave my commands as peremptorily, as if I had been an old farmer. Some of the old servants, who knew that my directions were improper, disputed my commands, and expostulated against my proceedings. However, like a true Jack-in-office, feeling that I was clothed with power, I considered this 'brief authority' to be all-sufficient, and like all other ignorant upstarts, what I was deficient in knowledge and real information, I made up in positiveness. But I soon found, that by this foolish course I lost all influence, and that I was laughed at by the old servants, who knew very well how to please my father, and I was therefore astonished, that they did not know how to please me. My own sense now whispered to me that I must be wrong; yet I nevertheless appealed to my father, and complained of some of the servants having refused to comply with my directions. He inquired what these directions were, and he soon taught me that I ought to have applied for information to, and have followed the advice of those very men, with whom I had been contending. My father then pointed out to me the absolute necessity of becoming a master of my own business, and learning how to do the work myself, before I attempted to give directions to others. 'This want of knowledge,' said he, 'causes more than half of the quarrels and squabbles that arise between the master and the servant. The moment a servant finds out that his master does not understand the nature of his business, he begins immediately to dispute his orders, and then there is an end of all authority; the master probably perseveres in his error, and insists upon it that his servant has not done his work properly, or that he has not done enough, and the moment a master orders a servant to do what is unreasonable, that moment the servant despises the master; and unless the master knows himself how to show his servant, with his own hands, the



way to do anything, he had better hold his tongue, and not find any fault.' ”

These are palpable truths, and it was according to this method that the father of Henry Hunt instructed his son in useful knowledge, and after the labour of the day was over, and the servants had retired to their homes to obtain their natural rest, his father used to read some useful, entertaining book, lamenting frequently, at the same time, that his son appeared to give up so much the study of his Latin books. Young Henry had all along spent a few hours, twice or thrice a-week, in reading the Classics with the Rev. Edward Carrington, the clergyman of the parish, who was an excellent scholar, and a very sensible, liberal-minded, worthy man. To him he was greatly indebted for a deal of useful, sound information, and a knowledge of that portion of mankind, with whom his father had never associated. This amiable clergyman, who was afterwards translated to the rectory of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, took great pleasure in completing the education of Henry Hunt, and at the end of one year, with the advantage of his friendly assistance, he sincerely believed that he had acquired more knowledge, both of literature and of ancient and modern history, than he would have done in seven years at college.

Although the time of Henry Hunt was so much occupied in the business of the farms, yet he longed for the refined instruction of the mind, which was conveyed with so much kindness, care, and assiduity by this worthy and intelligent man. He was at that time denominated by the vulgar, illiterate, grovelling, low-bred slaves of the day, a *jacobin*, and this excellent, enlightened being, who possessed more the real *amor patriæ*, in its most genuine sense, than a legion of the reptiles by whom he was surrounded, was constantly exposed to the petty insults of his pompous, inflated, aristocratical, addle-pated neighbours, who termed themselves loyal and constitutional subjects, without really understanding the meaning of the terms, but who still were presumptuous enough to point him out as an enemy to his country, because he did not choose to shut his



eyes and join in the war-whoop—the savage, stupid, idiotic cry against the patriotic efforts that were then making by the friends of liberty in France to rescue their fellow-countrymen from the accursed yoke, the double bondage of superstition and tyranny.

Young Hunt was now entering the arena of politics; events were daily occurring calculated to shake the monarchies of Europe to their foundation; the day-star of liberty was rising over the benighted nations of the earth, and its effulgence has been rapidly spreading, and will continue to spread, until the people obtain their rights, and the prerogatives and privileges of kings have been reduced to their proper level. At this particular period, the people of England, at all times, and in all ages, esteemed the most credulous people in the universe, were mad-drunk with their own ignorance and folly. Mr. Paine had now written and published his wonderful book, and to put it down, to prevent the people from reading it, to prejudice the public feeling, and to misrepresent and to vilify the author and his work, the whole power of government was put in motion. Henry Hunt was at this time too young to take any part in the proceedings, and, in fact, he as yet knew nothing of politics. He loved his country; he was taught to honour his king; he knew not what to make of the violence and bigotry of faction, but he always so far stood by and gave support to his tutor and friend, as to demand that he should be heard in his own defence, when any of those brutal attacks were made upon him by his half-savage, half-human assailants. Hunt's father was a loyal, but a liberal-minded man; when he was present, Mr. Carrington had always fair play; he would combat his arguments, but he would always in return hear his reply, and although he was a very shrewd, intelligent, well-informed man, yet young Hunt generally observed that Mr. Carrington had the best of the argument, and that he frequently convinced his father of the truth of his positions. As his father was obliged in fairness to admit the truth of his opponent's assertions, and the correctness of his reasonings, and the conclusions that he drew therefrom, he generally finished by putting in



the plea of necessity, and defending the government and measures of Mr. Pitt on the ground of policy. This used to enrage their audience which consisted of the farmers of the parish and neighbourhood, among whom was frequently some upstart puppy, some ineffable coxcomb, one of their sons perhaps apprenticed at the neighbouring town, who come home on a Sunday, at Easter, Whitsuntide, Michaelmas, or Christmas on a visit, and who had imbibed a double portion of the mania, in consequence of his having licked up the froth and saliva which had been vomited forth by the ministerial agents and tools of the rotten borough or corporate town, of which his master was one of the rotten limbs. How often did he see one of these self-sufficient cubs, with all the solemn mummery, without half the sense of an ape, deliver what the fool arrogantly called his opinion, which consisted of the most stupid and senseless contradictions and assertions, generally finishing with something which he conceived to be unanswerable, "*as our mayor said.*" How often has he felt his blood boil to hear his worthy friend and preceptor insulted by one of these contemptible jackanapes. In fact, more than once, when he found that his friend, the clergyman did not condescend even to return a look of contempt in answer to such despicable trash, he has taken up the cudgels himself, but being at that time fully as ignorant of such matters as his opponent, it generally followed that he retorted nothing more than flat contradictions to his assertions, and frequently he proposed to settle the dispute by an appeal to force, and sometimes it actually ended in blows. His worthy friend used at first to laugh at his zeal most heartily; but when he found that his pupil more than once concluded by a knock down argument, he begged him to moderate his ardour, and expostulated with him upon the impropriety, as well as the absurdity of his following the example of such contemptible opponents, by falling into the very error which he, and all good and honest men must deplore, "that of resorting to brute force, instead of relying upon truth, reason, and justice."

Although young Hunt was warmly the friend of his tutor,



he sometimes owned that he thought the clergyman took up the matter too harshly against the measures of Mr. Pitt, nor could he understand many of the grounds of complaint which he made against the proceedings of government. He was taught to believe that those, who promoted the revolution and guillotined the King of France, were bloody-minded fellows, and that the people of this happy country ought to do any thing, rather than submit to have its streets stained with the blood of their monarch. He was in the habit of hearing all the ridiculous stories of invasion, rapine, and murder, and of listening to all the hobgoblin accounts of what we were to expect from our fellow-creatures on the other side of the Channel, and his young and ardent mind was worked up to such a pitch, that he longed to become of the number of those, who were going to resist and punish them, if ever they dared to invade our happy shores; nay, he always expressed his determination, if that day should ever arrive, that he would not remain at home wasting his time in inglorious ease and safety, while they were disfiguring the fair face of our favoured isle with blood and conquest. His father, who had frequently heard him burst out in loud declamation and expressions of a patriotic feeling of abhorrence, and threaten in case any attempt at invasion being made, began to reason with him upon the subject, and he trusted that he never would put himself forward to enter into any of the volunteer corps, as they were called, adding, "Why, do you not see that amongst these men, every idea of sincere patriotism or genuine love of country is a mere joke, a farce? Look round," said he, "and you will find that nine out of every ten persons, who enter these corps, do it at the command of their landlord, or some other person in power, who is a magistrate or the immediate agent of government."

He had never before heard his father talk in this manner, but his friend, the clergyman, appeared delighted to think that he had made a convert of him, and he expressed his pleasure upon ascertaining this fact by hearing him talk to and admonish his son in the way he did. The clergyman joined



in his father's censure of the selfish motives and views of those exclusively loyal gentry, the yeomanry, and said they were a set of tools of the government, who wished to enslave the minds, as well as the bodies of their fellow-countrymen. "Hold, hold," said the elder Hunt to the clergyman, "you mistake me, if you think I am a convert to your doctrine. I am a true loyal man, and a sincere friend of the constitution both in church and state, and if I thought these volunteer corps were raised for the sole purpose of repelling the invasion of the French, I would not only wish my son to enter into one of them, but I would also go myself, old as I am, rather than live under a foreign dominion. My opinion," said he, "always has been, that we ought not to have meddled with the affairs of France; that we had quite enough to do to mind our own business; and if we could only take care of our own concerns, and manage them with a little more economy, and do justice by the people, and keep our magistrates and the courts of law independent, upright and impartial in their decisions, we need not dread the French, nor all the foreigners in the world put together."

"Why, really, my friend," replied Mr. Carrington, "you have now been merely repeating that, for which those whom you call jacobins have been contending; they wish for nothing more, than you have said, we all ought to have, with this exception, that they say, that the only way to secure this, is by the means of a free and equal representation of the people."

✓ "Ah!" said Mr. Hunt, "there's the rub; that word 'equal' will never go down; do you want that equality, which has caused the shedding of so much blood in France?"

"No, sir," said Mr. Carrington, "we want equal justice, equal political rights—in fact, all we want, and all the people require to make them free and happy, are equal laws, and an impartial and just administration of those laws, which we shall never have, while the present corrupt system lasts. However," continued Mr. Carrington, turning to his pupil, "do nothing hastily, my young friend, but should you go into any of the yeomanry corps, with your zealous feeling and patriotic love of



country, I fear you will be wofully disappointed, if you expect to find any of your comrades acting under a corresponding impulse. Their main object appears to be to secure their corn ricks, and to keep up the price of their grain; and their landlords, who are the officers of these, their tenants, encourage this measure, that they may be enabled to pay their high rents. Depend upon it, nine-tenths of them are actuated by this selfish feeling; therefore, let me advise you to reserve your disinterested and praiseworthy patriotism for another and a better occasion."

Henry's father said there was too much truth in their friend's observations, and, under this impression, Henry himself was induced to forego his design of being amongst the first to volunteer into one of those troops, that were about to be embodied; and very much to the satisfaction of his father, as well as to that of his tutor, he resolved to redouble his attention to the business of the farm.

---



## CHAPTER III.

As a prelude to the political career of Mr. Henry Hunt, the following observations may not be deemed irrelevant, inasmuch as they give, in a condensed form, the principles of his mind, and which may be said to be in strict conformity with the constitution of this country as it ought to be, not as it is. In every page of history, especially if taken from the moderns, we find instances and acts of power, prerogative, and privilege, to the disadvantage and injury of society. These acts have excited convulsions, denominated rebellion or patriotism, according to their effects. It is high treason to murder a king, but if the welfare of the country demands it, it is no longer treason. Paul, the tyrant and the lunatic of Russia, was murdered; the country demanded it, and his murderers, so far from being punished or deemed guilty of high treason, were caressed by the people, and they placed the son of Paul on the throne, which opened the eyes even of the semi-savages of Russia to the inestimable advantages of an hereditary monarchy. It appears, however, at this time, to be the general purpose of political philosophy, not to expel nor degrade constitutional or legitimate kings, but to demolish those spurious and pernicious beings which are the offspring, and whose operations are capricious, arbitrary, and mischievous. A political bishop is a spurious and pernicious being; an hereditary legislator, who owes his station in the ranks of aristocracy to his mother being a low-bred prostitute, although caressed and fondled by royalty, is also a being of that spurious nature, that never ought to have obtained an ingress into the councils of a representative government. All titled paupers, who, as drawing their allowance from the public, ought to have been included in the poor law amendment bill, and all pensioners, who never from their cradle performed one good or virtuous action to entitle them to a farthing of the public



money, are certainly those spurious and injurious beings from which only a reformed parliament can deliver the country.

The great inquiry before the philosophical world is not the nature of God, the mechanism of the universe, nor the composition of its elements, but it is the general principles of society, and the inquiry must be directed according to the constitution of the country in which the respective people live. The rules by which to judge of the principles of society in this country, would not be applicable to those which are established at the courts of Katunga or Sockatoo; but it was the opinion of Montesquieu that climate has a great deal to do in the establishment of those rules; and certainly, in respect to England, it must be admitted that his theory possesses some validity; for both the principles of society and government appear to be in a continual state of change and variation. If we consult the history of the world, we shall find that it has been flooded with the blood of its inhabitants by the caprices of tyrants, under the denomination of emperor, king, consul, senate, parliament, and popular assembly, and the miseries of millions then cry out aloud, and demand of wisdom the solution to the questions, Where is the power which establishes and connects all the orders of a community, and on which they all depend? Where is the centre to which everything tends, the principle from which all is derived, *the sovereign that can do everything?* Who can point out to us the form, the organization of that moral person, or society, or community, to which unity is necessary, and of which liberty is the effect?

The sophistry of political writers has been exhausted in the comparative merits of monarchies, aristocracies, and democracies, but no model has been exhibited, no form delineated, of a society which may protect and defend with its whole force, the person and property of every one of its members, and in which each individual, by uniting himself to the whole, shall nevertheless be obedient only to himself, and remain fully at liberty to do everything but commit an injury.

The general result, however, of inquiry and experiment on



political subjects is, an opinion or principle that the supreme power of every state is in the body of the people, because it can have no interest contrary to that of individuals, and stands not in need of guarantees, for it is impossible the body should attempt to injure itself, or have a disposition to injure its members. But how is the general will to be obtained? and princes should consider this question well before they take upon themselves the reins of government. Individuals may have private wills regarding private interest, but the general will is directed only to the general good.

In the solution of the foregoing question, history will not greatly assist us. Despotic and monarchical states are out of the inquiry. Who would look for the will of the people in the despotic government of Dahomy? who would look for it in the aristocratical government of Russia? Indeed, every lawful government is necessarily a *republic*, for no other can have the public interest for its object; but those states denominated republics in ancient and modern history, have not the public interest for their object, and are not formed to promote it. Athens, Lacedemon, and Rome, were ruled by idle and profligate mobs in contention with all privileged senates. Aristotle seemed to prefer the constitution of Carthage to any other, but he justly observes it was reprehensible, because the same person might be appointed to several offices, and *a certain revenue or birth was necessary to civil situations, virtue being deemed as nothing*. In the latter respect, what is the difference between the constitution of Carthage and that of England?

Modern politics have admitted, in a few states, that the general voice should have a mode of expressing itself, and that the mode should be a part of the constitution: this has given rise to the idea of representation and the appointment of deputies. But the supreme power, or the actual sovereignty of a state, cannot be represented or deputed. Faculties may be delegated of various and extensive effect, but the omnipotence of society, if anywhere, is in itself. In the attempt to delegate sovereign power, the community would consign to its



prince or its parliament the disposition of life and property, but on what condition—that they may dispose of them as they please.

The act which constitutes government is not, cannot be, even a contract; it is the will, the arbitrary law of an absolute sovereign. The depositaries of delegated power, whether called princes, senators, or parliaments, are not proprietors or masters, they are subject to the people, who form and support the society by an eternal law of nature, which has ever subjected a part to the whole.

With all the boasted learning and improvement of mankind, no society has yet been so constituted and organized as to produce that genuine public principle, whose object is the security and happiness of the community. As men emerge from savage into civilised conditions, some species of talents obtain a preference, and the general labour is taxed to support privileges, or to fulfil the iniquitous and monstrous engagements of hereditary and perpetual rewards. Hence the origin of dignities, ranks, and families, the various combinations of which have formed all the governments of Europe, and hence the pension list of this country, under the weight of which the people have groaned too long; hence the enormous civil list, wrung from the hard earnings of a laborious community for the support of a pageant, which the same people neither want, nor care for.

When the Saxons had subdued England, they instituted as many governments as there were powerful heads of armies; the common soldiers of which they admitted to privileges on condition of holding in the most wretched slavery the peasants of the country; this extended the privileged combinations widely, and the jarring interests, claims, and principles, produced by the union of the heptarchy, impelled the vigorous and comprehensive mind of Alfred to form the first correct and rational idea of a political constitution, which is recorded in history.

The circumstances of the country requiring the steady and continued exertions of its utmost force, he had the genius to discern; the exertions of that force could not be obtained but



by the actual concurrence and exercise of the general will ; he therefore organized the free parts of the community into a POLITICAL CONSTITUTION, the best imagined and the most effectual that has hitherto been exhibited in the world.

The successors of Alfred inherited not his genius, and the general confusion and misery which ensued on his decease impaired the structure he had formed, the Norman conquest completed its ruin, and a mode of government took place in which the general will was not consulted.

The internal agitations of the state from the conquest to the revolution, were those of princes and barons, as competitors for a prize, or as beasts for prey, and if we consider the celebrated revolution it will be found to be a compact between the Prince and Princess of Orange, and the heads of certain families, attended by the Mayor of London and other persons in the exercise of authority. It is probable that the measure had the general approbation, but the nation had no organ by which it might form or express the public will ; despotism and violence had decomposed it as a body, and portions more or less exceptionable assumed its name, offices, and privileges.

Government for some time was conducted by the advice, direction or influence of the great families, which placed the houses of Orange and Brunswick on the throne ; long possession formed the idea of an hereditary claim in those families to occupy the principal offices of state, and resistance to that claim by persons, who had no further views than to participate in its advantages, has occasioned all the factions and contentions of the late reigns.

It was from principles similar to those, which we have been just discussing, that the juvenile mind of Henry Hunt assumed that tinge of opposition to an aristocratical government, which afterwards became of so deep a shade, as he grew better acquainted with the abuses which had crept into all the branches of the government of the country, and particularly in the representation of the people, which he considered the bulwark of the English constitution. He also entered into life at one of the most momentous eras in the history of



Europe. The French revolution had broken out and threatened to subvert all the ancient dynasties of the civilized world. The opinion which was held in England of the revolution was highly favourable, and even its most criminal excesses, seen through a distorting medium, were viewed by the multitude with the eye of approbation. Amongst its most ardent admirers was an assemblage of persons, in which the tutor of Henry Hunt was included, who had associated themselves for the purpose of commemorating the British revolution of 1688, of which Lord Stanhope was president. With the principles of this association, young Hunt was made thoroughly acquainted through the medium of his enlightened tutor, and although he could not be brought to acknowledge himself but as a truly loyal man, yet at times some misgivings arose in his mind as to the abuses, which were so unblushingly displayed in the administration of the affairs of the country, and the consequent necessity which arose therefrom for an immediate reform in the representation of the House of Commons. His attention to this important measure, which, at a future period of his life, absorbed all the energies of his masculine mind, was drawn by a plan brought forward by Mr. Flood, an Irish orator, who till then was wholly undistinguished in the British Parliament; in conformity to which an additional number of representatives to the amount of 100 were to be admitted into the legislative body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident householders only. This plan of reform was strenuously opposed by Mr. Windham, the professed admirer of Burke, and Pitt himself declared that were the motion before the house, the precise proposition he himself had formerly offered, he should now vote against it from a conviction of its actual impropriety; but at a more seasonable opportunity, he would most certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the house.

The arguments which were used on this occasion had a powerful effect upon the mind of young Hunt, and assisted by the enlarged ideas with which the mind of his friend and tutor was stored on all subjects, which had a tendency to effect



a reformation in the representation of the people, and the consequent removal of those abuses which appeared at times even to clog the wheels of the machinery of government, he became in his heart a reformer, but from the particular political principles which his father entertained, added to some circumstances of a domestic nature, he carefully kept them concealed in his own breast to burst out hereafter with a force and energy, which rendered him one of the most conspicuous characters in the arena of English politics.

At this particular period, considerable alarm was raised and propagated all over the country regarding the introduction of French principles. A decree had passed the National Assembly of France, which excited the hostility of the superior classes throughout Europe, perhaps more than any other atrocity which the French had committed. This decree was for the abolition of all hereditary titles, orders, armorial bearings, and other marks of the distinction of ranks in society. As it was found impossible to prevent the importation of similar principles into this country, and a considerable portion of the people were in active readiness to receive them, the aristocracy of the country took the alarm. Kingship was hastening fast to a discount, and it has never since risen to par; the mitre trembled on the head of the sanctified political Charlatan, the nobleman saw his ermined robe exposed in Monmouth Street for sale; the Norroys, the Lancasters, and the Clarencieux, and the whole *posse comitatus* of the Herald's Office, with Garter King at Arms at their head, beheld, if the French principles were to be disseminated in this country, the whole mass of their rubbish forming the materials of a bonfire in Moorfields. The alarm spread through every branch and ramification of the aristocracy, and when it is considered how fondly, even in the most enlightened countries, men are attached to honours, which elevate them above the mass of their fellow citizens, the indignation excited by such an example of levelling as the French had now given to the world, may readily be conceived. Party spirit ran high in every company and society. To check the introduction and dissemination of French prin-



ciples, the tory rulers of the day considered that war was the most efficient method, as if the murder of a few thousands of the daring innovators upon the rights and principles, privileges, and prerogatives of kings, princes, and the nobles of the land, could stop for an instant the march of the human mind, or arrest the struggle of the people to obtain for themselves those rights, which the constitution of the country awarded to them. A great portion of the enlightened part of the community protested in very loud terms against the war, and numerous petitions were sent from various parts of the country demanding peace. The debates in parliament were very violent, and Mr. Fox with an irresistible eloquence and a prophetic voice, foretold the disasters that were likely to follow, if such a course of hostility were pursued against the liberties of France, and he accused the ministers of making and continuing the war for the purpose of ultimately restoring the tyranny of the Bourbons, and replacing that family upon the throne. This was disclaimed by all the ministers, and Mr. Pitt broadly and unequivocally denied that they had any such intention. It is however well known to all, that although the ministers of the country declared that it was not their intention to restore the Bourbons to the throne of France, yet that their restoration was one of the most prominent consequences of the war, and therefore it was by no means a gain to the French nation, although it was an addition of a few hundred of millions to the national debt of this country; a high price indeed to pay for placing a member of an odious and detestable family on a throne, from which one of their predecessors had been hurled with shame and ignominy. But legitimacy was then becoming the order of the day amongst the ruling dynasties of Europe, and no matter, whether the legitimate successor to the throne was as rank a villain as ever entered the precincts of pandemonium, no matter, whether he was a disgusting compound of moral turpitude and practical vice like Miguel of Portugal, or whether he were a monster of savage ferocity and brutal habits like Constantine of Russia,



no matter, whether he were a mass of licentiousness and debauchery like George Prince of Wales of England, fortune in one of her most accursed freaks had bred them in the hot-bed of legitimacy, and therefore nothing further was necessary to render them fit and proper personages to fill a throne.

In the meantime it was necessary that the *lower orders* of the English—and at that time they truly merited the degrading appellation—should have a tub given them to play with, in order to divert their minds from reflecting on the injurious consequences, which were likely to result to the country from the measures which the ministers were then pursuing; the cry of church and king was therefore set up by the agents of the government throughout the country, although no further real danger impended over those two establishments, than was actually made by their own partisans, who brought them into odium and disrepute by the atrocious actions, which they committed. The nation became at last drunk with the clamour, church and king mobs were the order of the day; the drunken, hired, besotted populace perpetrated the most dreadful outrages; the houses of several worthy and patriotic, and therefore obnoxious, individuals were destroyed; riots took place all over the country; every honest man who had the courage to express his opinion was denounced as a jacobin:—and all this was done by a blind and infatuated government, to make the people deeper in love with kings and bishops than they had hitherto shown themselves. At Bath, the houses of persons were pulled down, who had committed no greater offence than taking in the *Courier* newspaper, which was then conducted by Daniel Stewart, a staunch republican, but as rank a political renegade as ever figured in the annals of newspaper history, not even excepting some *figurantes* who, in our own immediate *Times*, have distinguished themselves in the vicinity of Printing-house-square. This Daniel Stewart was originally a tailor, and he made an enormous fortune by turning his coat, and adapting his measures to whatever set of men were in power, let their principles have been aristocratical, democratical, or republican.



to him was a matter of no import, he could charge and veer about with a dexterity which is by no means uncommon in the present TIMES.

Young Hunt had been as yet but a passive spectator of the momentous events, which were passing around him, when one at last occurred which opened to him, as it were, a new sphere in life, and brought him into a kind of hostile collision with his own father. This circumstance was the victory which Lord Howe had obtained over the French fleet, the captured ships of which were then lying at Spithead, preparatory to the visit of the king and royal family to congratulate Lord Howe, the officers and men, who had survived the dreadful slaughter of that engagement. As the Prince of Wales, a ninety-six gun ship-of-war was to be launched at the same time, a great number of persons from that part of the country where Mr. Hunt resided, being about fifty miles from Portsmouth, were going to see the launch, and to witness the effect of the sanguinary battle, young Hunt was very anxious to make one of the party, and he expressed his wish to his father, but with which he positively refused to comply. This refusal arose from some little misunderstanding which existed between the father and son on account of a favourite maid-servant of the former, towards whom the latter had not conducted himself with all that respect and attention to which she considered herself entitled. She had therefore, from a spirit of revenge, caused a sort of shyness and distance to arise between the father and son, which certainly was not very reputable on the part of the former, but it rendered the home of young Hunt, which had heretofore been so pleasant to him, exactly the reverse to what it had been in the lifetime of his mother. An individual, who has some private objection to disclose the real motives of his actions, generally selects one of so trivial and unimportant a nature, that the subterfuge betrays itself, and confirms the party in his belief of the truth of the real one. Thus, Mr. Hunt would not allow by any means that the influence of his servant-maid had any thing to do with the refusal to his son, but he assigned as a reason that there was



still some hay to get in, which was in fact of very trivial moment, and in quantity very small. Henry urged his plea of constant attention to business, and his extraordinary personal labours for several years past, wherein he had done more work than almost any two of the men-servants, and he demanded to know if his father had ever seen him neglect his business, or hesitate to perform the severest labour. His father admitted that he had no fault to find with him, and that he did not require that he should work so hard, nay, he added, that so far from having any complaint to make against his son for not working, he thought he taxed himself too much, and that he was fearful he would injure himself by such excessive exertions, as he had frequently witnessed. "Then pray sir," said Henry, "why will you not allow me a little recreation—this small indulgence?" Henry promised to return in the course of two days, but all would not do, his father was evidently acting under a sinister influence; his favourite maid had prejudiced him, and Henry was foolish enough to hint this to him, little thinking at the time that an illicit influence of that kind is the sorest place which another can touch upon, and especially if in so doing, any particular object is to be gained. As might be expected, Henry's father resisted his insinuations very warmly, and read him a lecture in such language as he had never before received from him. The altercation at last arose to a very high pitch, and the dispute became of so serious a nature that Henry was almost ordered to leave the house. It ended however in his declaring that nothing should deter him from going to Portsmouth, and, on the other hand, his father declared that if he did, he should never enter his house again; and in order to put Henry's threat of going, out of his power, his father took his horse instead of his own and rode out to one of his farms.

Burning with rage at this harsh, this unusual, as well as unjust treatment, Henry rushed up stairs, and began dressing himself for his journey. His sister followed him with tears in her eyes, and upon her knees implored him not to think of going. He coolly asked if she had heard what had passed



between her father and him. She replied, that she had heard it with the greatest astonishment and dismay, and that she had also heard her brother's determination with great pain. Although she knew too well the cause of her father's harshness towards her brother, and felt most acutely the reason of his ill humour, of which she herself had some times partaken, and had borne in silence, yet she dreaded the effect of her brother leaving home. However all her expostulations were in vain. Henry had made up his mind to go, and that once done with him, even then nothing but death would have deterred him from carrying it into effect. Having dressed himself, he saddled his father's favourite horse, as he had taken his, and having mounted it, in less than two hours he was twenty miles on his road to Portsmouth.

He slept at the house of a friend, and started the next morning at four o'clock to ride the remaining thirty miles, in order to be at Portsmouth by eleven o'clock, being the hour that the ship was to be launched. On the other side of Andover he overtook a gentleman of the name of Neale, who as well as himself was also going to Portsmouth to see the royal family. He had had some slight acquaintance with him when a boy at school at Andover, and having soon heard each others intentions, they agreed to go in company together. They intended to have breakfasted at Winchester, but they were too early, all the windows and doors of the inns were shut, and they passed on till they came to Whiteflood, a small inn by the road-side where they got good corn for their horses, and an excellent breakfast for themselves.

They arrived at Gosport about nine o'clock, and having put up their horses, they crossed to Portsmouth about ten. The gates of the dock-yard were closed, and they were told that they were too late to be launched in the man-of-war; that the king, queen, and three or four of the princesses were at the governor's house, and that the ship would be launched at eleven precisely. Henry had more anxiety about being launched in a ship-of-war, never having seen anything of the kind before, than he had about anything else; he therefore



felt greatly mortified at being too late, and he began to try the experiment of bribing the gate-keeper, who had positive orders not to let any one pass after that hour. His friend Neale seeing it in vain to remain there, took another course, and said he would get a boat to see the launch, if he could not get into it, but as Henry had set his heart upon being in the ship when it was launched, he remained at the door. As soon as he was alone with the door-keeper he renewed his application, and finding that he began to relax, Henry plied him closely, and he soon put him in the way of *cheating the devil*. He asked if he did not know any one who lived in the dock-yard, and having the cue given to him, he instantly made up his mind to say yes, and urged him to repeat some of their names. This he did, and Henry was luckily saved the disgrace of telling a lie, for the second person he named was an old school-fellow of his, and never in his life did he claim acquaintance with an old friend with greater alacrity and pleasure than on this occasion. A half-crown now opened the gates, and Henry entered, a fine sun-burnt country youth, and made his way to his friend's house as fast as possible, but here he received another check, his friend was from home. He then hastened to the place where the majestic ship stood upon her few remaining stocks, ready at a moment's notice for the signal to be launched upon the watery element. No entrance was however to be obtained; all communication was cut off from the dock to the vessel, except by one step-ladder, strongly guarded, waiting for the arrival of the principal commissioner, who had gone to conduct the royal family to the sort of balcony that was erected to enable them to see the whole of the launch with ease and safety. Henry now placed himself as near as possible to the foot of this ladder, anxiously waiting the arrival of the commissioner. At length the old gentleman arrived, dressed in an admiral's uniform. The pressure of the crowd was immense, but although it was the first crowd Henry had ever had to encounter, he made a dart and forced his way through, close up to the foot of the ladder, and as the old officer ascended, Henry sprang through the sentinels and up



the steps, and held the commissioner fast by the skirt of his coat. The sentinels seized him and pulled him back with great violence. Henry however still held fast to the skirt of the commissioner's coat, and as the sentinels pulled him, he pulled the commissioner, and down they both came to the bottom of the ladder. The commissioner, not accustomed to such treatment, stared at the young and impudent offender, who still held fast to the skirt of the commissioner's coat. The sentinels swore and endeavoured to release him, striking him at the same time some heavy blows. With one desperate effort, however, he sprang by the commissioner, and ascended the ladder like a cat. He was seized at the top to be handed back again, and as he was about to make a determined resistance, the commissioner came up and kindly released him, and after a gentle reprimand for placing so important a personage in such danger, he was permitted to remain on board and to be launched in the Prince of Wales, having got on board more than an hour after all other communication had been cut off from her, and he obtained the gratification in the presence of thousands, who hailed the success of his daring perseverance by giving him *three cheers*. "This," says Mr. Hunt, "was the first act of my life that gained me the cheers of a large multitude, and I was not a little proud of the compliment."

We give the above statement in Mr. Hunt's own words, at the same time we are not prepared to deny the truth of it, that above a thousand people in the presence of the royal family, could be so stupidly foolish as to give a stripling three cheers for an act which was at best one of rudeness and impudence. The circumstance, as related by Mr. Hunt, carries with it such a positive degree of improbability, and is so directly at variance with the etiquette, which no doubt was rigidly observed in the presence of royalty, and particularly of personages who never allowed the acknowledged forms of etiquette to be infringed in their presence, that we should have been induced to omit it altogether, had it not the tendency to exhibit a particular trait in the character of a very extraordinary man,



which, at a future period of his life, led him into many difficulties and embarrassments. The lights and shadows of a character are sometimes so minutely blended, that it becomes a task of no little labour so to separate them as to exhibit each in its respective force and brilliancy, but the biographer would very imperfectly execute his task, were he, in the portraiture of any particular person, to abstain from an exhibition of those defects and frailties, which are more or less distinguishable in every character, and without which the delineation would rather be a caricature than a faithful representation of the individual whom he is portraying. Mr. Hunt was an ambitious man, and ambition and egotism generally go hand in hand, and yet the latter property must not be confounded with the low grovelling vice of selfishness. Mr. Hunt, who although in many actions of his life was a confirmed egotist, was by no means a selfish character; he would speak of himself and of his actions, but he could act *for* others, and perhaps few men exceeded him in the extent of his personal sacrifices when the welfare of individuals, or of his country, was to be promoted.

To return to our history. On the larboard side of this magnificent specimen of the wooden walls of Old England, sat the venerable monarch George the Third, with his queen, and their fine family of princesses in all their pride, two or three of them at that time being remarkably fine young women. Mr. Hunt also speaks of the great beauty of the princesses, pride they certainly possessed in a superabundant degree, which they inherited from their mother; who, when she took her leave of Strelitz, loaded herself with such a sufficiency of it, as to enable her to distribute it in very large quantities to her offspring. Henry had hitherto been brought up at a farm-house, a mile distant from any other dwelling, and, therefore, he had not many opportunities of feasting his eyes with the fine forms of feminine beauty; it is therefore perhaps excusable in him that he on a sudden discovered that the princesses of the court of England were gifted with an uncommon degree of personal charms, which were not discoverable



at all by those, who were in immediate association with them. By the side of the princesses stood the victorious hero of the day, Lord Howe, commonly called by the sailors *Black Dick*, and who in his manners and softness of speech, was as much calculated to please the polished beauties of the royal family as an orang outang; in fact, what with the interminable catalogue of questions, which the monarch put to him, without waiting for a reply, each following in more rapid succession than the balls from his two-and-thirty pounders, and what with the stiffness and the ceremony to which he was obliged to restrict himself, Lord Howe was heard to say, that with the exception of the loss of so many of his brave companions in battle, it was the most disagreeable part of his victory

The signal was now given, and the vessel glided imperceptibly from the stocks into the middle of the harbour, thus riding most majestically dignified in the midst of applauding and admiring thousands, who hailed her progress with enthusiastic cheers. Such was the beauty of this launch, and such was the skill with which it was accomplished, that the only sensation which Henry felt was, that the other ships that were along side of them appeared to move gently from them. A boat now arrived at the ship, having been hailed by a party, amongst whom was the late John Weeks, who then kept the Bush at Bristol, and he had begun to ascend, when a thought came into the mind of Henry, that as he was the last person with the exception of the commissioner of the dock-yard, who came on board, so he should like to be the first out of her, and the thought was no sooner conceived than it was put into execution. Although there were two or three persons going down the ladder on the side of the ship before him, yet he made a spring and jumped fourteen or fifteen feet, and reached the boat first at the imminent risk of swamping her. Henry must have fancied himself on that day to be a person of some consequence, and that all eyes were directed to his motions, for he very gravely informs us that he did *not* get three cheers for this act, on the contrary, that he received many a severe reprimand for his timidity, but as his father used to say, that



it was a word and a blow with his son, and certainly when the youth had once formed a plan, and had made up his mind to carry it into execution, it was generally done with the rapidity of lightning.

Henry now returned to Portsmouth and dined at the Fountain inn with the party from Bath and Bristol, and in the evening paid a visit to his schoolfellow, whose father held some situation and lived in the dock-yard, but of whose name, he has, strange to say, no recollection. He was however offered half of the bed of his schoolfellow, which was a very acceptable offer, as a bed was not to be had either in Portsmouth or its vicinity for any price whatever.

On rising in the morning, Henry was informed by his schoolfellow that in the course of the forenoon he would have an opportunity of seeing the royal family, as they were going to inspect the dock-yard, and on that account the gates were kept closed, that royalty might not be annoyed by the crowd, which would otherwise have impeded their progress. He said that he would not be allowed to appear himself, but he thought as a stranger that Henry might seize an opportunity of getting very near them, without creating any particular notice.

Henry took the hint and thanked him most cordially for the information, and when the royal party came round, he joined them without any ceremony. The royal family were attended by very few persons, amongst whom were Lord Howe and the commissioner, to whom Henry had caused such a fall on the preceding day. The latter eyed him immediately and shook his head, but in such a good humoured way, as encouraged Henry to remain rather than absent himself. He therefore now joined the party at a respectful distance. Another instance of the egotism of Mr. Hunt's character here displayed itself. At the entrance of the cable-room lay a piece of very large cable, about six feet long, to which Lord Howe called the attention of the royal family, by stating that it was part of the cable of the French admiral's ship, and that it had been shot off at that length by two balls of the English fleet, which are supposed to have struck it at the same moment at six feet



distance. Lord Howe also said that there was a twelve pounder ball stuck into it also, but as it lay on the ground, and they could not see it, he ordered one of the attendants to heave it upon its end. It was however too heavy, and the man could not accomplish it, but let it fall back again. The commissioner was calling some one to assist, when Henry sprung forward, and having seized the cable, he heaved it upright in an instant; for which the gallant admiral, as well as the commissioner thanked him, and he held it nearly a quarter of an hour, while the king and all the family examined it, as it was esteemed a great curiosity, and a striking proof of the heat and severity of the engagement. Eh! eh! eh! ejaculated the monarch, very odd, very odd indeed! Wonderful! exclaimed the queen. Astonishing! simpered the princesses. The king now turned to Henry and very politely thanked him, and the queen was very particular in her acknowledgements, which Henry ought to have regarded as a still greater curiosity than the twelve pounder in the cable, in fact, her majesty appeared to be stricken on a sudden with such a fit of condescension, that she began to be alarmed for the personal safety of the favoured youth, and expressed a desire that some one should help him to sink it down again; but Henry was in the presence of royalty, of that self same royalty which did so much for him at a future period of his life; he was therefore anxious to show his strength, as well as his gallantry in the immediate proximity of so much royal youthful beauty, and disdaining to receive any further assistance, he sunk the cable into its place again on the ground with the greatest ease. Great, however, was now the reward, which Henry received, for the princesses deigned to smile upon him, which, if he had known how properly to appreciate, he would have considered himself as one of the most favoured of human beings. After this feat, a degree of intimacy was established between the young farmer and the royal party; he accompanied them round the whole of the dock-yard, and offered his assistance whenever it was wanted; for this act, Henry was again honoured with several proofs of royal politeness; the princesses entering at times



freely into conversation with him, but on what particular subject, whether on the use of the blocks, the weight of an anchor, or the circumference of a main mast, no information is before us.

At length, the commissioner took Henry aside and asked him how he had contrived to make his appearance in the dock-yard. Henry stated to him the real facts of the case, and he was then informed by the commissioner that he had his majesty's command to inquire his name, which being told, as well as his occupation and the place of his birth, and it coming to the knowledge of the king that he was the son of a Wiltshire farmer, he inundated Henry with a stream of questions about the crops, the breed of cattle, drill and broad-cast husbandry, hedging, ditching, manuring, and curing of bacon; to all of which Henry no doubt could have given very satisfactory answers, if his majesty would have allowed him, but one question was propounded so closely upon the heels of the other, that Henry stood in the presence of royalty staring with amaze at the extraordinary thirst for information, the depth of sagacity, and the wonderful extent of general knowledge, which a king could display on subjects which have little or no relationship with royalty. However his majesty deigned to express his extreme satisfaction with the few answers which Henry contrived to introduce, between the short and temporary stoppages of the questions, and the interview finally terminated with Henry considering himself a far greater personage than he was, when he was partaking of half of the bed of his schoolfellow.

It is not to be wondered at that the barometer of Henry's loyalty rose many degrees in consequence of the attention and smiles which had been bestowed upon him by royalty, but notwithstanding the vanity of the youth was richly fed and flattered, yet there was some rankling within him when he saw the signs of the horrible slaughter which presented themselves in the ship, although every precaution had been taken to keep them from the view of royalty, and he asked himself whether all this blood and carnage, all this sacrifice of valuable life was



absolutely necessary, and whether no means could have been devised to settle the point in dispute, without resorting to arms, or spilling the best blood of both countries. On the one hand, the too common feeling was, that the war was absolutely necessary, in fact, it was always spoken of by the hirelings of the day as "the most just and necessary war," and even those, who were the loudest in their lamentations, and who appeared most to deplore the loss of so many gallant men, were at the same time the greatest advocates for the continuance of the war, adding, that it was better a few should suffer in war than that the whole country should be overrun by an invading army, which they would have the country to believe was composed of such monsters as would never rest satisfied until they had murdered all the natives, young and old, male and female. The republicans of France were described as wild beasts of the most ferocious kind, whose only delight was in blood, and who, like the death-head hussars of Prussia, never gave any quarter to either age or sex ; thus the whole nation was kept in a ferment by the most exaggerated falsehoods, death to the French monsters quivered on every lip and tongue, and the infant lisped it from its patriotic mother.

In dilating upon the history of the late war, unparalleled in its consequences to all the nations of Europe, and which forms so essential a portion of the times of the individual who is the subject of these memoirs, we cannot refrain advert-  
ing to the sentiments contained in a scarce pamphlet written by the greatest man on the records of history, Napoleon Buonaparte, where his prophetic genius displays the situation in which England would appear, even were she successful in the contest, in which she was then engaged.

"Anxious," says Napoleon "to cultivate the alliance of England, I offered her peace, its principle being to secure wealth and prosperity to both nations. I tendered her the olive branch, but I received in return the gauntlet of defiance : future historians will decide upon the candour of this mode of acting.

"The destructive war that they now wage against me, and



in which they have enlisted all the powers of Europe, is unparalleled in the history of nations for profligate extravagance.

“ Should they fail in the impending contest, a national bankruptcy must ensue, and consequent ruin await the middling classes.

“ The immense landed estates of the aristocracy would exempt them from participating in the general ruin.

“ On the other hand, should they be victorious, and the genius of France be laid prostrate, *they have contracted a debt that will be their curse ; the very payment of its interest must tend to paralyse every effort of the government to meet the exigencies of the state, until the nation, become wearied of excessive taxation and poverty, will terminate their sufferings in anarchy, devastation, and all the horrors of revolution.*”

Thanks to the reform act that the latter part of his prophecy has not been accomplished. The hydra-head of corruption has received its death-blow, unless it be resuscitated by the Tories ; the civil and pension list, those incubi on the energies of the nation must be retrenched ; the people will know to whom and for what their money is paid, and if royalty is to be maintained in the country, let its profligacy and extravagance be brought within proper bounds. Let its princes and princesses be mulcted of their scandalous sinecures, the ranger-ships of parks, which are nothing more nor less than a direct robbery upon the people, the parks themselves being only appropriated to the drilling of human machines, and fattening venison for the sumptuous tables of the rangers ; but through which, the people are not allowed to pass but at particular hours, regulated by the people's own servants, as *commanded* by them according to their painted board, which *command*, however, ought to be obliterated, for one subject, although a prince, and receiving a salary from the people, cannot command those, from whose pockets the salary is paid. If the reform act does not rid us of these state pensioners, it is a *vox et pretereā nihil*.



## CHAPTER IV.

HENRY had now seen a king, a queen, and some of their progeny, and he had also, as he believed, seen the major part of the sights of Portsmouth; he had seen the great lion of the day, Lord Howe, and he had himself lionised in the dock-yard, when the princesses of England had condescended to smile upon him. He had now been absent from home four days, and he began, when the enthusiasm of the moment had subsided, to bend his thoughts towards the place of his birth, but the reflection that he had left his father, not only without his leave, but also against his consent, now began to render everything in which others found pleasure and enjoyment, irksome and monotonous to him. He however mustered courage, mounted his horse and reached home in the afternoon of the fifth day. At the door he met his father who received him in the most hostile manner. He lavished his imprecations upon the head of his son, and as he burst out of the room in a paroxysm of passion, he ordered Henry to quit his house, and never to see his face again. Springing by him in a menacing manner, he repeated his denunciations, declaring that Henry should not remain under his roof. He then went to the stable, took the horse which Henry had just brought home, mounted it, and rode away towards his farms.

Young and foolish as Henry then was, he still felt that he had given his father just cause of complaint, although he could not but feel that his parent's conduct displayed an unnecessary and unbecoming rigour, in refusing him such an indulgence in the first instance. His eldest sister implored him to conciliate his father, and informed him how uneasy he had been since his first departure, and what a wretched house they had at home. But the determined aspect of his father at leaving him, the threat which he held out, and the peremptory tone



in which he ordered him to depart from his house, appeared to Henry to admit of no alternative; and therefore, with a desperate determination, he hastened up stairs and packed up a small portmanteau, and in less than half an hour, in spite of the entreaties of his sister, he was mounted upon his own horse, and took a final leave, as he expected, of that home, where he had passed so many delightful happy days.

As he embraced his afflicted sister, who had fainted upon ascertaining his determination, but who was now relieved by a flood of tears, Henry could not refrain from calling aloud upon the angelic spirit of his dear departed mother, who, had she been alive, such a dreadful calamity would never have befallen him or her family. He tore himself from his sister, who was in an agony of grief, and who now upon her knees implored her brother to think of their father, and how miserable his leaving home again, under such distressing circumstances, would make him. She used all the arguments which her reason could suggest, to persuade her brother that it was his duty to bear with the temper of her father, and to submit to his will, however arbitrary it might appear. But Henry was now of age, and as he had laboured incessantly in his father's business for nearly five years, and had scarcely ever left it for a day, he was mortified at his unnecessary severity, in denying him the privilege of a day or two upon such an occasion, and besides, as his father's temper was very much altered since the death of his mother, and his home had become not at all comfortable to him of late, he was unfortunately not in the humour to brook such harsh treatment, nor indeed did he know how it was possible for him to remain, after the determined behaviour of his father on quitting him. He therefore most unwisely and imprudently started off, as he thought to seek his fortune, determined at all events, if he could not live in his father's house, to leave the kingdom altogether.

He rode off to Bath, a distance of about thirty miles in about three hours, and then proceeded to Bristol, where he was not known to any one except Mr. Gresley, of whom his



father rented one of his farms. By this gentleman, he was received with great kindness, expressing himself most happy to see him, as he had repeatedly given him an invitation to come and visit him. Henry carefully avoided mentioning the rupture with his father, and very luckily for him, he was in very good hands, as his friend, although an easy voluptuary, was nevertheless an amiable and a good-hearted man, and took care to check, instead of encouraging him in any sort of debauchery, into which, a youth of his age, was so likely to fall in such a profligate city.

He began the very next day to look out for some situation amongst the captains of vessels outward-bound, and he was soon introduced to a very worthy man, a friend of Mr. Gresley's, who, in the course of ten days, was about to sail to Africa, in the command of a vessel employed in the slave trade. Henry soon imparted to him his wish to go abroad in some active situation, but he bound him to secrecy, even to their mutual friend Gresley. He professed to be very much pleased with Henry, but endeavoured by every means in his power to prevail upon him to abandon his design, and he pointed out to the aspiring youth in very glowing colours, all the miseries and perils which were incident to a seafaring life, and did every thing that he possibly could to persuade him to return to his father's house. At length, Henry told him that he was irrevocably determined to look out for a situation and to close with the first captain, who would give him a berth, and the longer the voyage was, the better he should be pleased with it, for he was resolved upon leaving England, as he could not bear the thought of remaining in this country, and an alien from the house of his father; at last, after he had ascertained that Henry was immutably resolved to go to sea, he at once made him an offer of taking him out as his clerk and cabin friend. Henry joyfully acceded to the offer, but candidly told him that he had very little money, and was perhaps ill prepared for such a voyage. He then made one more trial to persuade the wayward youth to return, but with as little success as before. Finding that it was in vain to reason any



more, he then said that he would equip Henry on the following morning, at his own expense, with all the necessary clothing, &c. for the voyage, and he added, that if he were successful, of which he had no doubt, he would pay him something handsome for his services, which he anticipated would be very valuable to him.

The morning came without his having closed his eyes, he having been entirely occupied the whole of the night with the thoughts of the undertaking, to which he looked forward with the greatest enthusiasm, regardless of the obnoxious occupation upon which he was about to enter. In fact, it did not once occur to him that the slave-trade was any worse than any other trade, so little had he thought upon it, and so little did he know of the nature of it at that time. Thousands being engaged in, it who were protected by the laws, it never came into his head that he was about to commit any moral crime. Indeed he was driven to such a state of desperation by the quarrel, which he had had with his father, and was so indignant at what he thought his cruel treatment, that he was a fit subject for any enterprise, even had it been ten times more desperate than that in which he was about to engage, and having once made up his mind to the thing, he thought of nothing else till his trunk of clothes was ready and on board. That being effected, Henry went down with the captain and took possession of his cabin and berth in the vessel, which lay off King's Road, and as she was ready to sail with the first fair wind, he would have stayed on board, had not the captain insisted upon his taking leave of Mr. Gresley and sending his horse back to his father. Although Henry considered the horse as his own, and had been offered thirty guineas for him, yet such were the liberality and proper feeling of the captain, that he absolutely refused to take him unless he returned the horse, and consequently in his presence, he hired a man to take him off the next morning.

Henry was to see Mr. Gresley by appointment at the White Lion at nine o'clock that evening, and was to go down with the captain at eight the next day to the vessel, which was to weigh



anchor at ten, and drop down the Bristol Channel with the tide. The wind being fair they expected to be off Ilfracombe the same night. Every thing was arranged; he had written home and taken leave of his father and sister, lamenting the cause, but rejoicing in the prospect of the voyage. He had drank tea with the captain and was anxiously awaiting the arrival of their mutual friend Gresley to break the whole affair to him, and at the same time to take leave of him, when the waiter announced a gentleman inquiring for Mr. Hunt. He rose to receive, as he supposed, his friend Gresley, and was prepared to give him a brief explanation of his intentions, when lo! who should walk in but an intimate friend of his father's, who had just arrived in his own carriage from Bath in search of the fugitive. He immediately produced a letter from the father of Henry, not only inviting his return home and promising forgiveness to him, but actually entreating his pardon for his harshness towards him, and imploring him to hasten home, and relieve him from the terrible state of misery to which his absence had reduced him. The language of his letter was such as would have melted the heart of a much more hardened offender than Henry was, but he had made an engagement with the captain, and told his father's friend that he was sorry he was come too late, but that no consideration whatever should make him run from the engagement, which he had contracted with him, at his own particular request. It is true, that Henry felt an irresistible impulse to embrace his beloved father again, that to be restored to his good opinion was a treasure to him, far surpassing all and every prospect, that his sanguine hopes had painted in the most vivid colours upon his enthusiastic imagination, and that he felt for a moment a struggle between honour and duty, yet he instantly declared, that as he had gone so far, no power on earth should deter him from fulfilling his engagement with the captain. That worthy, warm-hearted, disinterested fellow, however, instantly protested, that under such circumstances, with such a prospect of his being restored to his family and friends, nothing in the world should induce him to take him on the voyage.



At this moment Mr. Gresley arrived, and heard from the captain and Mr. Hunt's friend the obstinate resolve of Henry with the greatest astonishment. Mr. Gresley however assured Henry that unless he instantly gave up all thoughts of going, he would obtain a warrant from the mayor to detain him by force. This was, however, rendered unnecessary, for after the captain's manly and generous avowal, Henry yielded without further delay to the earnest entreaties of all present, and he believed that the worthy captain felt as much delight and happiness at the result as any one of the party. The friend of Mr. Hunt offered to reimburse the captain for any expense that he had been put to on Henry's account, but the worthy sailor refused to take a farthing, adding, that he should sell what he had provided for Henry at a profit of 200 per cent., and that he would rather lose the principal and profit too, than forego the pleasure he felt at the idea of a reconciliation between his young friend and his father.

The kindness of Henry's father's letter to him had a great and powerful effect upon him, the expressions of sorrow which it contained at his departure, and the assurance that he would be completely miserable till his return, recalled all his former kindness to him, and he would instantly have set out on his way home, although it was then dusk and rained in torrents; he had already ordered his horse to be saddled, that horse which he had the same evening paid a man twelve shillings to take back to his father without his master, he was now eager to mount himself that he might fly to receive his parent's blessing, and acknowledge his error in disobeying his commands; but his friends all entreated him to defer his departure until the morning, to which he reluctantly consented, and retired to bed about twelve o'clock, after having taken a most affectionate leave of the worthy, generous, and kind-hearted captain. "Good God!" says Mr. Hunt, when speaking of this man, "how often have I since been rivetted to the earth as it were with astonishment, when I contemplated a man of his stamp being employed upon such a cruel, unjust, unchristian, murderous traffic as that of the slave trade."



Henry certainly retired to his bed, having ordered the hostler to get his horse ready by three o'clock in the morning, but no rest did he obtain. For the first time in his life, he now learned what it was to go to bed without being able to go to sleep, for two long hours he tossed and turned about a thousand times, but sleep had flown from his eyes. He heard the quarters strike and the watchman go his lowly round, his thoughts were all at home, and he was wretched till he threw himself at his poor distracted father's feet, to claim, with a certainty of receiving, his blessing and forgiveness. "I," says Mr. Hunt, "who but a few hours before expected and intended to bid farewell to my native land, and to leave behind me all that was dear and valuable to me in this world, I who was prepared to sail the next morning, almost without regret, and had thoughtlessly undertaken to become one of those who were the most horrid and the most unnatural of all unnatural and horrid thieves and murderers; I who should have gone to bed and slept as soundly as a rock under such circumstances till I was called in the morning, could not, now I was about to return to my kindest friends, and to make myself and my father happy, I could not sleep one moment. Gracious God! upon what a precipice had I stood! from what a world of misery was I rescued by the kind hand of Providence, for if I had gone upon such an errand, and if I had been instrumental in robbing one human being or fellow creature of his life, or what was more valuable to him of his liberty, it would afterwards have been to me a source of never-failing misery. Thank God! I was saved from that pang. Had my father's messenger come twelve hours later, I should have sailed, and in all probability have been a participator in such crimes, as I should never have forgiven myself, for having joined in committing."

The clock struck two, Henry could not remain in bed any longer, he jumped up and having found his way into the yard he aroused the hostler, and having got his horse saddled, and before nine o'clock he reached home, a distance of forty-five miles. His father and his sister met him at the door, but to



attempt to describe the effecting reconciliation would be only doing an injustice to the feelings of all the parties. His poor father would scarcely allow Henry to make any apology for his undutiful behaviour, he took all the blame upon himself, he had reflected more than his son had upon all the consequences of the voyage, of all the particulars of which he was cognizant; having received an account of all the plans and movements of Henry, which had in confidence been communicated by the honest captain to Mr. Gresley, in order that he might apprise his father of them, and endeavour by all the means in his power to procure for the misguided youth a reconciliation, before he sailed; he being resolved to convince himself that all hopes of that desirable object were fruitless before he permitted him to sail on the voyage. This was an instance of the most disinterested friendship, and Henry had every reason to believe that the captain even delayed the sailing of the vessel for several days in order to give time for Mr. Gresley to send to his father. This information was communicated by Mr. Gresley without delay, and Mr. Hunt no sooner received it, than he despatched a confidential messenger, his neighbour, Mr. John Coward of Enford, with a strict injunction not to spare any pains to find his son out, and to hasten his return home.

Henry's father, who had hitherto since the death of his mother conducted himself towards him with a degree of austerity and rigid discipline, not altogether calculated to conciliate his hasty disposition, now relaxed his usual strictness, and ever afterwards proved himself not only a kind parent, but an indulgent and sincere friend. He lamented on this occasion the severe loss of his wife, in which Henry most heartily joined, for they both attributed the late dispute and separation to the want of an amiable mediator, which, if Mrs. Hunt had been alive, she would have been upon this, as she had been in many former instances, of the greatest utility and benefit, as a peace maker and promoter of family happiness and concord.

Mr. Hunt in his own memoirs very commendably glosses



over some circumstances of a domestic nature, which more than any other contributed at this time to promote disunion in the family, and which were in reality the cause of that austerity of disposition, which his father manifested towards him. From some private sources, however, we learn that the father of Mr. Hunt was at this period under the dominion and influence of the female, who has been formerly alluded to, and who not receiving that attention and respect from the junior branches of the family, to which she considered that the relation in which she stood with the head of it, justly entitled her, adopted the unjustifiable method of poisoning the mind of the father against his children, by relating to him every little venial fault which they committed, and magnifying them into acts of positive turpitude. The introduction of a female of this stamp into any family is the certain instrument of the destruction of its happiness and tranquillity. With the secret knowledge which she possesses of her influence over the head of the family, she assumes a consequence and dominion, which the junior branches are not disposed to submit to; an appeal to the only quarter from which redress alone could be obtained, proves wholly unavailing, and discord and strife convert an abode of former happiness into a terrestrial hell.

The father of Henry, who had for some time witnessed with great anxiety the aspiring disposition of his son, now began to dread the evil consequences of those lofty notions of patriotism, and that disinterested love of country, which in his earlier years he had taken so much pains to instil into his youthful mind, and which he had been so anxious, that he should imbibe. He now viewed the daring spirit of his son with a mingled pleasure and pain, he dreaded the result of such ardent feelings, because he foresaw that they would lead him into the greatest difficulties and dangers, unless they were checked by timely controul. He now freely told his son that he was actuated by this motive when he refused to give him his consent to go to Portsmouth to witness the effects of Lord Howe's brilliant victory over the French fleet. He told him



also that he had the same object in view when the summer before he refused Henry's application to go and see the grand review on Bagshot Heath. It was, however, at too late a period that he began to check the patriotic ardour of his son; he had himself "bent the twig," and it had grown too powerfully in the direction, which he had given it to be directed to any other. Although Henry was at that time no politician, yet his bosom glowed with as sacred a love of country, with as strong a predilection for the rights and liberties of the people, with as pure, disinterested love of truth and justice, as ever warmed the youthful heart of man, yet notwithstanding Henry was a loyal man to the back-bone, he never joined in, nor approved of the persecution of any one for holding opinions different from those which he himself openly professed. He was acquainted with many persons, who at that time were called Jacobins, and although he might think them violent in their principles and professions, yet he never quarrelled with any of them upon the score of political opinion. He was always the first to stand forward to protect the oppressed, and he began sincerely to sympathize with the labouring poor. He had now for some years worked with them side by side, day by day, week by week, month by month, and year by year. He had toiled in the field with the labourers of his father, he had heard their complaints, he had witnessed their increasing privations, brought on by an enormous taxation and a profligate civil list, and although he had often checked the ebullition of their disaffection, yet he never mocked their misery; he never persecuted or oppressed any one, because he was considered a disaffected person, or what was a synonymous term, a Jacobin. In fact, he sometimes got himself into very disagreeable situations for expressing his love of *fair play*. The following circumstance would perhaps not be worthy of particular mention, were it not the means of introducing him to a political character of no mean celebrity in that part of the country in which the Hunts resided.

Henry was one evening in the boxes at the theatre at



Salisbury, when there was a violent party call for "God save the King."\* He was one of the loyal, who as loudly demanded this tune to be played as any man in the house, and after some trifling opposition, the performers came forward on the stage and sung it; there was then a call for hats off, and Henry in the plenitude of his loyalty was perhaps equally vociferous as any other stickler for royalty, and especially as he was in the side boxes with a very loyal party. There was however one person in the centre of the front row of the pit, who not having been yet inoculated with the virus of loyalty, most contumaciously kept his hat on, and steadily refused to take it off. This caused a great uproar and a general call to turn him out. At length some persons near him attempted to pull off his hat by force, but he defended himself for some time with great success, and kept his hat still on his head. By this time the national air was finished, but still there was a call to pull his hat off and to turn him out; he was now surrounded by numbers, who, urged on by those in the boxes, not only forcibly deprived him of his hat, but likewise began to use him ill. Henry was now as loud in his demand for *fair play* as he had been previously for hats off. They still persisted in endeavouring to turn the obstinate specimen of disloyalty out of the pit, which he as manfully resisted, although he was surrounded by a host of foes, without any one, not even his friends who were with him, offering to give him any assistance. At last Henry cried Shame! shame! shame! as loud as he could, and demanded fair play. The man had by this time at least a dozen assailing him at once, and they had actually got him upon the spikes of the orchestra, with an intention to throw him over out of the pit among the musicians. Henry now felt enraged and indignant at such unmanly conduct, and at length he sprang out of the box into the pit, and having rushed

\* Such was the case at this excited period in almost all the theatres of the country. We remember when party spirit ran so high in the town of Nottingham, that it was a settled thing for the two parties to repair to the theatre, and whilst one was "splitting the ears of the groundlings" with "God save the King," the other was as loudly bawling "Millions be free," a beautiful song composed by Mr. Roscoe of Liverpool.



up to him, he dealt the cowardly crew that were attacking him some heavy falls, and soon cleared off the gang, so that the person, whom they had got literally hanging upon the spikes, was enabled to extricate himself. In effecting this, Henry received, as well as gave many severe blows, and by some he was considered as very foolish for interfering, while all the loyal loudly blamed him for preventing the offender from being turned out. However the play now proceeded, and the gentleman, Mr. John Axford of Eastcot, was allowed to keep his seat and his hat on, uninterrupted to the end of the performance.

In consequence of this circumstance, Henry became afterwards very intimate with Mr. Axford, who was very grateful for his assistance, although at that time Henry disapproved of his politics, he could not but admire his independent spirit. He was a man of a most amiable character, great intelligence, and a quick penetration; a great reader of the political history of this and the neighbouring countries; he possessed also the most retentive memory, and could repeat almost all that he had read. Of the French revolution, and Mr. Paine's Rights of Man, he was an enthusiastic admirer, and a determined enemy to the war, that England was carrying on against the people of France. In fact, he was a lover of truth, justice, and liberty, and he was of course a Jacobin. He lived and died railing against the unjust and unnecessary war, which the Tory ministers of England were waging against liberty in France, and as he was a warm admirer of Mr. Fox, he entered into almost all his views, and joined him as forcibly predicting all that has since occurred as to the ruin of the country by debt and insupportable taxation. He was indeed a spirited and an enlightened advocate of genuine freedom, and he never failed, even in the worst of times, publicly to avow his sentiments. He certainly possessed more real political knowledge, and a more correct opinion of the situation and the affairs of the country than any man with whom Henry ever associated, with the exception of Mr. Cobbett. Although he knew him for many years before he concurred in his sentiments, yet he



always found him a sincere friend and a most intelligent companion, and his death was lamented more by Henry than that of any political acquaintance, which he ever had. He died before Henry was much of a politician, and before he appeared on the stage of public life, but from him he learned much, which he never forgot, and which was always of the greatest service to him as a public man. "Were this well deserved tribute not paid to his memory, I should prove myself," says Mr. Hunt, "to have been unworthy of his friendship, and undeserving of my own approbation." He was always denounced as a Jacobin by the interested sycophants of the day, for he had the presumption to dispute the principle of kings governing by right divine, and as far as his reading extended, he had never been able to discover, that in the practice of any eminent virtues, they had anything to do with heaven at all; his merit and his public spirit were, however, duly estimated by all good and impartial men, who knew him, and by no one more so than by the late (the first) Marquess of Lansdown, with whom he was particularly intimate.

At this period the whole of the country was in a state of agitation with political discussions, every one having an eye upon the bloody and ferocious proceedings committed under the tyranny of Robespierre in France. This caused great alarm in England on account of the progress of French principles, all the alarmists rallied round the Pitt administration, and war, war, war, against France, and whatever was French, became the watchword of the day.



## CHAPTER V.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the 21st January, 1794, and never did it meet at a more interesting period, or at a time when subjects of greater importance pressed upon its attention. The most enormous supplies were granted without any opposition, eighty thousand men were voted for the sea, forty thousand for the land service, and likewise one hundred thousand militia, and forty thousand subsidised Germans. The estimates for this service amounted to NINETEEN MILLIONS, to pay the interest of which, Pitt taxed the light of Heaven, and stamped his name with infamy. In order, however, to keep the people in good humour, and to make them submit to the enormous increase of taxation, Pitt raised up a phantom wherewith to amuse themselves in the shape of an invasion, which was described with all its horrors, as every day likely to be realised. This set the dolter-headed family of the Bulls half mad, and like men half mad, and half drunk, they were ready to swallow anything, which the ministers of the day prescribed to them. Not content with draining the people by legalised robbery in the shape of taxes, voluntary contributions were set on foot for the more vigorous prosecution of the war, and volunteer corps were raised all over the country. In the mean time, Mr. Pitt, who at one time fully agreed on the necessity of a parliamentary reform, deserted that cause altogether, apostate-like, and not content with simply abandoning it, but he took care to prosecute all his former associates, who were too honest to forsake the cause, which he had betrayed.

A royal message was delivered on the 12th May, referring to the seditious practices of democratic societies, and intimating the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined



by a committee, and in a report subsequently presented by Mr. Pitt, it was affirmed as the result of the enquiry, that the *society for constitutional information*, and the London corresponding society, under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations in different parts of the kingdom pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people, that they had provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh, the proceedings of which were regulated on the French model, and that after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the necessity of parliament. The minister therefore with a boldness, which at any other time would have almost brought his head to the scaffold, proposed that the Habeas Corpus Act, that bulwark of the British constitution, should be suspended in cases of sedition and treason. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted, and after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two houses with the executive power, for the suppression of all seditious attempts, treasonable conspiracies, &c. The reign of terror was proclaimed, and a great number of worthy men were imprisoned in dungeons. This therefore will not be an improper place to record, and bring to the recollection of the public, who were then the men in power, under whose auspices, and by whose directions these acts were perpetrated against the lives and liberties of the people, and particularly against those, who with patriotic energy opposed their measures, which they foretold with a prophetic warning voice would bring this country to that wretched slavery, to which it was reduced before the passing of the reform act, and from which it is only now slowly and gradually recovering.

Henry Hunt was at this time too young to interfere with politics; whilst holding the plough on his father's farms, he heard the roar of the contentions of the world at a distance, of that world in which he was soon to mingle as one of the



most prominent political characters of the day, and in which he became a victim to his ardent love of liberty, his patriotism and his unconquerable hatred of tyranny and oppression. At this eventful period, the Tories rode rough shod over the constitution of the country, Pitt their great champion may be truly said to have been the ruler of the destinies of this mighty empire, and by means of British gold and British blood, he ruled also the destinies of Europe. He was the administration of England, he is gone, but he has left his mantle behind him in which a portion of the hereditary legislature of the country still enwrap themselves, and will continue to do so until the people by force tear it from them.

The state trials pending at this crisis heightened the alarm, which universally prevailed. At the Lancaster assizes, Mr. Thomas Walker of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, at whose house meetings for political purposes were occasionally held, was indicted for conspiring with nine other persons to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. In this prosecution, however, the government failed, the accused was acquitted, and the principal witness against him was committed to prison on a charge of perjury.

The ministers, however, not satisfied with frightening the people into hysterics with the prospect of invasion, and the innumerable massacres which were in consequence to take place, to the almost total extinction of all the people in the island, a horrible conspiracy was discovered, by which the kingdom was to be traitorously and treasonably deprived of the person of that war-loving monarch, George III., not by means of a pistol, rifle, blunderbuss, or musket, not by a dagger, poinard, spear, or javelin, but by a dreadful instrument known amongst children by the name of a pop-gun. According to the testimony of the informer, this horrid engine of death was to be constructed in the form of a walking-stick, in which a brass tube of two feet long was to be inserted. An arrow or dart dipped in the most rancorous poison, which had been obtained for the express purpose from the interior of



Africa, as being far more subtle and rapid in its effect than any indigenous poison, which could be procured, was to be blown through the tube by the breath of a man named Lemaitre, who, as having a French name, was a very proper person to be pitched upon for the execution of the diabolical act. The poison was represented to be of so subtle a nature, that in order to procure instantaneous death, there was no necessity for the arrow to come into contact with the royal person, for the effluvium of it had only to force its way up his nostrils, and there was an end directly to George the Third. At the close of the eighteenth century a tale like this obtained credit amongst the people; the persons accused of it were committed for trial, but after a long and severe imprisonment, the evidence against them was found to be so inconsistent, absurd, and incredible, that the whole affair fell into contempt under the popular designation of the pop-gun plot, and the men were liberated without a trial.

Government had hitherto been defeated in all its prosecutions, but it hoped to retrieve the disgrace which had befallen it by the conviction of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Holcroft, Thelwall and others, on a charge of treason. The indictment was of an uncommon length, and contained no less than nine overt-acts of high treason, all revolving themselves into the general charge, that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention, with a view to subvert the government, to levy war against the existing authorities and to depose the king. Mr. Hardy was first put to the bar, and his defence by Mr. Erskine was considered as a model of forensic eloquence. After a trial which was protracted to the length of seven days, the accused was acquitted to the great satisfaction of the country.

Nothing dispirited by this acquittal, on the 17th November, Mr. John Horne Tooke was put upon his trial. He was for many years a clergyman of the established church, a man possessed of extraordinary intellectual talents, but of a peculiar kind, and mixed with a considerable alloy of eccentricity. On the trial it appeared to the general surprise of the court, that



Mr. Tooke had been a remarkable guarded and temperate advocate of reform; that he very rarely attended the meetings of the societies, and had even incurred their suspicion and dislike on that account. He had frequently declared his attachment to the house of peers as a useful and necessary branch of the constitution, and in proof of which it appeared, that a conversation with Major Cartwright on the subject of reform, he made use of the following familiar but illustrative expression, "You would go to Windsor, but I should choose to stop at Hounslow." This trial lasted five days, when Mr. Tooke was also acquitted. All the other prosecutions were then abandoned by the crown lawyers, and those, who were indicted, were liberated from confinement.

Ministers were rather more fortunate in their prosecutions in Scotland, for they succeeded in hanging one, Robert Watt, who was one of their own spies, and transporting Messrs. Muir and Palmer, which, rather than strengthening the hands of government, drew down an odium upon it, from which it never perfectly recovered.

Henry Hunt now met with a very great loss in his worthy friend and preceptor Mr. Carrington, the curate, with whom he had passed so many happy hours, and from whom he had received so much valuable information, and good and useful advice. He was about to leave the vicarage of Enford, he having accepted the situation of tutor to the sons of the Earl of Berkeley, and as this was the likely road to future preferment, all rejoiced in his success, though they much lamented his departure. He was to say the least of him an excellent neighbour, and a very worthy man. He took great delight in imparting to the aspiring Henry all the knowledge, which he had acquired, and when he left the parish of Enford, no one felt his loss more acutely, or lamented it more, than he did, because he had the sense and penetration to discover, and the honesty to reprobate the fatal, mad-headed measures of Mr. Pitt. He was denounced by the vulgar, the ignorant and the bigotted, by the venal and the corrupt as a Jacobin, but he was admired by all the good, and liberal men of all parties,



and his society was courted by every rational, thinking, and intelligent man in the country round which he lived. The society that Henry met at his house was his greatest solace and comfort after the fatigues and labours of the day. He was always welcome, and he never passed an hour in his society without having gained some useful information, or some substantial accomplishment.

Many of the young people of the village, who did not associate much with Mr. Carrington, and who were neither capable of appreciating his merits, nor of deriving pleasure from his refined society, were delighted to find that there was a gay young buck of a clergyman, just returned from Oxford, who was to occupy the situation of their former more sedate and meritorious minister. But, alas, what a contrast! Henry did not expect to find such another kind and amiable companion and friend as him, whom he had lost; but he anticipated that he would be a scholar, and a man of the world; and, at all events, a suitable associate for him; but, in fact, he was the very reverse of Mr. Carrington. The Sunday arrived, and Mr. Hunt, as the principal person in the village, always anxious to be the first to show his attention to a stranger, and particularly when that stranger was clothed in the dress of the pastor of the parish, waited upon him at the inn, where he had taken up his quarters, and not only invited him to dine, but also offered him a bed, and a stall for his horse, till he was better provided at the vicarage. Henry of course accompanied his father, and they had little difficulty in getting over the first introduction. He was a young man of easy manners and address, and without the least ceremony, accepted the invitation to dine, but he informed them that he had made a bargain, had taken lodgings, and intended to board with the landlady at the Swan, as he could not bear the thoughts of living in a dull country vicarage house by himself.

They attended the young minister to church, but he had previously informed Henry that he *would dash through the service in double quick time, and tip them a rattling sermon,* as a specimen of his style of oratory. He faithfully kept his



word; but he frankly owned that the sermon was not his own composition, but formed the first of a supply, which he had brought with him, sufficient to last during the whole time of his curacy. He appeared a clever thoughtless youth of twenty-five, and the rake stood confessed in his eye, and its effects sat visible upon his brow. After dinner he took his wine like a parson, and soon became so drunk, that he was utterly incapable of performing the afternoon duty, without exposing his situation to the whole congregation. Mr. Hunt was shocked at his indiscretion, and sent a hasty excuse to put off the afternoon service. As drunkenness was not encouraged, nor even tolerated in Mr. Hunt's house, he was very anxious to conceal the circumstance of the young parson having become so much intoxicated at his table as to be incapable of performing his duty; and he felt it the greater disgrace, as he was the principal churchwarden, as well as the principal parishioner. As he was unable to preach, Henry was deputed to take the reverend gentleman a walk into the fields, in order to sober him a little, before he was introduced into the drawing-room to the ladies. In the course of this walk he professed a very sincere and warm friendship for him, and promised himself a high degree of pleasure in his society. Henry soon discovered that he was, on certain subjects, not very becoming in a minister of the Gospel to be practically acquainted with, not a very fit companion for him, nor was he an individual, with whom he should like to see his sisters on an intimate footing.

He lived but a short time, having soon fallen a victim to his profligate course of life. He was a little more than a year the pastor of the parish, and he administered the sacrament, and performed all the other offices of the curate, when the effects of his drinking did not interfere with it, and, during this time, he always lodged at the public-house. He was a furious church and king-man, although a complete free-thinker over his cups, and would get drunk, and roar God save the king with any drunken loyalist in the district; and, to show his zeal in this way, he entered and served as a private, and dressed in the uniform of the Everly troop of yeomanry cavalry, which



was just then raised. He was, however, too enervated, and too emaciated to acquire any knowledge of the military exercise; and, what was rather remarkable, there was another young sprig of the church to keep him in countenance, who was also a private in the same troop of yeomanry. Although Henry sometimes made one of the bacchanalian party of the curate, yet he felt most severely the difference between his society and that of Mr. Carrington.

Upon the death of this infatuated young man, another curate was sent down by the vicar, who was the Rev. John Prince, chaplain to the Magdalen, and who it was thought would be more particular in the choice of those, to whom he entrusted the care of the souls of his parishioners. It was, however, soon found that the young curate had not been educated at Oxford for nothing, he had acquired the habit of taking his bottle, and as he had not a very hard head, he was frequently very much intoxicated before his more robust neighbours had scarcely got warmed with their glasses. He was then one of the completest fools in christendom; considering himself as great as a king; and always when he was most contemptible he fancied himself a very important personage, never failing to boast of the superiority of his education, and his having taken his degree at Christ Church. He lived but a short time, when the vicar despatched another curate, if possible, more addicted to drinking than either of the former two, forming in themselves a triumvirate of as finished drunkards as the country could produce.



## CHAPTER VI.

ABOUT this time, the country was in a complete state of commotion on account of the threatened invasion of the French. The ministers having granted large subsidies, and having imposed new taxes, found it necessary to frighten the people with the idea of the greater portion of them being murdered by the French monsters. Great alarm was therefore excited throughout the country; volunteer corps, and troops of yeomanry were raised in every part of the empire. The invasion was the only topic of the day; and Henry was one, who anticipated nothing less than an immediate attempt, and he therefore applied to his father, requesting him to purchase for him a proper charger, in order that he might become a member of a troop of yeomanry cavalry. His father expostulated, and strongly urged him to relinquish his intentions; but Henry replied, that he was ashamed to stand by, and to look on with his arms folded, while all the youth and vigour of the country were flying to arms, in order to repel the expected attempts of a desperate, and powerful invading foe. He endeavoured to convince Henry of the folly of his enthusiasm, urging that most of those, who had enrolled themselves in the yeomanry, were solely actuated by a desire to take care of their own property; that they were impelled to take up arms merely by selfish motives, without possessing a spark of the genuine *amor patriæ*. He recalled to Henry's recollection the immense sacrifices made by his forefather (Colonel Thomas Hunt), in the reign of the Charles's; he pointed out the noble domains and productive estates that were confiscated by Cromwell, in consequence of his ancestor's zeal in the cause of his prince, and he begged him to remember how he was rewarded for his services; asking him, at the same time, what reason he had to expect a better fate, or a higher reward than his forefather had obtained for all his exertions, dangers, and sacrifices, which were the



loss of his estates, and the ingratitude of the prince, whom he had so faithfully served.

All this might be, and was very true; but Henry reasoned with himself thus: "My forefather took up arms in favour of a tyrant, to support him in most arbitrary measures against his own countrymen; but my only wish is to arm myself against a foreign invader, whose great object, I am told, is to enslave, after having conquered, the people of my native land."

All reasoning with Henry was consequently thrown away; he had made up his mind not to stand idle, and be a passive looker-on in times, fraught with such danger to his country. The fervour of his youth had been worked upon by the delusion of the day, and it would not admit of any restraint. Without any further ceremony, therefore, in spite of his father's exhortations, he enrolled his name as a member of the Everly troop of yeomanry, under the command of the *gallant* Captain Astley. Henry knew the captain to be a poor creature, and as little cut out for a warrior as any man he had ever met. He was, indeed, built like Ajax; but, as for skill and valour, it was the belief of Henry that he was grossly deficient in both. Henry, however, did not entertain any great fear of being left to be led into the field of battle by the worthy captain; for, in case it should ever come to that issue, he had no doubt that proper and experienced officers would be appointed to lead them on.

Henry now bought for himself an excellent thoroughbred charger, nearly sixteen hands high; for he was determined to be as well mounted as any man in the regiment; and as he was well known to be a good rider, and a bold and determined fox-hunter, the captain was very much delighted with what he was pleased to call a wonderful acquisition to his corps.

Henry now enters upon his military services, and Captain Astley and Lieutenant Poore were despatched to London, for the purpose of equipping themselves in the uniform with which they were to captivate the ladies of the county, and frighten



the invaders from the shores of their native land. Henry's account of the proceedings of the officers of his corps will be read with some amusement, and they may be considered as a fair sample of the general run of officers, who took upon themselves the tremendous duty of playing at soldiers, and riding over women and children.

The officers having been very particular in getting their tailor, breeches-maker, boot, and even spur-maker, to fit them in the first style of fashion, they both appeared accoutred from head to toe at Edmond's Somerset Coffee-house, in the Strand, and really cut no small figure as they marched up and down the coffee-room. They would then take a turn down the Strand, as far as Exeter Change, and, if luckily for him, the keeper of the wild beasts had seen them, he might probably have made a good bargain by showing them amongst the other animals which were at that place exhibited to the wondering multitude. They next showed off in full uniform, with their broad swords by their sides, in the front boxes of Drury-lane Theatre, and as the Wiltshire was one of the first regiments of yeomanry that was raised and clothed, they excited no small curiosity amongst the Londoners. On the morning of their departure, they entered the coffee-room in all their trappings, and having each purchased a brace of pistols, they appeared eager to begin the campaign, without waiting for the arrival of the French troops; and as Clark and Haines, two notorious highwaymen, were at that time levying their nightly contributions upon Hounslow Heath, they more than hinted their intention of capturing or killing those desperadoes, in case they should fall in with them during their march down into the country, which, as considering themselves personages of great importance, they had given due notice of their intention to commence on that very afternoon.

About two o'clock, the captain's travelling carriage and four was brought to the door of the coffee-house, the gazers-on being rather alarmed at their warlike appearance, and war-disposed manner and language. Having seated themselves, with all their military finery in the carriage, they carefully



placed their two brace of horse-pistols in the front pocket, taking especial care to leave the but-ends sticking out, which had a most threatening and alarming appearance to every eye that surveyed them. A crowd, to the great satisfaction of the officers, were collected round the carriage to witness the departure of these mighty warriors, whose appearance denoted a most determined conflict, in case any thing should occur to give them an opportunity of showing how worthy they were to command, and to lead into the heat of battle a body of their countrymen, who were "seeking reputation even in the cannon's mouth."

About four o'clock they arrived at the Bush, at Staines, having taken care to pass Hounslow Heath, the anticipated scene of their first gallant exploit, by daylight. Having by this piece of good generalship escaped the danger so far, they slept that night at Staines, and on the following morning, being Sunday, having equipped themselves in their military array, they took up their pistols, which had been placed by them on the table, and then adjourned into the garden, where they showed to the gazing, staring postillions and hostlers that they had courage enough to fire off their pistols, and being in their own minds convinced that they would never be fired so as to make an impression upon any object, they very properly selected one on this occasion, on which, although their aim might have been correct, yet the impression would not be perceptible. The object which they selected as their mark was no other than the river Thames. Some little alarm was, however, felt by the passengers on the bridge, who, not having any great confidence in the skill and dexterity of the gallant officers, and suspecting that, as it was evident they made no impression on the river, they might afterwards choose the bridge as the next most convenient object to perforate with their balls, very prudently hurried over, to the great wonder and astonishment of all the spectators, who were witnessing the exploits of the warriors, and congratulating themselves with the certainty of the French getting a hearty drubbing from such bold and redoubtable soldiers.



to halt, deliberately demanded their money and watches. The heroes looked at each other, and then at their pistols; but for some reason unaccountable to both of them at the time, neither of them had the power of putting forth a hand to grasp either of them. The highwayman again harshly demanded his prize, which was immediately granted, the gallant officers handing over to him their purses, containing about sixty guineas, and two valuable family gold watches. Sir John Poore was the first to recover from his fright; and as there are few situations in life in which some consolation is not to be found, although we may not go exactly so far as St. Augustine, who declared that he could find some consolation even under damnation, yet Lieutenant Poore proceeded to condole with his companion, by repeating the well-known lines of Hudibras :—

“ He that fights and runs away,  
May live to fight another day;  
But he that is in battle slain,  
Can never live to fight again.”

Captain Astley, who was too much absorbed in ruminating upon his melancholy situation, to give his friend any other answer to his consolatory effusion than a long and deep drawn sigh, could not but most sensibly feel that they were in a worse plight than the knight of the rueful countenance ever was, for they had run away without having made any fight at all, whereas the knight never ran away until he had received a hearty drubbing. So ashamed, however, were they of their misadventure, that they would not have mentioned it to any one, had they not been compelled to disclose it to the landlords of the different inns where they had to stop, for the unmannerly fellow had not left them even a shilling to pay the turnpikes.

When they arrived at Everley, Sir John Poore was ashamed to face the troop, to tell them the story of their gallant exploit, although the whole of them were assembled in the field, anxious to see their commanders equipped in their new uniforms. All the golden dreams of glory seemed to Sir John to have vanished by this unlucky affair, and nothing could induce him



CAPT ASSTLEY'S CIRCUIT-TOOK ATTACHED BY AN HIGHWAYMAN  
on Hounslow Heath







to show himself off to his troop, though his charger was ready to convey him to the field, and he was urged by all the expostulations and entreaties of the captain. He, therefore, sneaked off home to Rushall, and left the gallant captain to make the best of a bad bargain by himself.

In the mean time, the troop had been manœuvring, charging, and wheeling, till they were almost all tired, waiting for this exhibition. At length, they were informed of the disaster, by one of the serjeants, who had called at the captain's house, to know what was the matter; but the mighty hero himself appeared shortly in view, mounted upon his charger, riding solemnly towards the troop, dressed in full uniform. Some admired the dress, some pitied the loss sustained by the poor captain; but Hunt, and many of those, who surrounded him, although they felt the deep disgrace, which had befallen their commander, could scarcely contain themselves with laughter, at the ridiculous figure which he cut, particularly when the event of the robbery came across their thoughts. They had often heard of a hog in armour, but never before had they seen any thing that appeared to convey the representation so much to their minds, as their captain in his military dress.

The very first field-day called to the recollection of Henry Hunt the sentiments of his father, and the worthy clergyman Mr. Carrington, as to the real patriotism of these yeomanry corps. Their conversation was entirely about keeping up the price of corn, and keeping down the price of wages; and, at the same time, keeping in subjugation the labourers, and silencing their dissatisfaction. As he rode home from the field the first day, he felt there was too much truth in the assertions of Mr. Carrington and his father; still, however, he was determined to do his duty to the best of his power, without troubling himself about the views and motives of his comrades; and likewise at all times to resist, with all his influence, any act of aggression or oppression that might be attempted, come from whatever quarter it might. Nor was he less resolved to be always ready at a short notice to meet the enemy, whenever he should be called upon.



Within one month after he had been in this troop, the labourers of Enford, and the adjoining parishes, smarting under the privations and sufferings they had to endure, in consequence of the rise in the price of provisions, and the low rate of wages, which latter, many of the farmers had agreed to keep down to the old standard, and urged on also by those, who ought to have known better, and who, instead of secretly exciting their poorer neighbours to acts of desperation, ought to have come forward manfully to assert their rights. The labourers, under the secret influence of a designing man or two, all struck their work, and assembling in a large body, they openly avowed their intention to pull down several mills, which were pointed out, as well as to burn the corn-ricks of certain obnoxious individuals. Henry Hunt had been a few days absent from home, and when he returned, he found some of the neighbouring farmers assembled at his father's, in the greatest consternation. Some of those, whose property was pointed out, for destruction were present, and although none of his father's property was threatened, yet several of his servants had joined the rioters, who were assembled to the number of two or three hundred, and were proceeding towards Netheravon, where they meant to regale themselves at the public house till the evening, when the work of destruction was to begin. Each farmer fled to his home, to save whatever he could, but all was in the greatest dismay.

Mr. Hunt, who, as well as his son Henry, had been devising means to prevent, if possible, the threatened mischief, now said "though none of our property menaced though we have had no share in oppressing the men, and though those, who by their arbitrary and overbearing conduct to their servants, have greatly contributed to produce this state of things, are now, that the danger approaches, the first to fly from it, and consequently, for their past infamously bad treatment of their labourers, and their recent cowardice, almost deserve what they have brought upon themselves, and that they should be left to their fate; yet, my son, it is our duty, even if it were only in pity to the poor misguided men themselves, to



endeavour to avert by some prompt measure, if possible, the threatened calamity." He added, "we must be *prompt*, or our efforts will be in vain.

Mr. Hunt was now informed, that two men had been despatched to one of the shepherds upon the downs, who had refused to join the rioters in the morning, to compel him to leave his sheep, and join them in their destructive plans. Henry expressed his determination to proceed immediately to the rescue of the shepherd, but his father advised him not to waste his time by encountering such ruffians, but to ride with all speed, to the only efficient magistrate in the neighbourhood, Mr. Webb, of Milton, and procure a warrant for the apprehension of Freeman, one of their carters, who had left his horses and joined the rioters. "For," said Mr. Hunt, "if we are armed with a warrant from the civil power, I think we shall stand a much better chance of preventing mischief, and perhaps bloodshed, than by anything that will be done by the yeomanry, but I doubt very much, whether the latter will muster at all, although the alarmed parties are flying in all directions, to the officers Astley, Poore and Dyke," all of whom, were also magistrates. Henry mounted his horse, and galloped off to Mr. Webb.

As he was passing up a field, belonging to his father's estate, he saw two fellows, who were proceeding towards the shepherd, to induce him to leave his flock. Although he had made up his mind not to interfere with their scheme, but to go direct to the magistrate, yet, as they were not much out of his way, he could not resist the temptation he felt to check their progress. He therefore galloped up to them to demand, by what right they were walking over private property, they at once, boldly avowed their object to be to induce the shepherd to leave his flock, and join the rioters at Netheravon. He briefly expostulated with them, asking if they really meant to compel the man to go against his will; they replied, certainly, that he had refused to accompany them in the morning, but they had now come to a determination that he should go. As Henry found them resolute any further parley was in vain,



and he therefore jumped from his horse, and placing himself before them, he demanded that they should instantly desist, for they should not proceed any farther without violence. They nevertheless advanced boldly, but they were instantly knocked down by two blows from the muscular arm of Henry; one of them remained quietly on the ground, the other rose to commence a conflict, but he was instantly levelled to the earth again, and they then both declared, that they would return with all speed, and leave the shepherd unmolested, if Henry would spare them. He only demanded that they should brush off in double quick time, with which they complied, never stopping to look behind them. This certainly was a very hasty, although a very successful method of taking the law into his own hands, but the case was desperate, and would not admit of any common remedy.

On his arrival at Milton, Henry found Mr. Webb, the worthy and truly efficient magistrate at home, the oath was administered, the warrant made out in a few minutes, and in an hour and a quarter he was again at home. He found his father waiting for him, with the tything-man of Littlecot, Mr. Davis, an old gentleman upwards of seventy years of age, and, as Henry had been made a special constable to execute the warrant, not a moment was lost in proceeding to the scene of action. The triumvirate soon reached Netheravon, where they were informed by the Rev. Mr. Williams, that the men, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, had taken possession of a large skittle ground, at the back of the Red Lion public house; that the whole of them had been drinking for an hour to inspirit them, before they put in execution the devastating scenes that they had contemplated. Henry contrived to communicate with the landlord, who said that the men were so far intoxicated, that he dared not refuse them beer, and that they had taken forcible possession of his cellar; nothing, however, would give him greater relief, than to get quit of such troublesome and desperate customers. Henry immediately formed a plan to get them out of the skittle ground, and then to lock the doors, and keep them out of the public house, away



from intoxicating liquors, of which they had taken too much. He proposed to go into the skittle ground with Davis, the old constable, and sieze Truman, for whose apprehension the warrant was granted, and Henry had no doubt, that if he could get him into the street, the others would follow him in order to effect a rescue; as soon as this was effected, the people in the Red Lion were to bolt and lock all their doors, and thus keep them out of the house: this was considered to be a dangerous and a desperate undertaking, but the whole affair was one of a perilous nature; things were drawing fast to a crisis, and it was of no use to doubt or deliberate.

Henry having formed his plan, insisted upon it that his father, who was then sixty years of age, should remain outside with the horses. Followed by the old constable, with his staff of office in his hand, Henry entered, and they had got up to Truman, who was in the midst of them, before they were as yet scarcely perceived by many of the group, who were drinking, and busily arranging their plan of operations. Henry shewed the warrant, and having seized Truman by the collar, who turned as pale as ashes, he told him, he must come instantly with him, and before he had time to reply, or even say a word, he was hurried through his companions, and Henry, with the most determined boldness, had already brought him to the door of the yard, when the whole posse came running after him, and had actually got hold of him, before he was quite out of the door. With one resolute struggle, however, they dragged him by main force into the street, and as he had anticipated, the whole of the rioters rushed forward, and made a desperate effort to rescue him. Henry knew them all, and notwithstanding they began to use violence, he held his prisoner firm, till he saw that they were all clear of the yard, and all the doors of the public-house were closed. His father and Davis were enabled to come to his assistance, although he was now surrounded by the whole gang. Although Henry never felt more cool and confident in his life, yet the situation was not only one of danger, but of difficulty. The principal object, however, being obtained, and the plan



having succeeded, almost to a miracle; Henry had now only to identify some of the most determined and violent; and four of those, whom he knew perfectly well, two of them being his own work people, having proceeded to collar Henry, whilst the others used considerable force to relieve Truman from the grasp he had taken of his collar, he at last yielded him up to their overpowering numbers, at the same time earnestly recommending them to disperse, and retire to their homes, as the military were sent for, and expected to arrive every moment. Truman was one of the first to fly; he returned to his occupation immediately, and, in a very short time afterwards, the whole of them had dispersed in different directions; though they might have proceeded with impunity, for aught the yeomanry did, or would do, they never having assembled at all, and in fact, although Henry was in the troop himself, he never thought of sending for them.

Mr. Hunt, his son, and the old constable Davis, now returned home, not a little elated with the success of their exertions, in dispersing these deluded and desperate men. Mr. Hunt, however, observed, "that it would not do to let the matter rest there, that the persons, whom he had seen use great personal violence to his son, who was acting as a peace officer, must be taught that they were not to violate the laws with impunity, and he urged the propriety of Henry obtaining a warrant to take them before the magistrate, to answer for the breach of the peace which they had committed, by assaulting him in the execution of a warrant." Mr. Hunt added, "that leaving their work, assembling at the public-house, and even obtaining the beer almost by force, might have been overlooked, particularly as no serious mischief had followed; but the forcible and violent rescue, and resistance to the execution of a warrant of the magistrate, could not be overlooked; if they even were disposed to do so, it would be an insult to Mr. Webb, the magistrate who had granted it, and if they treated him, who was the only real efficient magistrate in the district with disrespect, they could not expect that he would be disposed, in future, to attend so promptly to their representations."



Acting upon the advice of his father, Henry obtained a warrant for the apprehension of Truman, and four others, who had either struck, or laid violent hands upon him. He was about to proceed, with Davis the constable, to apprehend the culprits, when four of the gentlemen of the yeomanry cavalry of the county, rode boldly into the yard, and up to the door like *brave* troopers, having nothing to fear either within or without, saying, that they heard of Mr. Henry Hunt having a warrant, for the apprehension of some of the rioters, and that they were sent by Captain Astley to aid and assist in the execution of it; adding, that they were provided with ball-cartridge, &c., and some to spare for Mr. Henry Hunt, if he chose to saddle his charger, and take his holsters. Henry could not avoid asking the heroes, with rather a sarcastic smile, "where they had kept themselves over night, and why Captain Astley had not either come or sent some of the troop, when there was some real danger, and not waited until all the parties had separated, and when there was little difficulty in securing the most desperate of the rioters." Henry added, "that as he had not made any military show, by dressing himself in his regimentals, when there was a real riot, he should at all events, trust to the constable's staff, now it was all peaceable." and he begged them to return to their officers with that message.

The five persons were accordingly apprehended, and they were committed the same night, by Mr. Webb, to prison for want of bail, although they begged very hard for mercy, in which Henry himself joined most heartily; but the worthy magistrate would not listen to their entreaty, it then wanting only a month to the autumn assizes, and Henry Hunt was therefore bound over to prosecute them, much against his inclinations, as he thereby lost, at least, three valuable servants during the harvest; and as they appeared sensible of their error, he, for his own part, was contented to let them depart to their homes, but the magistrate was inexorable, declaring it to be too serious an affair to be pardoned without the interposition of a jury.



A true bill was found against them by the grand jury at the assizes, and they were put to the bar. Henry Hunt appeared against them, but employed no counsel, the culprits had engaged Mr. Jekyl, at that period, one of the most eminent counsel on the western circuit. He made, on their behalf, a most eloquent appeal to the jury; he called some witnesses to their characters, but none appearing, Henry Hunt offered, himself, to give three of them, who had been his father's servants, a character for sobriety and industry, with which the court and counsel appeared much pleased: their case went to the jury, who instantly found them all guilty of the rescue and assault, upon which, Henry Hunt addressed the court as the prosecutor, and petitioned that they might be restored to their afflicted families, promising at the same time, to take them back immediately, into the situations, which they had before occupied in his father's service. The humane judge, who participated in the prosecutor's feelings, after having given them a suitable admonition, and called their attention to the disinterested kindness, which the prosecutor had shown towards them, telling them, they were entirely indebted to his humanity, for the lenity which would be given them, and after paying a most gratifying compliment to Mr. Henry Hunt, the culprits were dismissed, with the punishment of a fine of one shilling each, which was immediately paid by Mr. Hunt himself. "The whole court" says Mr. Hunt, in his own description of the circumstances, "were loud in their praises of my behaviour upon this occasion, but I felt ten thousand times more satisfaction in doing a generous act, than I did in all the compliments which were bestowed upon me. I took the men into my father's service directly, and I can safely say, that I never for one moment since, had any reason to repent the exertions I made to save them from punishment. Some of them lived many years in my service, and Truman remained with me as long as I was in the farming business, and actually was one of those, who followed me out of Wiltshire into Sussex, when I went to reside there, a distance of a hundred and twenty miles."



It will not be irrelevant here, to investigate the propriety, or even the expediency of the prosecution of these men, although a great deal can be said against it, but the subject has been particularly dwelt upon, for the purpose of giving Mr. Hunt an opportunity of expressing his own feelings, when a prisoner in Ilchester jail, in contrast with those by which he was animated, when he obtained the liberation of the rioters, and also of instituting a comparison of the conduct, which he pursued, when a prosecutor, to that, which his prosecutors observed towards him.

Dilating on this circumstance of his life, Mr. Hunt says, "I am writing this account in my dungeon, at eleven o'clock at night, (he was then in Ilchester jail) on the 20th of September, 1820, and it is impossible for any one, who reads it, not to draw a comparison between my conduct, and that of my persecutors. I would not part with the sweet delightful reflection, which the remembrance of this ONE act of my life conveys to my mind, for all the wealth in the possession of those, who have been concerned in consigning me to be incarcerated without mercy in this dungeon for TWO YEARS and SIX MONTHS; according to some men's calculation, full one quarter of the remaining part of my natural life. Let the reader only consider the spirit which I acted towards those, who had violated the laws of their country, by resisting with force the warrant of a magistrate, and who had violently assaulted the peace officer, in his duty in executing that warrant, and then contrast it with the vindictive proceedings against me, for having attended a public meeting, legally and constitutionally assembled to remonstrate with the throne, against the cruel privations and sufferings of the people, where no breach of the peace was committed, where not even the slightest resistance was made or even premeditated against the civil power, 'look at this picture and look at that.'

"I have had the consolation of being repeatedly thanked in the most earnest manner by these poor fellows for my humanity in interposing with the court to spare them from punishment, but I have felt a still much higher pleasure, when



they have offered up their thanks to me for having ventured my life, to snatch them from the gallows, when they were incautiously about to rush into them, by pulling down mills and burning wheat ricks. These men might well have been called poor deluded creatures; they were literally deluded, and those, who urged them on, were also deluded by what was then called the liberal part of the press. In fact, almost the whole daily press of that period, united in a conspiracy to mislead the people, by railing at, and exciting the multitude against butchers, bakers, and farmers, to whom, not only the fools, but the knaves of the daily press, attributed the high price of provisions. The liberal part of the press were so ignorant and so besotted, as to vomit forth its daily denunciations against the avariciousness of millers, butchers, bakers, and farmers, and to endeavour to inflame the minds of the suffering people, by teaching them that these persons conspired to keep up the prices of provisions to an unnatural height, solely to put money into their own pockets. The ministerial press of that day, under the controul of Pitt, (and he was cunning enough to contrive to bribe almost all the talent belonging to the press) chimed in ding-dong with their less cunning opponents, for they knew it was Pitt's policy to draw the public attention from the real cause of the distress, and of the high price of provisions, which they were well aware was the enormous increase of the taxes, and by the joint efforts of the whig and tory press, (for there was no other at that time) they contrived to delude the poor people, the lower orders to such a degree, that there was seldom half a year passed away without a considerable number of persons being consigned to an untimely end, for having been concerned in wreaking their vengeance upon some miller, farmer, butcher, or baker, or other dealer in human food. These poor fellows might truly be styled the *deluded* multitude, and the *deluders*, the conductors of the public press, were but too successful in their efforts to continue them in ignorance."

We must here be allowed to make a few comments on this part of Mr. Hunt's narrative, and it is done with a disposition,



that although we may coincide with him in the general principles of his political conduct, yet acting upon the fair system of impartiality, there are certain of his observations so decidedly inconsistent and in direct variance with his own immediate sentiments previously expressed, that we cannot pass over them without some particular notice. Thus we read, that on his joining the yeomanry, he discovered the opinion of his father, to be verified, that it was not the immediate *amor patriæ* which led to the enrolment of the majority of the members in the corps, but that they were chiefly actuated for the protection of their own property, and further, that he discovered, on his first joining the corps that the principal object which appeared to engross the attention of his comrades, was the manner in which they could keep up the high price of provisions, and at the same time lower the wages of the labourers. Can it then, be a matter of surprise if the *lower orders* according to Mr. Hunt's own showing, imbibed a prejudice against those men, who were using every endeavour to keep up the price of the provisions, and again to augment their misery, by lowering their wages? Government attempted to relieve the people by offering 20s bounty per quarter on all corn imported from the Mediterranean, 15s. per quarter on that from America, and 5s. per quarter on English corn; bills were also passed for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain, and for facilitating the cultivation of waste lands. In the following passage, Mr. Hunt is made to say, that the sufferings of the people were roused by the delusions of the public press, but if the public press adhered to the statement of facts, the truth of which, is corroborated by Mr. Hunt himself, they cannot be called delusions, but an exposition of the actual circumstances of the times.

“Thus,” says Mr. Hunt, “let any sober-minded, rational, sensible man, only look back to the columns of the public press, in the years 1795-96, the ‘Times’ for instance; let him take a file of the Times of that day, and for many, many years after that, even up to 1815 and 1816, and



compare the language, the style, and the tenor of their articles, with the language of the present day, (Mr. Hunt is now speaking of the year 1820) in the same papers. How many riots, how many hangings, how many special commissions we can trace back, all proceeding from the delusions of the public press!! How many persons have lost their lives for plundering, pulling down, and burning the property of millers, butchers, and bakers; how much blood has been spilt, every drop of which may be fairly placed at the door of those, who urged these poor fellows on, and instigated them to acts of violence against those classes of persons, by falsely accusing them of being the cause of the high price of provisions."

✓ | It must be admitted that the period of which Mr. Hunt is now writing, was one of the most important and critical, which this country ever experienced. We can make every allowance for his antipathy to the public press, for certainly he never was befriended by it; but to attribute the sufferings of the people to the public press, is a mere delusion and prejudice; nor is he correct in his statement, that the butchers and bakers were the objects of the vindictive spirit of the populace. The English people have always been gifted with such a stock of discernment, as to know that the butcher and the baker are mere middle men; they are the purchasers of the property from the growers, and if the latter enter into a combination to uphold the price of the articles of their growth, it cannot be laid to the charge of the middle men, if they be obliged to demand a price for their articles, commensurate to that, which the grower exacts. One of the chief causes, however, of the severe pressure of those times arose from the spirit of monopoly, which is even existing at the present day. We mean not to speak disrespectfully of a set of men, who if their outward garb and demeanour are to be taken as the standard of their inward sanctity and integrity, may carry away the palm from all their fellow men;—but it is not less extraordinary than it is true, that the spirit of monopoly appears to be more deeply rooted in the quakers, than in any other body of men in the commercial world, and the great mis-



fortune is, that they have chosen a commodity, namely corn, as the object of their monopolising spirit, which has in several instances, been the means of entailing want and pressure upon the community. The corn market in Mark-lane, without an abundance of broad-brimmed hats, unlapelled coats, buckled shoes, and the demure, sanctified, and hypocritical countenance of the quaker, would be as rare a sight, as the immediate purlieus of Westminster Hall during term time, without the cauliflower wigs, worsted gowns, red bags and blue bags, of the hateful tribe of lawyers. Possessed in themselves, individually and as a body, of enormous wealth, with a deep and cunning tact in all matters of commercial dealing, where their interests are concerned, joined to an almost unlimited credit, which they can obtain by the proverbial integrity of their dealings, the quakers have for a length of time had the controul of the corn market, and they can regulate its prices accordingly, as they have succeeded in producing a scarcity in the market by the power of their insatiable monopolising spirit. At the period of which Mr. Hunt is speaking, the stock of corn in the country was chiefly in the hands of the quakers, and they doled it out to the public in such quantities as to keep them from actual starvation, but not sufficient to supply a moiety of the demand. The facility of procuring discounts at that time, also tended to aggravate the evil, for such a spirit of confidence then existed in the mercantile world, that paper credit was tantamount to the possession of actual property, and the farmer, who wished to hoard his corn for a further advance in the price, had only to repair to a country bank to obtain all the accommodation he required. These subjects are however, briefly touched upon, to show that the distresses of these times of which Mr. Hunt is speaking, did not arise so much from the delusions of the press, although they might partly contribute to it, as from a combination of causes over which the press, comparatively speaking, could not possess any controul.

In the following description of his juvenile years, we will allow Mr. Hunt to enact the part of the egotist, considering



that the circumstances would lose the chief part of their interest, if given in any other terms than those, in which he has dressed them.

“I was now,” he says, “incessant in my application to every branch of the farming business, and as I have before intimated, I performed prodigies of labour upon various occasions. My father had taken another very large farm, nearly a thousand acres, and was therefore become one of the largest farmers in England; yet we managed this business with the greatest ease, and what others called very severe labour, I practised as a relaxation from business, such as learning the cavalry exercise, in which I had now become a considerable adept, in fact, I had the character of being one of the most active, and at the same time one of the most powerful young men in the county, and my feats of activity and strength were proverbial. I would mix in the frolics of a country wake or revel, as they are called in Wiltshire, and contend, generally successfully, with the first proficient of the day, in wrestling, jumping in sacks, backsword, or single-stick playing, and have borne off many a prize. I once went to a Whitsantide revel with my friend and partner Jesse Carter, of Upavon, and I believe we bore off every prize; the gold-laced hat, as the wrestling prize; the gold-laced hat, as the backsword prize; a pair of buck-skin breeches, the prize for jumping or running in sacks; the old cheese, the bowling prize; and eleven half-crowns, the prize played for at cricket in the morning; indeed I and Carter obtained every prize, and as I gained the majority, of course I had the choice of the fairest damsel in the village at the dance in the evening. There was no exercise, no exertion, no labour that ever fatigued me, I could, and did often, work all day and dance all night, and this at particular festive seasons of the year, I have followed for a week or ten days together, without even taking off my clothes to go to bed. There was no excess of labour, heat or cold, winter or summer that ever hurt me. I remember once going up stairs, about ten o'clock, with the rest of my father's family, but instead of going to bed, I dressed



myself, descended the window by a ladder, mounted my horse and rode to Upper Collingborn, where I had been invited to a dance, a distance of ten miles, and having danced till three o'clock in the morning I returned home, mounted the ladder into the window, and had just changed my best for my working clothes, when my father called me, as the clock struck four to get up, upon which I was out the first of the family, and time enough to remove the ladder before any one saw it, so that the circumstance was never known to any one."

"The young parson of the parish was generally my companion on these occasions, but as he was his own master, he went to, and returned from the dance at his leisure, in fact he generally got too intoxicated before the evening was over to return home, and therefore usually slept out."

From these scenes of festivity and hilarity, Henry Hunt was now called "to show his mettle in the tented field," and to flesh his maiden sword amongst the clod-poles, carters and ploughmen of his native county. Symptoms of rioting having appeared at Salisbury, occasioned in some degree by the conduct of cornet Dyke, of the Everley troop of yeomanry cavalry, in consequence of his having been instrumental in causing the little bushel of the Winchester measure of eight gallons, to be introduced generally in the county of Wilts, instead of the old bushel which contained nine gallons, and in some instances ten. The windows of cornet Dyke's carriage were broken, and the vehicle was otherwise injured, as he was escaping out of the town towards his house in the afternoon. This was a great offence and was not to be borne; to pelt squire Dyke, the gallant cornet of the Everly troop was such a heinous and daring outrage, that it could not, consistently with their honour, be suffered to pass with impunity, and every one in the neighbourhood was made to tremble for the fate of the rioters. Every member of the troop, and Henry Hunt of course, amongst the rest, received a formal summons to be in readiness to join on the following Tuesday, to march to Salisbury to quell any riot that might take place, and at all events, to guard their gallant cornet, Mr. Dyke, while he went to the market to sell his corn.



The affair got wind and was the general topic of conversation all over that part of the county, it was also blazoned that the Everley troop had received orders, and meant to march to Salisbury on the next market day, there to join the Salisbury troop for the purpose of chastising the temerity of the disorderly multitude. The bloody conflict that was anticipated, caused many a manly heart to palpitate, and many a rosy cheek to lose its blooming colour, and to be overspread with a pale sallow hue. The mighty battles that had caused such a sensation throughout the whole of the civilised world, the terrors that had been created by the combats, which had been fought by Moreau, Jourdan, and Wurmser, and all the other great generals upon the continent, were entirely forgotten, or thought but little of in the vicinity of Amesbury and Everley. Nothing was talked of or meditated upon, but the expected dreadful battle of Salisbury; the quivering and almost bloodless lip of every one, who ventured to speak upon the subject, showed visible signs of terror and dismay; every face indeed seemed to give "dreadful note of preparation."

It will be recollected that Mr. Dyke was as yet only a Cornet in the troop, and of course it was contemplated, as is usual upon these occasions amongst the subalterns of the army, previously to an engagement, that in case of a warm contest, there would be promotion. Mr. Dyke, or rather Cornet Dyke, rode over to Captain Astley, to inform him of what had happened, and requested him to give an order for the summoning of the troop, to muster on the following Tuesday, and the place of rendezvous was fixed at Cornet Dyke's house, it being on the road to Salisbury. The gallant Captain complied immediately, and the orderly-man was hurried off to inform the different members of the corps in time, that they might be prepared and well equipped by the important day, so that all of them had nearly a whole week to ponder upon the probable chances of the approaching conflict. The whole week was spent in surmises how it would all end, some longed for the fray, others were preparing for the worst, and occupied their time in settling their worldly affairs, so that making of wills was the best trade going for that week.



The elder Mr. Hunt, who knew all the parties well, kept up his spirits, for he at once confidently asserted that there would be no blood spilt, while the troop was under the command of his neighbour Captain Astley, and he really carried his jokes so far, that Henry was sometimes almost disposed to be angry himself. "Ah my dear boy," he said, "it is very well for you, that our friend Carrington is gone to Berkely Castle, for if he were here, he would laugh till his sides cracked to hear what is going on." Henry demanded the reason of his opinion, "why," said he, "your gallant Captain is run away already; *he is gone to Boreham.*" The fact was, that as soon as Dyke had left the Captain, he called his favourite servant Douse, without whose advice he never did anything at that time, and having related the object of Cornet Dyke's visit, he said, "What say you Douse to this affair?" "why," replied Douse, "d——n the Cornet, he has got into the scrape, and let him get out of it himself in the best way he can." Douse gave this advice more for the safety of his own person than for the honour of his master, for Douse, who was the groom, and the constant attendant of the Captain, fancied that he himself began to smell powder already, besides he knew his man well, and also that his advice would be acceptable. He was right in his calculation, for the Captain, drawing himself up, said, "You are right, Douse, d——n the fellow, as you say, let him fight his own battles, and get out of his own scrapes, as well as he can,—but what shall I do, Douse, what excuse shall I make?" "O," says Douse, "order your carriage and go to Boreham, and then you know you will be from home, and that will be a sufficient excuse." A beam of pleasure sparkled in the Captain's eye, and he at once adopted the faithful valet's advice. He then wrote to Sir John Poore, telling him he should not attend at Salisbury, as business of a particular nature called him to Boreham. This soon got buzzed about, and it was ever afterwards a bye word amongst the members of the troop, when any one had sneaked out of performing his duty, "he's gone to Boreham."

The Lieutenant took the hint of his Captain, and wrote to



the Cornet to say, that he had particular business that required his presence in London, whither he was going on the following day. This desertion in the hour of danger of their Captain and Lieutenant, flew like lightning through the district. It was a constant theme of ridicule with Henry's father, who lost no opportunity to jeer his son respecting his military exploits, hoping thereby to disgust him with a service, which was established for some political purpose, although the avowed intent of it was the invasion, which by the more rational and reflecting part of the community, began to be look'd upon as a phantom got up to alarm the people, and to withdraw their attention from other circumstances, the woeful effects of which are now grievously felt by their successors. "However," said Mr. Hunt to his son, "although your Captain is at Boreham, and your Lieutenant in London, you have still your Cornet left, and he is so prudent, so circumspect a man, that I'll warrant you, no harm will come to any of you."

At length the awful morning arrived, and from the continued strain of ridicule in which Mr. Hunt indulged, relative to the services of the yeomanry, and, particularly, the gallantry of the officers, Henry had in reality imbibed a good deal of his father's notion of the thing, and he began to think that the whole business of the Salisbury campaign, would after all, turn out very little better than a hoax, or something for the public to laugh at. Henry did not much like the object of the expedition, neither did he relish the idea of going to draw his sword upon a defenceless, unarmed multitude;—but still his father appeared to be inexhaustible in his ridicule; he called the yeomanry, old women frighteners, and he quoted first some farewell lines in Pope's Homer, addressed by Hector to Adromache, before he went out to meet Achilles; then he quoted Hudibras, and then he would give a few lines of the character of Falstaff, and then again of Bobadil. The momentous day was however come, and Henry mounted in good time to proceed to the rendezvous at the Cornet's house at Sycenoot. As he rode along with some of his comrades, he could not avoid cracking a few jokes about the nature of their



expedition., and the un-soldier-like service on which they were about to be employed. Henry was particularly struck with the serious, or rather gloomy appearance of his neighbour and friend John Coward of Longstreet, whose character was strongly suspected to bear a particular degree of homogeneity with his name. His visage was somewhat of the Don Quixote school, but on this occasion it appeared to have increased in length, and the little colour which flushed his cheeks, when overlooking the ploughmen, had now given way to an ashy paleness, and the tender pathetic manner, in which he took leave of his dear Jenny, at the door, was a genuine specimen of the mock heroic. At length, he entreated Henry, not to make fun of such a momentous and solemn undertaking; then fetching a deep sigh, he said he prayed to God that it might all end well, and that no lives might be lost.

In this mood, the brave and gallant troopers arrived in front of Cornet Dyke's house; they were invited to alight, and take some refreshment. They had, to be sure, lost their Captain and Lieutenant, but they consoled themselves with the idea, that they had got their Cornet safe; that he could not run away, and leave them in the lurch, although Mr. Coward had thrown out some dark hints as they came along, by which it appeared there was some hope in his mind, that something would yet turn up to prevent them from marching at once to danger and to glory, and it was distinctly visible, that he was quite willing to forego all the flattering rewards of the latter, if he could only be sure of escaping the former.

When they entered the house, they found such of their comrades, who had arrived before them, seated round a table, enjoying a handsome cold collation, which was spread out for the occasion. This being the first time that the Cornet had ever given a treat of any sort to the troop, it was hailed by some as an auspicious omen. Time was however gliding rapidly away, and the troop were desirous to commence their march to the scene of action, many of them being quite pot-valiant, and anxious to flesh their maiden swords amongst the turbulent rioters of Salisbury. Having waited for a considerable



time, and the Cornet not making his appearance, Henry Hunt took the liberty to ring the bell, and desire the servant to inform his master, that they were all in readiness to start, and waited only for their commander. The servant went up stairs to deliver the message, but still no Cornet appeared,—in spite of the frowns and rebukes of some of the older members of the corps, Henry Hunt rang the bell a second time, and begged the servant to let them know whether his master was coming or not.

All his father's observations now came probably across his mind; he began to think that the quotations from Hudibras and Shakspeare had too much truth in them, and he prepared himself for some extraordinary conduct on the part of their commander. The last message had the desired effect. After they had been anxiously waiting for more than an hour, the door at length opened, and in walked the Cornet, but instead of being dressed in *armour* "to follow to the field some war-like lord," he had not got on even his *regimentals*. To their utter astonishment, confusion and dismay, instead of marching firmly forth armed *cap-a-pié*, with nodding plume, and his bright trusty steel girt round his loins, eager for the fight, lo! and behold, he crept slowly and solemnly along, *clad in a long flannel dressing gown and a pair of scarlet slippers*. The whole troop were stricken motionless, and every one, as he involuntarily rose, appeared to dart a look of eager inquiry, without being able to open his lips. At length the trembling coward broke silence, and in a faltering under-tone he spoke, or rather whined as follows;—"Gentlemen, I am very sorry for having kept you waiting so long, but—"

"Never mind sir, about any apology," said one of the troop, "but put on your regimentals as fast as you can, or we shall get to Salisbury after all the mischief is done."

The Cornet proceeded. "I am very sorry, gentlemen;—it is very unlucky—very unfortunate indeed, but about three o'clock this morning *I was suddenly seized with such a violent pain in my bowels*, that Mrs. Dyke says, it will be very imprudent for me to leave the house in *my present state*, for fear



of catching cold, and in fact, I think so too, and she insists upon it, that I shall not go with you."

In the midst of this affecting scene, Hunt was also suddenly seized, but rather in a different way from the Cornet, for an appropriate couplet, which his father had repeated in the morning, and with which at the moment he was very angry, now came so forcibly across his memory, that not being able to suppress his feelings, he burst out into what is, vulgarly called, a horse laugh, in which he was joined by some others of his comrades.

The poor Cornet, however, piteously proceeded, and said, "that he was really very sorry for it, but as it could not now be helped, he trusted that the troop would proceed under the command of Serjeant-major Pinkney, and he was quite sure that they would conduct themselves in a manner that would do credit to the troop." He added, "that he would send a servant with them, who would return, and let him know how matters stood, and in case his presence was absolutely necessary, he would endeavour to come over to Salisbury in his carriage, *provided that Mrs. Dyke would permit him to leave home.*

"Heavens and earth," says Mr. Hunt, "here was a catastrophe! I verily believe, if I had not been an eye-witness of the transaction, that I should have thought to this hour that some of the characters drawn by Shakspeare were ridiculously absurd and unnatural, but this scene in real life so far exceeded anything, I had ever seen represented upon the stage, that I have never since disputed the correctness of our inimitable bard in his conceptions of human nature, and the justice with which he has delineated its various characters."

Cornet Dyke now returned up stairs to his most considerate lady, and his amiable anxious family, who had been seriously canvassing the matter over, what might be the possible result of their father going into battle. In the accounts, which were at that time published of the battles and skirmishes on the Continent, the glory of the victory was enhanced by the number of human beings that were killed, and accordingly *Te Deums* were sung, and thanks offered up to God, that a privileged



murder of ten or fifteen thousand of his creatures had taken place upon the earth. It was not then to be wondered at, that as the Misses Dyke had convinced themselves that a battle is always distinguished by a certain number of individuals, who went into it alive, being shovelled into a pit as so many lumps of carrion, it followed naturally within the limits of probability, that were their father to lead on his gallant troop at the expected battle of Salisbury, a ball might take a particular fancy to enter his body about the regions of the heart, and travelling through the interior of his corporeal frame, find an egress through the spinal marrow behind. No wonder then, as female fears are of an epidemical character, that they communicated themselves to the worthy Cornet, their father, and ultimately brought on that violent pain in his bowels, which would naturally and physically prevent him from sitting for any length of time on the saddle of his horse.

From the window of his drawing room, the Cornet, however, viewed the departure of his gallant troop, who instead of beholding the tears flowing down the cheeks of the spectators, in streams as full and copious as the Mississippi or Wolga, saw a smile and a titter illuminating their countenance, as if they were very impudently laughing at the ludicrous figure, which the troop cut, in marching away without an officer.

They had not proceeded far, when about two miles from Amesbury, the Serjeant-major and a Serjeant of the name of Butcher were observed in deep and serious conversation; their brows wrinkled with intensity of thought, such as sat on the brow of Napoleon, when he planned the battle of Austerlitz; the result of this conference was, that Serjeant-major Pinkney thus addressed Henry Hunt, "we have been considering the matter over, Hunt, and Butcher thinks that we are proceeding not only upon a hazardous, but a very foolish expedition: for he says, as there is no commissioned officer with us, any act of ours will in the eye of the law be deemed illegal, what say you to this?"

"I believe," replied Hunt, "that Serjeant Butcher is quite right as to the law, and that in case any person should be killed, there is no doubt that we shall all of us be tried for



murder, but if you ask my opinion, I am for proceeding immediately, for we had much better be tried and hanged to boot, than live to be pointed at as fools and cowards for the remainder of our days."

"Ah," exclaimed the Serjeant, "that is very pretty talking for you, young fellow, but we are too old to be caught tripping in such a way. We have made up our minds to halt at Amesbury, and in the mean time we will send over Mr. Dyke's servant to Salisbury, and should there be any riot, he can return and let us know, and we can quickly be there, as Amesbury is only seven miles from thence." He likewise very prudently observed, "that it would be exceedingly foolish to march there to create a riot, when by staying away, all danger or mischief might be avoided."

As the council of war had settled the business, all the sarcastic observations in which Henry Hunt had indulged, tended merely to irritate, without the least chance of changing their final determination, and they therefore gallantly marched into Amesbury, when halting in front of the George and Dragon, their redoubtable commander ordered beef-steaks for sixty, to be got ready in half an hour, as all the troop were most anxious to reach Salisbury. Although the gallant troopers had only ridden three miles and a half since they had partaken of the good cheer of their magnanimous Cornet, yet they seated themselves before the steaks with a renewed appetite, but the majority of them drank so copiously of wine, that before the cloth was drawn, three fourths of them were drunk, when the whole scene became one of riot and confusion. Two of the gallant heroes, being deprived of the chance of making war upon the old women and boys at Salisbury, who had so ungraciously, the week before, pelted their Cornet, actually stripped and had a pitched battle. All command was at an end. The Sergeant-major fruitlessly endeavoured to call them to order; they were all now become too vain and too valiant to be under the controul of any one. Some had mounted their horses, and swore that they would immediately proceed to Salisbury, as they were certain that Dyke's Servant was killed, or he would have returned long before; other



were grinding their swords, and one having more courage or more wine in him than the rest, was actually seen setting his weapon upon the hone of the barber of the place.

The servant of Cornet Dyke now returned with the intelligence that all was peaceable and quiet, and that there was not the least appearance of a riot, on which the courage of some of the warriors rose to a most ungovernable height, and they actually proposed to march over to Salisbury, to show that they were not *afraid*. As there was now *no danger*, it only required a Captain Birley to lead them on, and a squire Hulton\* to give the word, to have caused a scene in which, though it would not have been equal in atrocity and cruelty to the murders of the 16th of August at Manchester, the blood of the innocent and unarmed, although misled persons, might, and in all human probability, would have been spilt. However by the advice of Henry Hunt and a few others, who had retained their senses, and who felt degraded in their own estimation by the whole of their proceedings, the Serjeant-major ordered all present to be dismissed, and each to depart to his home in the best way he could. This was done, but the whole of the small town of Amesbury was thrown into confusion, by the drunken and ridiculous proceedings of some of the men before they left it, and thus ended the battle, that was to have been, of Salisbury!

Henry returned to his father thoroughly abashed, and ashamed of the transaction, and as he had entered the troop against the wish and better judgement of his parent, the latter did not spare him in some of his remarks. "And now," said he, "young man, I hope you will another time be more disposed to attend to the advice of your father, who has lived so many years longer than yourself, and has thereby been enabled to form a much more correct judgement of mankind, than you can possibly do." "But," added he, "That wisdom which is gained by experience, is always the most lasting, and generally the most advantageous, so that it be not purchased too dearly.

\* Two individuals who rendered themselves conspicuous in the Peterloo affair at Manchester.



## CHAPTER VII.

Henry Hunt had now attained his three and twentieth year, and although there were many fine and handsome girls in the immediate vicinity of his residence, not one of them had as yet succeeded in making an impression upon his heart. He had often heard his father speak of a Miss Halcomb, the daughter of his old acquaintance, Mr. William Halcomb, who kept the Bear Inn at Devizes, which inn had been previously kept by Mr. Lawrence, the father of the late Sir Thomas Lawrence. Mr. Hunt was always talking to his daughter in praise of the industry and accomplishments of this young lady, particularly when anything was not quite so well managed as it ought to be, he would then exclaim, "Ah, how much better Miss Halcomb would have done it." The eldest daughter used sometimes to reply rather petulantly, "why do you not invite this lady to come and see us? perhaps I should be enabled to acquire some of her talent to please." "Well," said Mr. Hunt one day, "I have no objection, you shall ride with me to-morrow, and call upon her, and I will then invite Mr. Halcomb to bring his daughter, and return the visit."

Miss Hunt agreed to this, and as she herself told her brother Henry, she had made up her mind to dislike this lady, merely because her father had so often made such severe comparisons, that she had almost become a bugbear to her.

Not so, however, was it constituted with Henry, from his father's description of her, he was already half in love with her, although he had never seen her. On the return of his father and sister from paying their visit to Mr. Halcomb, Henry was most anxious to ascertain the day when the Halcombs were to visit them. The day, however, was not fixed at the time, but a remarkable occurrence ultimately produced the so much longed for interview with this young lady, and Henry had made up his mind secretly to admire her person, as much



as from his father's description, he admired her good qualities. Had his father but even slightly guessed what was working in the breast of his son, he never would have invited Miss Halcomb to Littlecot, he having a much higher object in view for his son, both as to fortune and rank.

It is rather singular, but the anxiety of Henry to see this lady, was so excessive, that he formed several plans to obtain a view of her, but they were all frustrated by his father, although not designedly, for certainly he could not for a moment entertain so extraordinary a suspicion, that his son had fallen in love with a lady, whom he had never seen, and of whose personal accomplishments he was wholly ignorant. At length the following occurrence led to the event, which he had anticipated with so much anxiety. His father had ridden to London, and taken his friend Coward as a companion. On their return, they stopped at the Windmill at Salt Hill to breakfast, the landlord, Mr. Botham paying them his customary attentions. Having learned in the course of his conversation with his guests, that they came from the neighbourhood of Devizes, he enquired if Mr. Hunt knew Mr. Halcomb who kept the Bear Inn, to which Mr. Hunt replied, that he not only knew him, but was particularly intimate with him; a reply which led to a more familiar conversation. Mr. Botham then said that he had received many civilities, and in fact great acts of kindness from Mr. Halcomb, which as he had never paid him a visit, he never had an opportunity of returning. I have therefore, he said, seized this occasion of showing every civility to one of his friends. Addressing himself particularly to Mr. Hunt, he said, if you will fix a day when I can meet Mr. Halcomb and his daughter at your house, I will pay you a visit in return with pleasure, although the distance is above sixty miles. This was agreed upon by Mr. Hunt, and on his return home, he related the circumstance to Henry and his sisters, Mr. Coward overwhelming them with his praises of the civility and urbanity of Mr. Botham. Mr. Hunt then said, that he would fix an early day for Mr. Halcomb and his daughters to come and visit him. Mr. Coward observed, that he must



have a very great regard for his friend, to travel one hundred and twenty miles merely to dine with him. "Ah, Coward," said Mr. Hunt, "you know little of mankind, it did not require any very extraordinary degree of penetration to discover, that Mr. Botham entertained a greater friendship for one of the daughters, than he did for her father." "Why yes," replied Mr. Coward, "I now remember that he devoured your praises of Miss Halcomb with great avidity." "To tell you the truth," said Mr. Hunt, "Mr. Botham informed me that he wished for an alliance with the eldest daughter of his friend, and as I think it a good match, and Salt Hill will be an excellent home for her, I will do everything that lies in my power to promote their union.

The spirit of jealousy now rose in the breast of Henry, and the circumstance of his having a rival in the person of Mr. Botham, and one in point of property and respectability no despicable competitor, tended to convince him at once that Miss Halcomb must be a most desirable acquisition as a wife, although, as far as any personal acquaintance with her extended, she might be a paragon of ugliness, vulgarity, and viciousness. The information, however, communicated by his father, touching Mr. Botham, although perfectly undesignedly, struck daggers to the heart of Henry; he persuaded himself that he was literally over head and ears in love with this fair incognita, and merely from nothing more than the report, which his father had made of her. But then the rival! that was alone sufficient to raise the flame of his passion to a vesuvian height; however, some faint glimpse of hope dawned upon him when he was informed by his father, that there was no decisive information existing, from which it could be inferred that Miss Halcomb had in any way encouraged the hopes of Mr. Botham, and therefore, Henry began to consider his own pretensions to the hand of Miss Halcomb, and no circumstance whatever presented itself in that investigation, which could lead him to suppose, that although his rival had the start of him in his personal acquaintance with the lady, yet that without presumption on his part, he might contend the possession of her hand and heart with any



yeoman in the county. It must be allowed there is something very romantic in an individual, who fancies himself in love, to be determined also that he shall have a rival, or that he will be a rival in his own person; but without stopping to account for the extravagancies and eccentricities of human nature, Henry determined to look upon Mr. Botham as his rival, and as he very justly observes himself, "this furnishes a very striking example, how liable young persons, possessing minds of a sanguine nature, are to be talked into anything;" in the present instance, however, Henry must be constrained to confess, that if he were in reality in love, he had contrived by some means, inexplicable even to himself, to talk himself into love, for the malady had certainly come upon him without the suspicion of any of his friends, who, perhaps for the first time in their life, would have beheld the phenomenon of a young man falling in love with a lady, on the mere description he had received of her from others.

The momentous day of the visit of the Halcombs was at hand, Mr. Botham had accepted the invitation, and it was a day likely to be pregnant with the fate of Botham and of Hunt; Henry pondered in what way he should meet his rival; he had never seen Mr. Botham in his life, and therefore, as we are in general inclined to draw a very disparaging picture of an individual, whom we dislike, although we cannot exactly inform ourselves why we dislike him; Henry placed himself before his mirror, and he was convinced in his own mind, that if personal manliness, and a form possessing those peculiar properties, which are so much admired by the female sex, should have anything to do with attracting the affections of Miss Halcomb, that lady would never become the landlady of the Windmill at Salt-hill, but the wife of a good stout hale farmer, residing at Littlecot in the county of Wilts. We have no data existing to prove, that our hero had up to this time, ever studied the rules of Chesterfield on the practise of the *bonae mores* in the different relations of society, but of one thing he was certain, that the effect of a first impression is frequently of a very durable nature. Love at first sight is a



case by no means uncommon, but Henry was deeply in love, without having obtained any sight of the object at all with whom he had fallen in love, nevertheless he was determined to make an impression, but in what manner that most desirable point was to be accomplished, was at first an insoluble problem to him. One fortunate idea struck him, whether if he were to equip himself in the regimentals of the Everly troop of yeomanry cavalry, a favourable impression might not be made upon the heart of Miss Halcomb, of his muscular prowess and courage, although it by no means follows, that a heart of bravery and courage is always to be found under the fripperies, foppishness, and fooleries of a military uniform. It is well known that there are various ways of making an impression upon a woman's heart, which being of itself rather of an inconstant and fickle nature, requires frequently aliments of a different and opposite nature to feed the inclinations of it. Henry, having some modicum of gallantry in his character, considered that it would only be becoming in him, if he were to mount his horse, and meet the Halcomb family a few miles from his father's residence, by which means, an opportunity would be afforded him of making an impression upon the heart of Miss Halcomb by a display of his equestrian skill, and as his father had then a young horse in the stable, not completely broken in, and which had not yet forgotten its foalish tricks of plunging, and kicking, and rearing, it occurred to Henry, that a plunge, or a kick, or a rear from the animal, without laying him prostrate in the mud, could not fail to plunge Miss Halcomb as deeply in love with him, as he had for some time been with her. To this plan, however, a decided negative was put by his father, who had as much an idea of his son being in love with a lady whom he never saw, as he had of paying off the national debt. He very wisely considered that his son could not by any process of reasoning, be supposed to entertain anything more than the common feeling, which actuates the minds of young people, when they anticipate the meeting with some friends of their own age, for not a thought was more distant from his mind, than that his son looked forward to the



Jay with a much more intense anxiety than either of the individuals, who were expected to play so prominent a character, and on whose account the party was solely made up.

The day at length arrived, and Mr. Hunt had made such preparations as he conceived were due to the polite attention and hospitality that he had received at the hands of Mr. Botham. There are certain officious persons in this most busy and officious world, who think themselves never better employed than when they take upon themselves the character of match-makers, and this species of animal is very common at some of the watering places of England, whither fathers and mothers resort for the benefit of the waters, but who having two or three daughters on their hands, consider it a very desirable method of getting rid of them, by showing them off to the juveniles of the opposite sex, when they ride and flirt, and quadrille and waltz with each other, whilst the professed match-maker is looking on, convinced in his own mind that he has hit upon the very moment when the hearts of the waltzers have been perforated by the darts of cupid, and nothing further is required than a little intriguing and coquetting to bring them together in the holy bands of matrimony.

Mr. Hunt, it is true, could not be classed in the rank of the match-makers, but he certainly as far as Miss Halcomb and Mr. Botham were concerned, appeared to enter into the scheme with all the tact and ardour of the most consummate proficient at Matlock or Harrowgate. It was the belief of the secret lover of Miss Halcomb, that his father interfered in the business from the best of motives, and the most honourable intentions, as it appeared to him that it would be a union, which bade fair to promote the mutual advantage and happiness of the two families. Mr. Hunt, however, was evidently not an adept in the art of match-making, for had he been so, he would not have communicated the secret to the junior branches of his own family.

The dinner hour was now near at hand, and many a wistful look had Henry cast towards the road by which the Halcombs were to arrive, at last the chaise was seen approaching the



House, and the imagination of Henry now pictured to him, that within it, he was to see an angel, who was to determine the future destiny of his life. Some people drive or are driven very leisurely to their fate, and Henry thought that he never saw a chaise driven at so slow a rate, as that which contained the Misses Halcomb. They were accompanied by their brother on horseback, who trotted behind the chaise more in the character of a servant, than as a near relative of the inmates of it, and who certainly as a proficient in horsemanship, did not indicate that he had taken any lessons of Geoffry Gambado esq. It now devolved upon the junior Mr. Halcomb to introduce his sisters to the members of Mr. Hunt's family, as Mr. Halcomb senior was unable on account of illness to accept of the invitation. A letter was also delivered to Mr. Hunt by Mr. Halcomb junior from Mr. Botham, apologising for his inability to meet his friends, on account of a large party from town, having most unexpectedly ordered a dinner at his house, which necessitated him to remain at home. To the scrutinizing glance of Henry Hunt, who watched every motion of Miss Halcomb, it appeared to him as if she were highly disconcerted at this apology of Mr. Botham, but she modestly observed, that she was sorry Mr. Hunt was deprived of the company of his friend, but turning to Henry and his sisters, she added with a smile, "we will endeavour to bear the loss with fortitude, and spend the day as pleasantly as we can without him."

It might have been very natural for Henry to have felt an inward pleasure at the absence of an individual, whom he expected to meet as a rival, but in reality, his feelings were of a very opposite tendency, for to neglect a lady with whom he had some intention of being united in matrimony, for the sake of a dinner which might yield him a few pounds profit, appeared to him as bordering so strongly upon an insult, that he considered Mr Botham as an opponent not worth contending with, as he could not help despising him for his want of gallantry. We shall perhaps not proceed much further in these memoirs, when a grosser charge of the want of gallantry will



be brought against Henry himself, without having even so plausible an excuse to make in extenuation of his conduct as Mr. Botham had.

There is no proof existing that any degree of attachment had ever subsisted between Miss Halcomb and Mr. Botham, and therefore the sagacity of Henry had very scanty materials to work upon, when he formed the resolution to watch every trifle, which could guide him to the knowledge of the real state of Miss Halcomb's affections for Mr. Botham. To affirm that Henry knew the way by which to acquire a correct knowledge of the state of a woman's heart, were investing him with almost supernatural powers of divination, for the heart of woman always has been, and will continue to be, one of the most insoluble riddles, which can occupy the intellect of man; nor had Henry been taught in a school in which many lessons had been given him, by which he could guide himself through the meanderings and cross roads of a woman's heart, until he arrives at last at the point or nucleus, which like the sybilline oracle, is to disclose to him the mystery of his research. The cheeks of Miss Halcomb were not deeply tinged with a roseate flush when Mr. Botham's name was mentioned, therefore Henry argued with himself, that the worthy landlord of the Windmill was wholly indifferent to her. She was by no means very eloquent in the justification of his conduct in preferring to carry up the first dish of turbot or salmon to a few occasional visitors at his house, to riding or posting about sixty miles to meet a lady, to whom he had never disclosed his intentions, and who in some degree, like Henry Hunt had convinced himself that she was a very proper person to be his wife; seeing that she had been brought up in a very respectable and well frequented inn, and therefore she could not fail to make him an excellent helpmate in his business. After spending some time in probing, sifting, examining, and inquiring into the state of Miss Halcomb's heart as far as it concerned Mr. Botham, Henry arrived at the conclusion, that it was not yet bound in the chains of love, and therefore he resolved to lose no time in making a regular attack upon



the citadel of her heart, and to carry it either by storm or stratagem, flattering himself at the same time, that in every respect he was equal, if not superior to his dreaded rival. Henry had made up his mind to be over head and ears in love with the lady, and accordingly he was so, in fact, his attentions were so pointed and unreserved, that it was evident his father began to repent that he had ever undertaken the character of a match-maker.

On a closer acquaintance, Henry found Miss Halcomb not only to possess all the good qualities, that his father had ever described, but in his own estimation, she possessed ten thousand times more charms, than his fervid imagination had previously formed. His attentions were received with that politeness, which was becoming an amiable, virtuous, and an accomplished female, on the first interview with a young man, on whom she had never bestowed a thought before, but it was very flattering to her suitor, to find that those attentions were not considered obtrusive or disagreeable.

The motions of Henry were watched with peculiar anxiety by his father, who did not appear by any means to approve of the attentions, which were paid to Miss Halcomb by his son, and when Miss Hunt gave her visitors an invitation to remain all night, it was evident that Mr. Hunt was very much pleased to hear them decline it; Henry now added his entreaties to those of his sister, and this was done in so earnest a manner, that Mr. Hunt could not refrain from saying, that he should be very happy, if the young ladies would remain all night with his daughter, but really he was fearful, that the *homely way* in which his son pressed them to stay would be considered very rude. Notwithstanding they had made up their minds to go, yet Henry could distinctly perceive, that they were not offended at the *homely way*, as his father called it, in which he enforced his suit. Henry, lover-like, conjured up a thousand difficulties and dangers, which it were possible could befall the ladies on their homeward route; ghosts were rather out of date, but he enlarged upon the badness of the roads, the distance, which they had to travel, the absence of moonlight, the chance of



an overthrow, their ignorance of the proper road, all and each of these obstacles were laid before the ladies, with all the eloquence, which Henry could command, but finding that they were determined to return home that night, he seized an occasion to withdraw, whilst the ladies were at tea, and taking off one of the wheels of their chaise, he conveyed it unobserved into the rick yard, and secreted it under the straw. He then returned, and took his leave, saying that he had an appointment to meet some friends at a neighbouring fair, which was actually the case, but as Henry had a few hours before, accused Mr. Botham of a want of gallantry in declining the invitation to meet the Misses Halcomb, on the simple plea of a party dining unexpectedly at his house, he certainly could not expect to exalt himself in their opinion as being superior to Mr. Botham in gallantry, by committing such an act of gross rudeness, as to leave the visitors at his father's house, for the purpose of meeting some other friends at a neighbouring fair, and especially as they were not visitors of chance, but were come in consequence of a regular and formal invitation offered to them for some time previously; nor did the conduct of Henry speak much for the strength of his attachment for Miss Halcomb, when on so trivial an excuse, he could absent himself from her society, without even the slightest attempt on his part to remove or smoothen any of the obstacles, which impended over the homeward journey of his visitors, or being present to pay them any attentions, which their peculiar circumstances might require. The very removal of the chaise-wheel, after the Misses Halcomb had expressed their positive determination to return home that night, was also an act, at variance with all the principles of good breeding; it was one which compelled them to the adoption of a measure, to which they had expressed their decided objection, and as the act was an evident intrenchment upon the laws established in good society, it could not be regarded as a mere frolic, or as one of the mischievous tricks of thoughtless juvenility in a young man, who had attained the age of twenty-three. The deed itself partook strongly of the nature of an insult, for as the



removal of the chaise-wheel could not be looked upon as a manoeuvre to insure to him the further society of the lady, with whom he persuaded himself that he was deeply enamoured, as he himself would be absent from home, the aggrieved parties were at liberty to put whatever construction they pleased upon it, and it is certain, that it did not exalt Henry in the good opinion of his innamorata.

However, the matter turned out as Henry had anticipated;—when the horses were brought out to put to the chaise, the post-boy was astonished to find but three wheels to his vehicle, which was not only an insoluble problem to him, but to all the inmates of the house of Littlecot. The Misses Halcomb had retired to assume their travelling dresses, Mr. Halcomb junior was already equipped in his six-caped great coat, which was at that period the fashion amongst the beaux of the country; Mr. Hunt was congratulating himself, that his son was not at home to annoy Miss Halcomb with any more of his obtrusive attentions, and thereby perhaps drive Mr. Botham and the Windmill inn out of her head for ever; he had just assisted Miss Halcomb to adjust her shawl round her neck, expressing his sincere hope that she would not catch cold, and requesting her to present his kindest regards to her father, whom he soon hoped to hear was convalescent, when a servant entered with the direful intelligence that one of the wheels of the chaise had been taken off, and was no where to be found. Mr. Hunt looked aghast, Miss Halcomb looked at her brother, her brother looked at Miss Hunt, and they all looked at each other, unable to divine the meaning of so extraordinary a proceeding, an instant inquiry was set on foot to trace out the absent wheel, for as it was a physical impossibility to travel without it, the ladies had no other alternative than to remain tranquilly, where they were, until the wheel, or a substitute for it could be obtained.—The latter was wholly out of the question,—it was impossible to attach one of the wheels of a farm cart to the vehicle, and Mr. Hunt had no other at that time, which he could offer them. It was found impracticable to unravel the mystery any further, and therefore the ladies again divested



of their travelling dresses, they found themselves obliged to accept of the invitation of Miss Hunt to pass the night at Littlecot, in which Mr. Hunt himself now joined, for he entertained a well founded suspicion of the precise individual, who had committed such a ridiculous act, and on the return of Henry, he freely confessed himself the delinquent, assigning as an excuse, his urgent fears for the safety of the ladies, travelling such bad roads on so dark a night.

Miss Halcomb, however, did not in any manner resent the ungracious freak, which Henry had played upon her, for within a very few days after the event had taken place, he obtained her consent to ask her father's permission to pay his addresses to her, and within a week from that time, he demanded her hand in marriage; Mr. Halcomb, however, very properly replied, that although he entertained no objection to him as his son-in-law, he could not give his consent to any such hasty measure, until he had seen Mr. Hunt, to know if it met with his approbation. Henry frankly told him that he might save himself the trouble and mortification of applying to his father, who, as soon as he had mentioned his attachment to Miss Halcomb, and that he had offered her his hand and heart, had thrown himself into a violent passion, and swore, that unless he relinquished the lady, and abandoned all further intention of marrying an inn-keeper's daughter, he would disinherit him, and cut him off with a shilling.

This was quite sufficient to fix the determination of Henry, and he at once told Mr. Halcomb, that he hoped he would act a more considerate part, for as he had gained his daughter's consent, and as he was of age, and his daughter very nearly so, not all the fathers in Christendom, nor all the powers on earth, should prevent him from making her his wife. Mr. Halcomb very clearly saw, that it was of no use to endeavour to deter the love-sick youth from his purpose by vain vows or threats, and he therefore adopted a more rational course; he endeavoured to win him over by persuasion, and at length by this conciliatory conduct, and by an assurance, that he would not stand personally in the way of the proposed union, but



that he would take every means, consistent with the feelings of a man of honour, to soften down the rigour of his father; he succeeded in prevailing upon Henry to give up all intention of taking any hasty or premature step, which might involve them all in very unpleasant difficulties. This was a course, which was sure to succeed with Henry, and he promised Mr. Halcomb that he would not do anything without his knowledge.

In detailing these circumstances, Mr. Hunt says, "I am convinced that if Mr. Halcomb had acted in the same way that my father did, if he had forbidden me his house, and endeavoured by force to prevent any access to his daughter, such was my spirit of opposition, such an abhorrence had I of being *driven* into, or out of any measure, such an innate hatred had I of any thing like tyrannical force, that I am quite sure, if he had so acted, I, having obtained the lady's consent, I am quite sure I should have run away with her in a week, in spite of all that could have been done to prevent me. If my father on the contrary, had taken a similar course with Mr. Halcomb, if he had kindly advised me, and endeavoured to prevail upon me by mild and gentle manners, I do not say that he would, or that he ought to have succeeded in making me give up the lady, but I am quite clear that he would have had a much better chance of success. Nay, if he had appeared careless, and left me to myself, I was at that time of such a volatile disposition, that such a hasty attachment might possibly have been weakened, or it might have worn off by time, but the very course which he took, irrevocably fixed my fate as to marriage. I was of age, and I had always made up my mind that I was, or ought to be, my own master upon the subject; I am still of the same opinion. I still hold, that parents have no right to make their children miserable by an arbitrary dictation upon a question of such vital importance as that, of whom they shall marry. Parents have an undoubted right, nay, it is an imperious duty which they owe to their children, to direct their choice with respect to suitable connexions, and they have a right to interpose the authority of their advice and recommendation to their children; but the laws of God and of man



say, that the parties about to be united ought to exercise their own free choice; the law says, that no person shall marry, who is under age, without the consent of his or her parents, and the law has very justly drawn this line; the law therefore very properly contemplates, that no parent shall have the absolute controul over the person of a child in this matter, after that child has come of age."

From these digressive remarks, tinctured with sophistry and false reasoning, we return to the narrative. Henry's father for some time was very positive and very determined to prevent his marrying an innkeeper's daughter, and at length he undertook to reason with him on the subject; he demanded in the first place to know, if he knew any thing in the slightest degree affecting the character of the young lady, the answer was, no, quite the reverse; he then asked him, if he had not at all times, and perpetually spoken in the highest terms of her conduct, and whether he had not in his hearing held her up as a pattern of propriety, and an example to his sisters. All this he admitted to be true, but she had no fortune, and he had expected his son to marry a lady of fortune and family, at the same time pointing out several, whom he should have been pleased to acknowledge as his daughter-in-law. Henry then demanded, "whether, if she were fit to be held up by him as a pattern for his daughters, she were likely to disgrace his son as his wife?" "But then," said Mr. Hunt, "she has no fortune, and she is an innkeeper's daughter." To the latter remark, Henry scarcely thought it worth his while to make any reply at all, he was himself but the son of a farmer, and he could not be brought to believe that there was any very great disparity of condition between a farmer's son, and an innkeeper's daughter; in point of respectability, they were pretty nearly of a par, but then Mr. Hunt had imbibed some strange notions of the comparative degrees of respectability. Mr. Botham was no doubt a very respectable man, equal in rank and condition to Mr. Hunt himself, although perhaps he could not trace his genealogy as far back as William the Conqueror; but there was a great deal of the old leaven of the



family pride in Mr. Hunt, the family had indeed lost their estates, but that was owing to no extravagance of any of the members of it, but solely to the ingratitude of a worthless and profligate monarch. Mr. Hunt felt no objection to promote to the utmost of his power, a union between Miss. Halcomb and Mr. Botham, but he could not account to himself for his interference at all in the matter; both the parties were comparatively strangers to him, in fact, he had scarcely any acquaintance with Mr. Botham at all, and yet he took so great an interest in his future happiness, as to obtain for him the hand of a lady, of whom he knew very little, but by report. It was a degree of officiousness, which Henry could not reconcile with the general principles of his father's character, at all events, if his father had no other objection to start against his marriage with Miss Halcomb, than that she was an innkeeper's daughter, and therefore in his opinion occupied a stage too low in the ladder of respectability for the immediate descendant of the Colonel Fox to marry, whose greatest merit consisted in assisting the cause of legitimacy, and of restoring a king to a throne, who, if he had been anything else but a king, would have been frequently whipped at a cart's tail at Tyburn, for his vices and his profligacies.—If then the score of respectability were the only ground of objection, Henry hoped in time that his father's better sense would overcome it, and that the union might take place with the consent of all parties. Mr. Hunt was ready to admit, that the father of Miss Halcomb was a truly honourable and upright man, that the character of the lady herself, was beyond the breath of calumny to stain, but then, after wasting all his arguments to induce his son to forego his intention of marrying, he always finished with the climax, "she is nothing after all but an innkeeper's daughter."

At length, Mr. Hunt having discovered that his son persevered in his visits to Miss Halcomb, and having ascertained from one of his daughters, that Henry was actually preparing privately for his marriage, he addressed him as follows one evening, when they were alone,—“So I find from your sister, that you are determined, in spite of my remonstrances, to marry



Miss Halcomb; it is very true, that as you are of age, I cannot prevent your union with that young lady, the law empowers you to make your own choice, but recollect, the law does not compel me to provide for you. If you had Miss ——, or Miss ——,” naming two young ladies of fortune, “I would have made you a liberal allowance, and if you had chosen to be a farmer, you might have occupied your own estate, which would have yielded a sufficiency for the support of a family.”

Henry began to be impatient, and replied warmly that he had to thank God for a sound body and an ardent mind, and he had also to thank him, his father, for the best of instruction and example, who had given him a proof by his own industry and perseverance, that a man might not only be happy, but that he might also acquire wealth, without having much capital to begin with.

“Oh, my dear son,” said Mr. Hunt, “it is very true that I have devoted my life to business, and by incessant application and industry, have acquired a considerable fortune,” and with tears in his eyes he added, “alas! you are now going by one false step to blast my fondest hopes; by this match, you are going in one hour to beat down and destroy all the bright prospects, all my plans for promoting your future welfare and consequence in life; do you believe, can you for a moment be so silly as to imagine, that I have toiled from morning to night, that I have laboured with such incessant assiduity, scarcely giving myself time to enjoy even my meals, and do you think that I have been so anxious, merely to get money, merely to acquire riches? believe me, my dear son, I have never been led away by any such grovelling notions, I have had higher and more noble objects in view;—in fact, and in truth, my great, my sole aim has always been to make you a man of consequence in the county, and although I know that riches alone will neither make a man happy nor respected, yet, without wealth, I know not how a man in this country can acquire any celebrity in it; with wealth, if a man have but a common share of understanding, he is at once pronounced a wise man, and he is looked up to as a prodigy, when his own native talent



alone, would not more than fit him for a menial office. Look, for instance, at Mr. Astley, of Everly; he possesses great power, and all of it is derived from his wealth alone. Let me ask you, who know him well, what would he be without his wealth? strip him of his estates and his riches, what would he be fit for? I wait," said he firmly, "for your candid and honest reply."

The question was put so home and unexpectedly, that when Henry turned his thoughts to his gallant captain, without wealth and power, he presented to his imagination such a forlorn, helpless, wretched being, that he actually burst out into a fit of laughter. "Really," said his father, "I am not in a laughing mood, but tell me seriously, if you know of any situation in life in which, either on the score of his talent, his knowledge, or his ability of any kind, he would be capable of keeping his wife and family from starving; tell me honestly, whether, if he were left to provide for himself, you do not think he would be upon the parish books in a fortnight?"

"But," said Henry, "allow, me, sir to ask you a question in return, do you not believe that if I, your son, were obliged to go to day-labour to-morrow, I could not earn a sufficiency to support not only myself, but also a wife and family, by that sort of industry and zealous application, which I have always shown in your business?"

"I know," replied Mr. Hunt, "that you are able and willing to do as much as any man, but do you consider, that I have given you an education, which cost me upwards of five hundred pounds, and have you spent ten years and a half of your life at the best schools, under the best masters that I could procure for you, only to enable you to earn twenty or thirty shillings a week as a day-labourer? have you no higher ambition than that?"

"Yes, sir," replied Henry with some warmth, "my ambition made me always aspire to much higher things, and so did the treatment, which I have always received from you heretofore, but now that you intimate, that unless I relinquish the object of my choice, I am not to expect anything from you, the scene is changed, and under such circumstances, my spirit would, I



trust, never suffer me to be dependent upon any one, while I have health and strength to obtain an honest, though a plain livelihood."

Henry plainly perceived that this sort of reasoning did not suit his father, who reddened, and sneeringly exclaimed, "your spirit forsooth! I suppose your spirit will ultimately induce you to drive one of your intended father-in-law's coaches, or perhaps, you may be promoted to the situation of head-waiter, and that will be a post considerably above a day-labourer." This was said with a degree of bitter irony, that was little calculated to lead Henry to submission. By such a course, his father intended to work upon his pride, but his language produced a contrary effect to that, which he intended, for Henry found his indignation rise to such a pitch, that he sternly answered, "no sir, whatever you may think of my spirit, you will find that I inherit too much of my father's character, either to degrade myself by any such course, or be intimidated by any false notions of pride, from doing that, which is dishonourable."

Having said this, Henry quitted the room without waiting for a reply, and retired to bed much earlier than usual; he was however, too much ruffled to go to sleep, and after having tossed and turned about for half an hour, he suddenly rose, dressed himself, went deliberately into the stable, saddled his horse, and in a few minutes he was on the road to Devizes. He arrived at that place just as the family were locking up to go to rest, and whilst a bed was preparing for him, he explained to Miss Halcomb the object of his visit, which was to demand her hand from her father in the morning, and to fix the day of their nuptials before he left the house. The lady had often before witnessed with some degree of pain, the warmth of her lover's disposition, for as has already been shown, he was of a sanguine volatile nature, and she had always observed, that when bent upon any particular object, he was never deterred, and seldom persuaded from attempting to accomplish it, but she had never before seen him so determined and resolved upon any point, as he now was. She



endeavoured therefore to persuade him from so rash a step; arguing that she had little hope of her father being brought over to comply with his wishes, by means of any such peremptory arguments, as he had used to her. But it was all in vain, he assured her that before he left the house, he would solicit her father's consent to fix the day for their wedding, and that if he refused to comply, he should demand the performance of her promise, to consent at once to a union without it. She first reminded her ardent lover of her being under age, and next, with a degree of firmness, that he did not expect, she expressed considerable doubts about acceding to his demands under such circumstances. He hastily, and as firmly added, that the day should be fixed before he left the house, *or never*. She started at his vehement and peremptory manner, and with much good sense began to reason with him, and to show him how ill calculated such overbearing proceedings were either to prevail upon her father, or, what was of more consequence, to secure her love. If, before marriage, he evinced such an arbitrary disposition, and uttered his commands in such a peremptory tone, what security had she for his not playing the tyrant afterwards? she therefore, not only felt it her duty to refuse, but, really, he had so alarmed her, she could not give her consent under any such sort of threat, as her compliance would appear to come rather from terror than inclination. This was followed by her bursting into tears, occasioned by the exertion she had made to tell him her resolve. He, however, repeated his protestations, and did everything to soothe her fears, and as she was now summoned by her sister to retire to rest, they parted for the night, both of them in a very wretched state of mind.

Affected as Henry was by her agitated feelings, his composition was of too determined a nature to allow him to give way; having once formed the resolution, nothing but death could have deterred him from persevering, and on retiring to rest, he deliberately resolved to keep his word, nor was this only the start of the moment, on the contrary, he was quite sure, that had not the parties complied with his wishes, to fix



the day before he left the house, he should never have been the husband of Miss Halcomb. He was resolved to be plain and honest with her father, and to disguise nothing from him, and in case, he should refuse his consent, he was equally resolved to leave nothing untried to gain the consent of the lady; if she withheld it, he had brought himself, much as he loved her, to give up for ever all hopes, all intention of being united, or of having any further communication with her. With this determination he went to sleep, though with full confidence that he should succeed, notwithstanding the repulse he had received from her before they parted. On this point, Mr. Hunt expresses his fears, that the fair readers of his eventual life will call him a conceited puppy for his pains, but he can assure them it was not vanity, it was a part of his nature to be sanguine and determined in anything, in everything that he undertook, and this is a trait in a character by no means disagreeable to the fair sex in general, who look with contempt upon the individual, who stands dilly-dallying, and is always quoting the maxims of prudence, as if love and prudence had in the majority of cases any connexion with each other. It was the belief of the lover of Miss Halcomb, and it ought to be that of every lover, that success seldom crowns an enterprise, unless he, who wishes to obtain it possesses the confidence that he shall succeed.

On appearing at the breakfast table in the morning, Henry could perceive that the fair object of his hopes had not enjoyed so much repose as he had done during the night; her heart appeared to be ill at ease, whereas, he had never slept better or sounder in his life, in fact, he appeared to be a *rara avis* in the menagery of lovers, for considering the rebuff, which he had received from his inamorata on the preceding night, had he belonged to the ordinary kind of lovers, he would have considered it only in character to have gazed at the moon all night, or if perchance, there was no moon conveniently at hand, the stars would have answered the purpose equally well. During his starry contemplations, from the intensity of his feelings, his brains might have been delivered of a fourteen



pounder; alias, a sonnet, full of fiery denunciations against the hardness of the female heart, its fickleness and inconstancy; which sonnet might be secretly slipped into the hand of his beloved in the morning, as a proof of the manner in which he had passed the night. Or, on the supposition that the perambulation of his bed-room in *puribus naturalibus* did not come up to his idea of the manner in which a lover ought to conduct himself on such an occasion, he might have slipped gently out of the house, and if there were a wood in the vicinity of the dwelling of his inamorata, he might there have passed the night, comparing the heart of his beloved, to the heart of the oaks, by which he might be surrounded, and gaining thereby, what could not fail to soften the obduracy of Miss Halcomb's heart, a good sound rheumatic cold. Not one of these things, however, did Henry Hunt do, he never slept better or sounder in his life, and this, he considered as another very extraordinary part of his composition, or rather of his constitution, in which there is not a female from the age of sixteen to that of thirty, but who will most cordially agree with him. In fact, nature appears to have committed a most extraordinary freak in the physical composition of Henry Hunt, for in general, if an individual has some weighty matters pressing upon his mind, sleep becomes a stranger to his eyes, but very differently was it constituted with him, for the more intense the operation of his mind was during the day, the sounder was his sleep at night; the greater the object, which he had to accomplish in the morning, the more serene and composed was his sleep; thus, when he had any important business to perform, that required the exertion of his whole mental, as well as bodily powers; instead of being agitated with the anxiety arising from the importance of the undertaking, he was quite the reverse; he was perfectly tranquil—his sleep was sure to be sound and refreshing. This conduct, however, on the part of her lover, excited some little surprise in the breast of Miss Halcomb, and with the knowledge that her own sleep had been restless and disturbed, she knew not well what to make of the answer, which he gave to the usual inquiries at the



breakfast table of the manner in which he had slept, and that answer was, that he never remembered to have slept better in his life. This was a puzzler to Miss Halcomb, she began to suspect the sincerity of his passion, for it appeared to her to be so extraordinary an act in a lover to sleep soundly, when his beloved had nearly given him his dismissal, and when she herself had been tossing about and crying, and venting her reproaches upon the obduracy of the hearts of some parents, who having themselves obtained the object of their youthful affections, seem determined that their children shall not enjoy the same happiness. The fact was, that the minds of Miss Halcomb and of her lover were influenced by very opposite emotions; the former feared that she should lose her lover, the latter entertained not the slightest fear that he should lose her; he felt confident of success in his application to her father; she had all the fears and doubts of a woman, that the application would be refused; he considered himself fully competent to combat all the arguments and objections, which could be brought forward against his union with Miss Halcomb; she had no other argument to use than her love, and against that was opposed the sense of filial duty which she owed to a kind and indulgent parent.

The morning meal being finished, Henry requested a private conference with Mr. Halcomb, when he undisguisedly told him everything that had passed between his own father and himself, and that he had given up all hopes of gaining his consent, adding, that he had come to the resolution of laying the case fairly before Mr. Halcomb, and he was determined to have his answer at once, whether he would consent to his union with his daughter, so that a day might be fixed, or whether he would leave him to do his best to obtain his daughter's consent, which he was resolved to do in case of him opposing his wishes.

Seeing his determination, Mr. Halcomb answered, that although he lamented the absence of the sanction of Mr. Hunt, yet he would keep his word with Henry and his daughter, and would not withhold his consent, if it were his desire that he



should give it. He said he valued the happiness of his child, and as he thought that Henry had always acted a fair and open part with him, he would do the same by him. He would, however, leave it entirely to his daughter; if she chose to fix the day, he would not object to it; and if it were so, he would do all in his power to render them happy. He likewise expressed a sincere hope that his old friend, Mr. Hunt, would do nothing to render them otherwise, and that at some future period he would become reconciled to the match, even if he would not give his consent before. Mr. Halcomb then for the first time hinted what sum he intended to give his daughter as a portion. Henry told him for the present, he would hear nothing of the sort; that as his own father would not enable him to make a settlement upon his daughter, he would trust entirely to him, and that he never wished him to mention the subject again till they were married.

Henry now flew to his beloved with the joyful tidings, and was received, as he expected, with open arms; before ten o'clock that evening the day was fixed for the wedding, about six weeks from the present time. "Thus," says Mr. Hunt, "was I at the age of twenty-two, and very young and inexperienced of my age also, about to take a wife against the consent of my father, without a house, a home, or twenty pounds in the world, and perfectly careless whether her father gave us one or five hundred pounds. To have a wife was my determination; and now that the day was fixed, I returned to my father's house, and entered into his business again with all my usual zeal and assiduity."

Henry took the first opportunity of informing his father of the arrangement that had been made, upon hearing which, he flew into a violent passion, and vowed his vengeance upon him. Nor did he fail to try the last effort, which was to endeavour to make Mr. Halcomb's pride operate, so as to prevent the match. The first time that he went to Devizes, he had a private interview with Mr. Halcomb, and did every thing in his power to accomplish his object. His opponent had the



best of the argument; but he retorted his insinuations with such a degree of spirit, that for awhile Mr. Hunt had hopes of success. Mr. Halcomb, however, soon crushed them, by telling him that he had passed his word to his son, and that nothing which had now been said in anger should induce him to break it. Mr. Hunt then requested to see Miss Halcomb, which was readily assented to. In the course of the interview with her, he made every effort to persuade her to abandon such a *mad project*, as he was pleased to term it, and she listened to and answered all his arguments with great modesty and forbearance. He urged the folly of such a match, and told her he was sure she would live to repent it: he warned her, that such sudden and inconsiderate unions seldom, if ever, turned out well: he pointed out to her the hasty, enthusiastic, and volatile disposition of his son, adding that he had seen nothing of the world, and that, whatever might be her charms, when his son got into the world, he might see other objects that might induce him to repent of having been so hasty: he mentioned the probability of a large family of children without the means of supporting them; in fact, he tried every thing that man could do—he begged, he prayed, and he threatened. All was in vain. The only promise that he could obtain from Miss Halcomb was that she would inform her lover of all he had said, and that she would leave the decision to him.

This to Mr. Hunt was worse than no promise at all, and he retired to another inn to dine, perfectly dissatisfied with the little or no progress, which he had made. However, when the evening came, instead of calling for his horse to go home as usual, he sent for Mr. Halcomb, and told him that as it was a dark evening, and he was not very well, if he would permit him, he would drink tea and spend the evening with his family, and take a bed there for the night. Mr. Halcomb, who was a warm-hearted, generous, forgiving fellow, readily pardoned all the insulting language, that he had heard in the morning, accepted his guest by a hearty shake of the hand, and without further ceremony introduced him into his private room to his



family. Mrs. Halcomb,\* however, having learned what had passed in the morning, and expecting nothing less than a fresh attempt to frustrate the match, no sooner fixed her piercing eyes upon him, after he was seated, than she bridled up, and without waiting for any explanation, began to resent the insult which he had offered to her profession as an inn-keeper. Mr. Hunt, however, demanded a parley, and a truce to all hostility, as he was come to offer the olive branch, assuring Mrs. Halcomb that as a match could not be avoided, he was determined to make the best of what must be endured. In the course of the evening, he had a private interview with Miss Halcomb, and after extorting a solemn pledge from her, that she would not inform her lover of it till they were married, he gave her his consent, and promised to acknowledge her as his daughter-in-law. This solemn pledge to keep silence till the union was completed was required from Miss Halcomb because Mr. Hunt wished to see how far his son would go without his consent; the lady also kept her bond, although the fact certainly came to her lover's knowledge through a third person.

This conduct on the part of Mr. Hunt is by no means commendatory of his character. It was a foolish and ridiculous experiment to try the obedience of a son on a point, where the affections of the heart were concerned, and on which he knew that his intentions were irrevocably fixed. Little also must he have known of the nature of a woman's heart, to suppose for a moment, that a girl under the influence of love could long keep that, a secret, on which perhaps her whole life and soul depended. No wonder, then, that Henry Hunt soon heard of it through the medium of a third person; for so jesuitical is a female in an affair of love, that if it came within the range of possibility, her invention will discover some convenient outlet, by which to save her conscience from the infraction of a promise, and smoothen her deviation from the strict line of her

\* Mr. Hunt, in his autobiography, designates Mrs. Halcomb as the *mother-in-law* of Miss Halcomb. As this must evidently be a mistake, it is purposely omitted. Perhaps Mr. Hunt meant the *step-mother*, a mistake too commonly made.—ED.



duty. Thus Miss Halcomb very foolishly promised to Mr. Hunt to keep his consent to the union a secret, but then she did not promise to maintain that secrecy to any one but to her lover himself. No wonder, then, that Henry Hunt soon heard of it through the medium of a third person; and it must have been one of those ludicrous scenes in human life, to have seen the father continually talking to the son about the *mad project* of his marriage, and refusing to give his consent, when at the same time, the son knew well that it had been given, and that they were, in a certain degree, playing at hide and seek with each other; for so far from Mr. Hunt informing his son that he had given his consent to Miss Halcomb, he told him that as he was determined to marry her against his will, he should do but little for him, compared to what he would have done, if he had married to please him. This explanation was rather an enigma to Henry of an insoluble kind, for it now appeared, that although his father had in secret given his consent to the union, yet he was determined still to act towards him, as if he had not given his consent. The reason, therefore, which he had given to Miss Halcomb for keeping his consent a secret, had apparently no reference to the extent of how far his son would act in contravention of his father's wishes, and that it was to have a direct influence on the assistance, which he was to give his son on his leaving the parental roof, and he was to act towards him, as if he had never given his consent at all. Henry was, however, astonished to hear his father tell him that he would give, or rather lend him the stock upon Weddington Farm, and that he might begin to furnish the house as soon as he pleased; but this was to be done out of the fortune he was to receive with his wife. There was a most excellent stock upon the farm, the rent of which was three hundred pounds a-year; there were nearly sixteen hundred of the finest South-down sheep, the very best in the county, as it was a fine sheep farm, in fact, principally so; twelve cows; six most valuable cart horses, and all other live and dead stock complete. With this arrangement, Henry was perfectly content, indeed it was



much better than he had any reason to expect. The farm was in reality a very beautiful one, with a very good house, and all necessary appendages belonging to it. Henry now seemed to be in a fair way of obtaining the height of his ambition. He lost no time in communicating the happy intelligence to the family at Devizes, and the necessary orders for furniture, &c. were given without delay. Few young men entered into life with fairer prospects in the farming line, for very few farmers had such a stock of all sorts—in truth nothing was wanting. ✓

---



## CHAPTER VIII.

THE happy day at length arrived; it was the twelfth of January. Henry's sister, who was to be one of the bride-maids, and his friend, the clergyman of Enford, who was to marry the happy couple, went over to Devizes in a chaise on the preceding evening. Upon retiring to rest, *having undressed himself*, he sat down in an easy chair meditating upon the serious engagement in which he was to enter on the morrow. The peculiar habit of Henry Hunt of sleeping soundly on the eve of some great undertaking, and who can deny that marriage is one of the greatest, has been previously alluded to. We may suppose that an individual sitting up in an arm-chair *undressed* on the 11th of January must have felt rather cold, nevertheless, the thought of his marriage on the morrow, which would have kept many a lover awake, had a direct contrary effect upon Henry, for it sent him asleep, and he slept most soundly until three o'clock, when he discovered, that although his constitution was of such a peculiar make as to send him asleep on occasions, when other individuals would not have been able to close an eye, yet it was not proof against the coldness of the exterior atmosphere, for he now found that he had caught a dreadful cold, accompanied with a shivering fit, which was a natural occurrence to befall an individual sitting up at night on the 11th of January, undressed in an easy chair. However, we find that the shivering fit left him when he arose in the morning, but still he felt very ill from the cold which he had caught, and which so depressed his spirits, that an uninterested bystander would have concluded that he was preparing for a funeral, and not for his own wedding.

The parties were taken to the church in a post-coach, and after the ceremony was over they returned to breakfast, where a large party were assembled to greet them. After dining at Marlborough, the married couple set out for Weddington



Farm. Just as they were about to start, Mr. Halcomb took his son-in-law into an adjoining room, and holding out a canvass bag, he said, "Here, my son, is all that I can afford to give you with my daughter, in this bag are a thousand pounds, I wish it were ten times as much, but such as it is, may God grant you to enjoy it. I have no doubt it will wear well, as it was got honestly."

This again was more than the young bridegroom expected, as the only time he had ever permitted him to speak about money, Mr. Halcomb hinted at no more than five hundred pounds; but it was believed Mr. Hunt had said something, which made him double the sum. A singular occurrence now took place, which exhibited a degree of effrontery and impudence, on the part of one of the actors in it, which could scarcely obtain credit, had it not been asserted on the authority of Mr. Henry Hunt himself. It was naturally to be supposed, that as Mr. Hunt had refused to give his son any money on the day of his marriage, that he would require whatever was advanced him by his wife's father, for the purpose of furnishing his house, and for the defraying of other expenses attending the marriage. Previously, however, to the bride and bridegroom leaving Marlborough for Weddington, and but, as it were, a few minutes after the latter had received his wife's fortune from her father, William, the brother of the bride, who then kept the Bear at Marlborough, took Henry Hunt aside, and said, that as his brother James was just going into business, if he had no particular use for the money, he should feel obliged if he would lend him £500!! upon their joint notes. Henry Hunt instantly complied, counted out half his wife's portion, and lent it to her brother, upon his word to give him a note for it, which he did the first time they met afterwards. "I believe," says Mr. Hunt, "that if they had asked me for the whole thousand I should cheerfully have parted with it to them." Rousseau has been blamed for making himself in his Confessions, in many actions of his life a consummate reprobate; and the character of Lavater would have been held in higher estimation, if he had not attempted to throw the gloss of



virtue over all his actions, at the same time that the weakness of his nature was distinctly visible. There is, however, something in the loan of the £500.; and the extreme readiness of Henry Hunt to lend the whole thousand, if he had been asked for it, which invests him with a rightful claim to a character, which of all others he did not wish to appear in, and that was—a fool. It must also appear excessively strange, that Mr. Halcomb, who for his station in life, might be considered as an opulent man, could allow his son to enter into business without an adequate capital, and to be obliged to apply to his brother-in-law for a part of his wife's portion, before he had had it ten minutes in his possession. It is an action, which has some resemblance to the custom of a certain eminent London publisher, who offered the most liberal price to authors for their works, but then generally took care to deduct half of the sum agreed upon, on the plea of corrections. There are, however, no data extant which can give rise to the slightest suspicion that Mr. Halcomb was privy to this singular conduct on the part of his sons; but it appears that the £500 remained in their hands for nearly ten years, and was not withdrawn by the lender till several years after his separation from his wife. "I mention this circumstance," says Mr. Hunt, "merely to show how these gentlemen felt as to my separation from their sister. In fact, they as well as myself, considered it to be a misfortune which ought to be lamented on all sides, rather than as a reasoning for entertaining any vindictive feeling towards me." We shall have occasion to enlarge further on this subject in a future part of this work.

The happy party now set off in a coach towards their future residence, Weddington Farm, a distance of ten miles. The company consisted of the bridegroom, the bride, her sister, and Miss Hunt, who were the two bridesmaids, and the clergyman.

It must have been from the hours of one to five, A.M. on the morning of the 12th of January, that Henry Hunt caught the cold already mentioned; without the aid, however, of any sudorifics, soporifics, possets, gruels, or pedeluviums, the cold



left him just as the bridal party were half way between Marlborough and Weddington ; but a still more remarkable circumstance now occurred, which could not be accounted for by any of the principles of physical science, which either Mr. Carrington had taught him, or which had been whipped into him by his domine at school. So variously, however, is the human mind constituted, so dissimilar are the tastes which the human bipeds exhibit in the different relations of life, that that, which to some is as bitter as wormwood, by another is relished with exquisite delight ; and according to the same mode of reasoning, that which one man looks upon as a very severe calamity, another would regard as the greatest blessing, which heaven could bestow upon him. The latter principle can be most aptly illustrated by the circumstance, which befel Mr. Hunt just as he was entering Salisbury Plain, in a valley of which, was situate Weddington Farm. The happy bridegroom had put several questions to his blooming bride ; he had asked her, how she liked the country, although the monotony of Salisbury Plain was not well calculated to instil into the mind of the bride any very high idea of scenic beauty. No answer was, however, returned. “ Ah,” said Henry to himself, “ it is all owing to the extreme bashfulness of her disposition.” Progressing for about a quarter of a mile, he ventured to ask his bride how she felt herself, fearing that the jolting of the vehicle might have somewhat disarranged her. No answer was, however, given. “ Ah,” said Henry to himself, “ she is perhaps pondering deeply on some other subject.”— “ Did you ever see Stonehenge,” said Henry to his bride, after they had journeyed about a hundred yards further ; but no, not an answer could be extracted from her.— “ What is the reason of all this,” said Henry to himself ; “ is my wife beginning to show her airs and graces already ?” “ Are you not well, my love ?” said Henry, taking her hand affectionately. No answer ; and he now found to his utter astonishment and wonder, that his bride had lost her voice, a circumstance which we opine, would render Henry Hunt, with many husbands, the object of their greatest envy. As it was, however, the bride-



groom felt the greatest alarm: in a scarcely audible voice, she informed her husband that it was the effect of cold, but otherwise she felt not the least pain nor uneasiness. In a scarcely audible tone, Mrs. Hunt informed her husband that he had the prospect at least of having a *quiet* wife, and that information being imparted to him, Henry Hunt says, "that his alarm gradually passed off."

Weddington Farm was situated about a mile from the turnpike road, and when the carriage turned out of the high road, the bridegroom was obliged, it being dark, to mount the coach-box, for the purpose of directing the post-boys. There are some minds peculiarly susceptible of ominous impressions; and there are many brides who, if they happen to be married on a rainy day, become immediately tormented with the presentiment, that their future life is to be one of dripping tears, and gloomy cloudy melancholy. After considerable difficulty, they reached the house, it being a road over which a chaise probably had not passed since Mr. Hunt had left the farm, which was at least twenty years before. This circumstance alone was sufficient to instil some unpleasant feelings into any mind, although trebly steeled against the power of superstition; but fortunately for Mrs. Hunt, she could not speak, and therefore the influence which the surrounding objects made upon her mind, were not made known to her husband. It is true that every thing was prepared comfortably for their reception, yet a lone farm, in a valley upon the downs, which compose Salisbury Plain, and not a house within a mile, was quite a different thing from the cheerful and varied scenes to which Mrs. Hunt and her sister had been accustomed. A deep silence reigned around; not a tree, nor even a bush, was to be seen, and since they left the turnpike road, the carriage having passed over the turf for nearly the last mile, the well known sound of wheels rattling over the stones had never once vibrated upon the ears of those, who were so much accustomed to it; altogether it was so very different from every thing to which the ladies had ever before been habituated, that after they had been introduced into the parlour, where the hospitable board



seemed almost to invite their welcome; Henry Hunt could see Miss Halcomb look at her sister in a state of despondency, as much as to say, what enchanted castle are we come to at last? However, when they were once seated round the table, the solitary gloom speedily vanished, for it was soon made to appear that there was as much cheerfulness to be obtained in a lone farm-house, as in the mansion of the more opulent and the great. Mrs. Hunt, when Miss Halcomb, as a matter of delicacy, had always declined to see the residence, before she was married, notwithstanding Henry Hunt had repeatedly pressed her to ride over and give her orders about the arrangement of the house and other domestic affairs.

During the first fortnight that they were married, Mrs. Hunt never spoke one word louder than a whisper, at the end of that time her voice returned, to the great joy of her husband and all her friends; the honey-moon passed with uninterrupted felicity, in fact, it was a honey-moon all the year round, and before it was even on its wane, the happy couple were blessed with an endearing pledge of their loves.

The child was, however, no sooner born than, according to the then fashion of the country people, a number of gossips were present, to annoy the lying-in lady with their senseless twaddle, to praise the beauty of the child, and to sip caudle with certain other stimulants, which are generally forthcoming on such momentous occasions. The party assembled in the bed-chamber of Mrs. Hunt knew well the determination of Mr. Hunt as to the mother suckling her child, and every attempt was apparently made to carry it into effect. At length, after a consultation of the gossips, headed by the nurse and Mrs. Halcomb, who had come purposely from Devizes to be present at the birth of the child, a hint was given of the impracticability of the mother suckling the child; Mr. Hunt, however, would not listen to it for a moment; another hint was given, and then a broader and a broader one, but still Mr. Hunt treated it all with contempt, being determined to persevere. He consulted with his wife, and the result was, that he was more than ever resolved to carry his point, although he never



before had to contend with such powerful antagonists as the gossips, who treated his knowledge of such matters with ridicule, and characterised his interference as preposterous and indecent.

At the end of two days, in the evening after supper, a grand attack was made upon Mr. Hunt, the conspirators consisting of the nurse, three gossips, with the accoucheur, whom they appeared to have enlisted in their service. As the latter was a reasonable, intelligent man, Mr. Hunt entertained no great fear of his hostility, and, particularly, as he had been previously consulted upon the subject, and declared that no natural impediment existed to the mother suckling her infant. The scene which now ensued would have formed an excellent counterpart to that in *Tristram Shandy*, where Dr. Slop with my uncle Toby are canvassing the subject with Mr. Shandy as to the possibility of christening the infant *par le moyen d'une petite canule*. Mr. Hunt was seated with the accoucheur over a glass of punch after supper, when according to the plan of operations settled in the bed-chamber of Mrs. Hunt, the gossips, headed by the nurse, burst into the room, and heartily did Mr. Hunt wish that they had been all in the situation in which Mrs. Hunt found herself on her wedding night, namely, that they had lost the use of their tongue. The man must possess extraordinary powers, who would attempt to drown the voices of four women, speaking at the same time, and as to bringing four silly, prejudiced old gossips to hearken to the voice of reason, or of sound argument, would be a difficulty, as insuperable, as to convince some people, that kings and queens, and a train of Fitzjordanites, are very expensive commodities to a country, which is so unfortunate as to be burdened with them. Not more determined were the conspirators, when they burst into the bed-chamber of that semi-lunatic and savage, Paul of Russia, than were the gossips in their attack upon the unfortunate Mr. Hunt. They one and all declared that they would not force the mother, poor dear soul! any longer to destroy herself by such a course, that the child must, should, and would certainly die, that it was already almost starved to



death, and that unless the cruel father would consent to send for a wet nurse in the morning, they would all leave the house, a threat which operated in an inverse ratio to what the gossips intended; for if Mr. Hunt was predetermined before they entered the room not to send for a wet nurse, he was now more resolved than ever, for nothing would have given him greater pleasure, than to see the three gossips, like the three witches in Macbeth, stalking over Salisbury Plain to their respective domiciles, and there they might dance around their cauldron, and perform their magic rites, without any further annoyance to himself.

Mr. Hunt was, however, obliged to listen to the gabble of the gossips, who frankly told him, that if he pleased, he certainly might kill the child, but they would not stop to be the participators in the murder. They arrived at length at the climax; one said it was indecent, another said that it was cruel, and a third that it was hard-hearted, and the nurse completed the tirade by declaring, that he did not deserve such a wife and child, for he wanted to kill the one, and break the heart of the other.

Had not Mr. Hunt been cautioned by his excellent father, who, even to the very letter of this attack, had told his son what was likely to happen, he never would have been able to have withstood the triple-toned battery of the gossips' tongues. The accoucheur very discreetly held his tongue, unless it was in reply to some question of a professional nature, put to him by one of the sagacious ladies, and then he took care to answer in a very equivocal manner, which did not by any means raise him in the estimation of the querists, who fancied that they had him all on their own side, and that he would coincide in every thing that they said. Mr. Hunt, wearied at length with their importunities, told them that he would go up stairs and consult his wife. He found her bathed in tears, for the gossips had not only prepared her for the occasion, but they had most ridiculously and unjustifiably worked upon her fears for the safety of the child, and had actually persuaded her that the child would be starved, she not having milk enough to keep it



alive. She was soon soothed by the affectionate attentions of her husband, who reasoned with her, for he did really love her: he assured her that the child was in the most perfect health, as was evident from its having never cried a minute since it was born, which was now nearly three days; her tears were soon dried up, and she was soon convinced that it was neither necessary nor prudent to give way always, not even to a parcel of garrulous gossips. •

Mr. Hunt now returned to the enraged matrons, whom he found all on the tiptoe of expectation to hear what he had to say, and when he told them that he had no doubt, but the mother and child would do very well, if they would leave her alone, they burst out into the most violent abuse, and insisted that the mother should at least have the assistance of a wet nurse. "Well," said Mr. Hunt, very calmly, but very determinedly, "if it must be so, it must. If you be of the same opinion to-morrow, and it is confirmed by the doctor that the child requires more milk, I will kill the puppies, and it shall suck my beautiful setter Juno with all my heart; but, by heaven! it shall never taste the milk of another woman while its mother is alive, and as well able to nurse it as she now is." This was said in such a tone, and with such a manner, that the gossips all marched off to bed, abusing Mr. Hunt as a great brute, to talk of his child sucking his bitch. Speaking of this occurrence, Mr. Hunt says, "I have related this circumstance as a matter of duty, for the information and guidance of all young persons, who may be placed in a similar situation, and who may not have had the advantage of such good and able advice as that, which was given me by my excellent father, rather than as boasting of any merit of my own."

Nearly a year had now gone by in one unbroken scene of pleasure and delight. Mrs. Hunt was of a cheerful disposition, and fond of company, in which Mr. Hunt himself cordially participated, and consequently they were seldom without a number of visitors. As soon as they were married, Mr. Hunt purchased two additional horses and a gig; thus his establishment consisted at once of three horses and a gig, and



when to these are added greyhounds, setters, pointers, &c. &c., it may be supposed that he cut no little figure in the county, whether at home, at the table, in the field, or on the road. He drove two thorough-bred mares in a tandem; he was almost always the first in the chace, having become a subscriber to a pack of hounds, and his pointers were as well-bred, and as well-broken as any sportsman's in the county.

He was now become, that of which his father had always entertained the greatest dread, namely, a complete sportsman. Frequently when his father called, he was from home, either hunting, shooting, or partaking of the social society, which is the attendant upon those, who delight in the sports of the field. He would ride round the farm, but there, every thing was in the most regular order, and he could not find the least fault with anything, which he saw going on there, than the absence of the master. Yet he was uneasy, for he well knew that the profits of Widdington Farm would not support such extravagance and revelry, as he was pleased to call it. The stock, it is true, was in good order, and the crops were well cultivated and thriving, still he was not ignorant of the expense attending a house always thronged with visitors, a stable and kennel full of horses and dogs, and the master entering with ardour into the sports of the field. The father remonstrated, but his son was young, thoughtless, and giddy, and, unfortunately, his wife was the same. The rent-day came; three hundred pounds were due to Mr. Wyndham for rent, and the elder Mr. Hunt knew that his son was not prepared, and he was certain that, from the manner in which he had lived, that he could not have saved any money. Without, however, saying one word to him on the subject, he paid the rent himself, but he did not fail again to urge the strongest remonstrances. No farm in the county was in better condition, or better looked after; the times were good, and if the farm had been his own, Henry Hunt could just have managed to live in a respectable way; yet, on the other hand, he could very well manage to spend all the profits whatever they were; and as his father paid the rent, as well as stocked the farm, it was quite as good, as if it were his own.



His father, however, threatened him, and remonstrated with his wife, on their keeping so much company, and being guilty of such extravagance. But she could not be induced to think that they did anything in a more extravagant way than they were bred up to; and as both of them were equally prone to the enjoyment of society, they seldom refused an invitation, and never failed to return it.

Christmas arrived, and with it of course the social merry-making, that at the time was kept up with the greatest spirit in that part of the country, where every one gave a Christmas feast, which was attended by all the neighbours for several miles round. Mr. and Mrs. Hunt were accordingly invited; but some difficulty presented itself with respect to Mrs. Hunt's accepting the invitation, as their daughter was only two months old, but this impediment was soon removed. The little child was in excellent health, and the nurse, it was thought, would take great care of it in the mother's absence. This was settled to the mutual satisfaction of Mr. and Mrs. Hunt, and when the day came, they mounted their horses, and Mrs. Hunt being an excellent horsewoman, they galloped off to meet their friends at a distance of four miles, and reached the place without the slightest accident, though it was one of the severest frosts, which had been known for several years. On Mrs. Hunt entering the room where the company were assembled, the elder Mr. Hunt put on a look, which Henry says, he never forgot as long as he breathed. Addressing Mrs. Hunt, he said, "For God's sake, Mrs. Hunt, where is your child?" she answered, it was at home; he turned up his eyes, and said no more; but his son felt it as a most severe rebuke, and for the first time he began to think that a mother leaving a child was not acting with becoming propriety. His father soon took an opportunity to speak to him aside, and having asked him, whether he was mad to bring his wife away from a young sucking child in such weather, he added, "you acted very prudently and firmly, I understand, when your child was born, as to the mother suckling it, but now you are going to destroy the child by suffering the mother to remain from it twelve or



fourteen hours at a time." His son listened, indeed, to the wholesome advice, but in the thoughtlessness of his heart, unfortunately, he passed it off without that attention to which, coming from one with such experience as his father had, it was so well entitled.

The prophetic warning of the elder Mr. Hunt was soon verified; the very first time that the child ever had a moment's illness was the day after Mrs. Hunt returned from the first Christmas party. The infant, indeed, was so unwell, that Mrs. Hunt sent an excuse the following day to the party where she was engaged to dine, being determined to stay at home and take care of her child. The rebuke of his father now appeared to him in all its force and propriety, but still not the least doubt rested on his mind that the illness was occasioned by the mother's long absence from her child. Henry Hunt went to the dinner, and his father was the first to applaud the prudence of Mrs. Hunt in remaining at home, although when he heard of the illness of the child, he observed, "the experience that is bought is the best, so that it is not purchased too dearly."

About eleven o'clock at night, a message was brought to Mr. Hunt by a servant, saying that the child was very ill, and begging his immediate return home. He instantly mounted his horse, and reached home half an hour before the servant, who was upon another horse. When he entered the room, to his grief, the child was lying dead in its mother's lap, and that mother was sitting speechless, with her eyes rivetted upon her lifeless offspring. She had neither moved nor spoken since the infant had breathed its last, which was nearly an hour. She took not the least notice of her husband, nor did she oppose the removal of her child. Her look was vacant and heart-rending. Every means was tried to rouse her, and she was at length carried to her chamber, where, after the application of some strong restoratives, her reason returned, accompanied by a copious flow of tears.

During the round of gaiety and pleasure, which Henry Hunt had enjoyed since he was married, this was the first



check he had received ; but young, thoughtless, and giddy as they both were, it was most severe both to himself and his wife. Nor was it merely the loss of their offspring, that occasioned the sorrow of Mrs. Hunt : her grief was rendered infinitely more poignant by the circumstance of the deceased infant never having been baptized. The babe had in fact been so healthy, so perfectly free from the slightest appearance of disease, that they had never thought of sending for the clergyman of the parish to have the ceremony performed, particularly as they intended to have it christened so soon as the nineteenth of January, it being the anniversary of their wedding-day. Mr. Hunt excuses himself for this neglect in rather a singular method : in the first place, the clergyman lived at Milton, a distance of eight miles, and he seldom came into the parish except on a Sunday, and then his visit was generally a flying one, as he had two or three churches to serve on that day. But the most cogent reason was, that the clergyman was an excellent sportsman, and consequently it would have been considered by Mr. Hunt, if not by him, as a sort of crime to have broken in upon a week day for any such purpose. Mrs. Hunt had been brought up to attend to all the forms as well as the duties of religion, and she therefore accused herself of a heinous crime, even to that of having sacrificed the soul of her infant ; and then the very thoughts of having the little corpse committed to its dreary dwelling without the rites and ceremonies of Christian burial, was so dreadful to her, that it almost made her frantic, and she would sometimes break out into the most piteous bewailings, nearly bordering upon desperation. Mr. Hunt himself was most wretched, not so much for the loss of the child, as from the sorrow and anguish of his wife ; but he found it necessary to stifle his own feelings, and exert all his soothing aid and persuasive powers to calm her agonized mind. Mr. Hunt confesses *that he had never thought at all of these weighty matters*, and therefore he felt himself very incompetent to reason upon them in such a way, as was likely to convince and console her. He had been taught by his excellent mother to lisp the Lord's Prayer, the



Belief, and the Catechism, before he at all knew the meaning of them, and indeed almost before he could speak plainly. He had been bred upon in the Christian faith, a strict church-goer, and such was the force of habit, that he had not perhaps ten times in the course of his life closed his eyes after retiring to rest without repeating the Lord's Prayer and the Belief, although it is most probable that during all that period, he had not ten times seriously directed his thoughts to investigating and reasoning upon the true import and meaning of those prayers. Such is the strength of early habits, and early imbibed notions, arising from the repetition of a certain number of words and sentences thrown together and imprinted upon the young memory before the mind is capable of appreciating the meaning or sense of them. He had also soon after his marriage, received the sacrament with his wife, because he had been told that it was both proper and necessary that he should go through that ceremony. He had done this completely mechanically, as thousands and tens of thousands had done before him, from the mere conviction that it was right, without ever having reasoned upon the matter. "And now," says Mr. Hunt, "for the first time, at the age of twenty-three, in spite of myself, or rather in my own defence, I was compelled to think and reason also, that I might bring comfort to my almost heart-broken wife. I reasoned thus: can this be possible, that a little innocent creature, only two months old, totally incapable of having committed any offence against God or man, having been indeed incapable of thinking or acting at all—can the All Wise Creator have doomed such an unoffending creature to eternal punishment, because its parents have neglected to have certain forms of prayer read by a clergyman, and because it has not had performed over it the ceremony of sprinkling its forehead with water. It was not necessary for me to question further, for I at once pronounced it not only to be preposterous, but impious to believe such a thing for a moment."

Having thus, as he thought satisfied his own mind, he set about the task of convincing his wife. He found her hanging



over the corpse of her child, and bathing it with her tears. The first thing which he did, was to lead her from the endearing object of her inexpressible woe. He then not only used the foregoing argument, but many others of the same reasonable and natural tendency. She was, however, not easily to be brought over to his opinion, and besides, in spite of all he could say to remove the impression, she blamed herself for having left the infant at such a tender age. He also felt that in this respect, he was not less censurable than she was, and he endeavoured to take all the blame upon himself, by persuading her that, she would not have gone, had she not been desirous of obliging him. In striving to tranquillize her, he had a most arduous duty to perform, yet painful as it was, it was at the same time, the most delightful occupation that could be imagined. To console, to comfort, to cheer the drooping spirits, to heal the wounded sorrowing heart, to remove the dark and gloomy doubts, and at length to inspire and provoke a smile upon the quivering lip of her, whom he fondly loved, was to him a scene entirely new. He could now fully comprehend the poetical expression of the joy of grief, for this was the most ecstatic joy ; to woo a pleasure hitherto untasted, and although it was of a more sober nature than any of those pleasures of which he had till then participated, yet it made a deeper and more lasting impression than any of them had made. Those who really know what bliss it is to communicate, as well as to receive true pleasure, will never voluntarily inflict pain. It is possible that some individuals who have imbibed a prejudice against the character of Mr. Hunt, may ask, can these have been really the feelings of this man? Is this the man, who only two short months before, proposed to suckle his child with his setter? Yes, we answer; the very same man; nor in fact is there, to the eye of reason, any thing contradictory in his conduct on the two occasions.

It is the duty of the biographer to expose the shades, as well as the brightnesses of the character which he is delineating; the former, in general, speak for themselves, and they are for the most part the objects on which a censorious world loves to



dwell; whereas the latter are sometimes disregarded, and the greater the lustre, the more is the individual, who displays them, an object of envy and secret malice. We are well aware that the following scene is disgraceful to the parties concerned in it, and perhaps it would have been omitted altogether, had we not been desirous to call the attention of the public to the character of the individuals, who take upon themselves the sacred office of ministers of the gospel of Christ, and who are a disgrace not only to the religion they profess, but they inflict an indelible reproach upon those, whose duty it is to see that the moral character of those, who are appointed to lead others from sin, should be themselves clear of it. Mr. Hunt shall, however, tell the scene in his own language:—"Though partly won over by the reasons which I had advanced, my wife, nevertheless, was anxious to have some confirmation of them from one of greater knowledge on such matters, and she accordingly hinted a wish to converse with the clergyman. I told her I had not the least objection, if she desired it; but at the same time I could not help inquiring, what consolation she could expect to derive from one of those, whom she had frequently seen inebriated at my table, and some of whom, when they were in that state, had incautiously expressed their opinions upon such matters, with so much levity, as to disgust her as well as myself. This was too true; but yet the sanction of a clergyman carried great weight; custom early initiated, custom still proved predominant; and as I saw that she had set her mind upon seeing a clergyman before she parted with the little corpse, I did not think it either kind or prudent to throw any impediment in the way.

"For three days I had scarcely left her during a single moment, and very fortunately, as we lived in the country, we were not pestered with any formal, and worse than officious calls of condolence. I now took my horse and rode to a friend, a neighbouring clergyman, and invited him to dine and take a bottle with me. He pleaded a previous engagement; but when I told him the object of my visit, after having with a most inquiring eye looked me full in the face for half a minute,



to discover whether I was quizzing him or not, he burst forth with an exclamation, and then into a laugh, almost hysterical; which having enjoyed for some time without any interruption from me, he said, ‘Why, really, my good friend, I hope you have too much sense to listen seriously to the trash that is preached up upon such occasions?’ I replied that he might make himself easy, not only about me, but also with respect to Mrs. Hunt, as I had nearly argued her out of all the ridiculous notions that she had imbibed; but yet, notwithstanding this, I should be obliged to him if he would ride with me and confirm the good work which I had begun. To this he agreed, on condition that I would first go with him to course a brace of hares, of which he had just been informed by a shepherd. The offer I readily accepted, and we returned to dine together at my house. Unfortunately, the parson took nearly a bottle of wine before he made up his mind to say anything to Mrs. Hunt upon the subject, for which he had been invited; and as a bottle always set his head a wool-gathering, he made one of the most ridiculous exhibitions that can possibly be imagined. Between his desire to make Mrs. Hunt believe that he was a learned and pious divine, and at the same time, his equal desire to impress upon my mind that he did not believe a word that he was preaching to her, he got into such a mess, that it was with no small trouble I was enabled to help him out of it, and at last, the tea coming in, put an end to one of the most ludicrous scenes that ever was witnessed. It happened very luckily, that Mrs. Hunt was a woman of good sterling sense, and a firm mind, accompanied by a quick penetration, or he would, in his bungling desire to remove, have at least revived, if he had not confirmed, all her former doubts and scruples.”

On the following evening, with considerable difficulty, Mrs. Hunt was prevailed upon to suffer the clerk of the parish to convey the mortal remains of the little infant, in a neat coffin, and deposit it in the church-yard.

Instead of partaking in any of the long round of Christmas merry-making, which had been so unpropitiously commenced,



Mr. and Mrs. Hunt now spent their evenings at home, truly enjoying the greatest of earthly blessings, domestic felicity. How is it possible for those, who have once tasted this, the sweetest of all human delights, how is it possible for any rational mind afterwards to submit to be whirled round in the vortex of dissipation, to tolerate, to endure the empty, vain, comfortless nothingness of fashionable amusements, now appeared to Mr. Hunt to be almost inexplicable; the real felicity imparted and received in a happy domestic circle in one evening, far, very far surpasses all the pleasure derived from the gaze and throng of crowded routs and fashionable parties in a whole year. And yet, it is not practicable to convince young minds of this; perhaps, indeed, it would be improper to attempt it. May we not believe that few persons, if any, can enjoy domestic bliss to its fullest extent; unless they have previously experienced all the wearisomeness, all the unmeaning bustle of the crowded fashionable common-place society of routs and balls. Happy, however, are they, if such there be, who have minds so constituted as to enjoy the one, without having been exposed to the previous probation of the other.

The usual serenity and cheerful disposition of Mrs. Hunt soon returned. She was young, fair, blooming, and sprightly, and whatever pleasure Mr. Hunt had in view, he never half enjoyed it, unless she was a partaker of it. He was always one of those considerate mortals, who think that women were formed to participate in all our rational pleasures and amusements, therefore, with the exception of hunting, he seldom formed any scheme of pleasure, where Mrs. Hunt could not be made one of the party. Young, gay, and thoughtless as he was, and prone to enter into all the scenes of hospitable and cheerful society, one fault of which he admits, at that period consisted in general of much too free an indulgence of the bottle after dinner; yet, however unfashionable it might have appeared, he never admitted any such visitors at his table, as rendered it necessary for females to leave the room almost as soon as the cloth was removed. No language or conversation was ever tolerated at his board, to which the most chaste female



ear might not listen without a blush. In fact, no man was permitted to enter the door of Mr. Hunt a second time, who once dared to utter an indelicate *double entendre* in the presence of a female, even, if that female was only a servant. It was, therefore, always the practice at his table for females to stay as long as they found it pleasant, without being liable to a disgusting hint to depart, in order that the men, who remained might have an opportunity of disgracing themselves by obscene and loathsome conversation. What a disgrace then to the national character ! what a blot upon the very name of polished society ! what an everlasting stigma upon British hospitality ! what an indelible stain upon English manners ! \* Mr. Hunt always found that young men, who had been bred at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, were the most difficult to keep within the bounds of decorum. The life which those men, destined for the church and the senate, lead at college is so dissolute, that few of them ever know how to relish the sweets of domestic life.—This is one of the greatest drawbacks upon the promotion of religion in this country, and has been the cause of a greater number of persons seceding from the established church, than any other that can be mentioned. The well known profligacy of the younger members of the clergy, for whom the church has been made, and not they for the church, and into which they have been introduced by family influence, without a single virtue to throw a redeeming light upon their character, was, and ever will be, until the people put the axe to the root, a disgrace to the country which tolerates it, and a stain upon the religion which is intended to be upheld. Mr. Hunt affirms, that he has in one hour heard more blasphemy and more lewd language at the table of one of these clergymen of the established church, than ever pol-

\* It cannot be questioned, that at the period of which Mr. Hunt is now writing, the practice to which he alludes was carried to a most reprehensible and disgusting extent ; it must, however, be admitted, to the credit of the age, that a considerable improvement has taken place in our social habits, and that much of that, of which Mr. Hunt complains, is only now to be seen in the lowest of the convivial meetings, or amongst young men of loose and abandoned character.



luted the walls of his own house during the whole of his life. He has heard more obscenity from the lips, not only from the beardless curate, but from the hoary-headed dignified pastors of the church of England, than he ever heard issue from the lips of all the reformers, he ever was acquainted with during the whole of his life. He declared, that he could point out half a score clergymen in the county in which he resided, some of them being magistrates appointed to punish drunkenness, and other vicious habits of the people, who were, in the respect alluded to, a disgrace to human nature, whose debaucheries would fill a volume, and whose daily conversation over their bottles, after they had driven their wives and families from their tables, was so degrading, and consisted of such obscenities, as would disgrace the society of one of the lowest cabarets in the Fauxbourgs of Paris.

From this ungracious subject we return to the domestic circle of Mr. Hunt. It was a source of considerable gratification to him, to observe that Mrs. Hunt had now completely recovered her wonted cheerfulness, and as there was also a prospect of their being blessed with another increase of their family, the loss of their first child ceased to weigh so heavily upon their spirits. The elder Mr. Hunt could not refrain from expressing his satisfaction at the salutary improvement in their mode of living. They kept less expensive company, and, as he said, they appeared to live more for themselves. Although he admitted the loss, which they had sustained to be a severe one, yet as it had operated as a check upon their giddy and extravagant mode of living, he confessed that he did not so much regret it, especially, as he saw there was no great danger of the name becoming extinct. He now often paid them a visit, and Henry Hunt began not merely to look upon him as a father, but likewise to enjoy his society, as one of his most valued and confidential friends. At his house, he was always a welcome guest, and they were always received with the greatest kindness at his.

Henry Hunt was now beginning to experience what it is to enjoy true and substantial domestic comfort, and he pro-



misled himself the greatest pleasure, as well as the greatest advantage from the friendly intercourse with his intelligent and much valued parent. Amongst other things on which he kindly admonished him was, that he once more pointed out to him the folly, as well as the unprofitableness and ingloriousness of remaining in the yeomanry cavalry, which he strongly advised him to quit; while he could do so with credit to himself—"for," said he, "I cannot be insensible to your situation; I view, with a considerable degree of alarm, your sanguine disposition, and I fear that your enthusiasm will one day lead you into some serious scrape with the selfish and unpatriotic officers under whose command you have placed yourself. I know that you entertain a proper feeling upon the subject; that you are actuated by the most laudable and uninterested motive to serve your country; but when I reflect upon the sinister views of those who are to be your commanders, I dread some disagreement with your officers, that may prove very unpleasant, and then you may not be able to get rid of your engagements without their endeavouring to fix a stigma upon you in some way or other. I see that already they are all jealous of your independent spirit. The majority of your comrades are the dependents and mere vassals of your officers; you are almost the only one amongst them that can say, you are free from any obligation to any of them. The officers dread your spirit, and the privates envy your independence; they are most of them actuated by selfish views, whilst you, on the other hand, are glowing with the *amor patriæ*, and think of nothing, but how you can best serve your country. Such opposite qualities will never amalgamate, and you may rely upon it, that there is great danger in your situation."

Henry Hunt listened more attentively to his father's reasoning, than he had heretofore done, because his predictions had hitherto proved so true, that he was convinced of the correctness of his judgement, and that his superior knowledge of mankind had taught him how to estimate the views and objects of those men, much better than he could. But yet, he could not bear the thought of leaving the yeomanry at a time when



an invasion was threatened by the French, and he therefore determined not to quit the troop till the return of peace.

The alarm of an invasion, in order to divert the attention of the people from many important and alarming subjects, amongst which was principally the mutiny at the Nore, was now renewed with redoubled zeal, and the officers commanding yeomanry corps received letters or circulars from the lord lieutenants of counties, to inquire if, in case of the enemy landing, they would volunteer their services to the full extent of their respective military districts. The district of the Everly troop was Wilts, Hants, and Dorset, and the day was appointed for that troop to assemble and to give their answer to the application of Government. In the meanwhile, the officers were very busy amongst them, particularly Cornet Dyke, who was their most active officer. The elder Mr. Hunt at once declared, that they, the brave Everly troop, would, now they were put to the test, refuse to go out of the county. His son, however, stoutly maintained, that although the officers might be so disposed, it was impossible that the men in a body, could prove themselves such despicable cowards, for if they did refuse to extend their services, they would ever afterwards be ashamed to look each other in the face. The reply which Mr. Hunt, sen., made, was, "Mark my words: shameful and disgraceful as it will be, yet I have heard quite sufficient to convince me, that a great majority of them have been spoken to, and that they have made up their minds to refuse to comply with the request of Government; and now, young man, as I before told you, disgrace will be the lot of the Everly troop. I know the officers too well to be deceived; and I should have thought that the specimen you had of their *valour* in the Salisbury affair, would have completely opened your eyes, unless, indeed, you are intentionally blind."

Henry answered, and told him, that they had been so giped and scouted in consequence of their behaviour on that occasion, that they would be ashamed now to give an open refusal



to stand forward, when they were called upon in such a public manner.

“Why,” said Mr. Hunt, “one would think it is almost impossible; but I know my men so well, that I entertain not the least doubt upon the subject, and, therefore, you must get out of it, as well as you can; but let me give you one word of advice.”

Henry, however, began to be impatient of advice upon such a point, for while they had been in conversation, he had, as was usual with him, made up his mind how to act, and he at once told his father, “that in case they should refuse to go, he would resign, and enter instantly some other corps, who had volunteered to extend their services.”

“Oh!” said Mr. Hunt, sen., “what, you are again ready to rush headlong into fresh difficulties, if they refuse to extend their services; it will, I own, be a very fair ground for your resignation, and then, you may thank God, you have had an opportunity of saving yourself from disgrace, for disgrace, I was always convinced from such playing at soldiers, must come at last; especially when I know what sort of officers are at your head. If you should resign, why not stay at home with your wife and attend to business? Depend upon it, this mode of acting will prove not only much more profitable to you, but much more honourable in the end. What can you expect if you go into another troop? Even though they have volunteered, yet you will find that ninety-nine out of a hundred of them, have entered into the troop from some interested motive. Your disinterested patriotic intentions will, consequently, only raise you enemies in those, who will not know how to appreciate your motives, and those who do comprehend those motives, will only be jealous of you, because you outdo them in devotion to the cause, which you wish to promote. If you must be a soldier, give me up the farm, and I will buy you a commission in some regular regiment at once. You may thus chance to gain renown or an honourable death; but even then, never expect to obtain promotion, unless you can con-



quer your unbending spirit. Promotion is not gained by merit, but by parliamentary interest, and by servility to your superior officers. Take my advice, therefore; and if the Everly troop disgrace themselves, quit them, and think yourself well out of what I always thought was a scrape."

This wise and salutary advice was, however, not followed by the obstinate stickler for military fame, though at the same time, he could not but admit the propriety of it.

The momentous day, however, arrived, and Henry Hunt was one of the first upon the ground, which was a beautiful sheep-close upon the downs, between Everly and Amesbury: this, he ludicrously styled, his second campaign. As the several members of the corps arrived upon the ground, he eagerly accosted them to know their determination, but most of them appeared shy, and gave evasive answers. He could, however, easily discover that some of them had got their cue, and then he began boldly and manfully to inveigh against the want of good faith in the government, in thus striving to draw the troop into a snare. Some of them even swore that it was as bad as kidnapping, for that the terms upon which the troop had been raised was, that its services should not be required out of the county, without the consent of the persons, who composed it. "Aye," said Henry Hunt, "that is very true; and we are now, I understand, called together to be asked if we will consent, in case of an invasion, to go out of the county."

His speech was interrupted by some of his comrades espying their gallant cornet moving majestically, but slowly, along over the adjoining hill. As he approached them, he was saluted by each of the members in their turn; but when he came up to Hunt, the latter fixed his eye upon the cornet with a scrutinizing glance, and so intent was he in endeavouring to trace, if possible, his thoughts, that he actually forgot to offer him the customary salutation, till he reminded him of his inattention, by saying, "Good morning, Mr. Hunt." The latter apologised for his absence of mind, but the fact was, that as he eyed his gallant commander, the dressing-gown scene had in



voluntarily crept across his brain, and for the moment had so absorbed all his attention, that he was not conscious of any thing but the ludicrous appearance of the mighty hero on the morn of the battle of Salisbury.

The bugle now sounded to announce the arrival of the gallant Astley, who, with his brother officer, had so alarmed the natives of Staines by their attack on the river Thames. The troop accordingly fell in, and went through the various manœuvres by the cornet. This being over, that officer, after a short conference with the captain, formed the troop into a circle, within which sat on their chargers, the captain, the cornet, and the Rev. Mr. Polhill, chaplain to the troop, who held the principal farm at Everly, which he rented of Captain Astley. Having read to them the copy of the Secretary of State's letter to Lord Pembroke, the lord lieutenant of the county, which stated that an invasion was meditated by our implacable enemy, the French, that the government anticipated almost daily an attempt to put it into execution, and that his lordship requested to know, whether in case an invasion actually occurred, the Everly troop would extend its services to the military district of Hants, Wilts, and Dorset. On that occasion, the troop was addressed in a long speech by Cornet Dyke, in which the orator of dressing-gown notoriety did not content himself with leaving the decision to their unbiased judgments, nor even with hints of his dissatisfaction at the proposal, for he at once boldly expressed his decided hostility to the measure, and strongly reprobated the idea of farmers leaving their business by going out of the county. His very luminous harangue appeared wonderfully successful in convincing a great portion of the troop, that by staying at home and looking after their farms, and protecting their own wheat ricks, they should not only be serving themselves, but should also be supporting the government, and opposing the invasion, much more effectually than they should be, by marching forty or fifty miles to the coast to meet the enemy. He also proved to demonstration to his willing hearers, that it was their duty to stay at home, and, consequently, to send an answer saying, that



as they had entered the troop for the purpose of keeping in order the turbulent in their own district, they did not feel themselves justified in leaving the county under any circumstances. He, however, concluded in a most heroical strain, by declaring, that by giving this advice to the troop, he was not actuated by any fear (indeed, not !) of meeting the enemy ; on the contrary, he lustily threatened, that if they should ever dare to come into the county of Wilts, at least near Everly or Synecot, they should receive an exemplary chastisement for their temerity, and all the world should know of what sort of men, the Everly troop were composed.

Henry Hunt listened to this address with considerable impatience ; for such was the effect of example, that he found several of those, who, in the morning had expressed their determination, at all hazards, to vote for going, now drew back ; and when he looked at them during this speech, he perceived that their eyes dropped down upon their holster pipes. No sooner, however, had the cornet concluded, than he put spurs to his charger, and darted out of his place into the centre of the circle, where having doffed his helmet, he addressed himself, for the first time in his life, publicly to a body of his fellow countrymen. He began his first speech with the following words :—  
“Comrades ! if not fellow soldiers, at any rate fellow men, fellow countrymen !” He then implored them to reflect upon the consequences of sending such an answer as had been recommended by the cornet, and he warned them, that if such an answer were sent, an eternal stigma would be fixed upon the character of the troop. Their conduct upon the Salisbury affair was, he told them, little known out of the county, and they had now an opportunity of wiping off the stain from their character ; but if they publicly and deliberately refused to go out of the county to meet the enemy, in case of an invasion, they would justly deserve to be branded as poltroons and cowards to the latest posterity.

This language excited considerable signs of disapprobation, some few laid their hands upon their swords, and others ventured even to threaten the patriotic speaker. He was not, however, to



be deterred. He pointed out to them that the law, as laid down in Blackstone's Commentaries, compelled every man to bear arms against invaders, and that the yeomanry corps, who had been trained, would, of course, be amongst the first, who would be compelled to act, whether they would or not, and that consequently, if they did not feel a desire burning within their own breasts, either successfully to resist the invader, or fall gloriously in the attempt—if they did not possess any of the *amor patriæ*, yet sound policy ought to induce them to offer voluntarily those services, which the law had the power of enforcing against their will.

This may be considered the first attempt of Henry Hunt to speak in public ; but, as the sentiments flowed from his heart—as they were the spontaneous effusions of an ardent spirit, burning with impatience to evince by deeds, as well as by words, that he really loved his country, and was willing to lay down his life in its defence, and as he felt indignant at the attempt that had been made by the cornet to seduce them, as he thought from their duty, he did not want words to express himself, and he verily believed that it was quite as eloquent a maiden speech as was ever made by an honourable member of the House of Commons. At any rate, it was prompted by a sense of public duty, and he never regretted it, although little doubt existed that it raised up for him a host of rancorous enemies, who never lost an opportunity from that day to a far distant period of his life, of traducing his character behind his back, and of doing him every injury which they had it in their power to perform.

The cornet scowled, and many of his comrades put on a dolorous countenance, and muttered their discontent ; but not one of the valorous troop seemed disposed to debate the question. At length, after having in vain waited a short time to see if any one would come forward to second his proposition, the worthy chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Polhill, gracefully took off his hat, and stepped up between the speaker and some of those who, unable to refute him, and dreading the result of his appeal, were almost disposed to draw their swords upon



him, for the lecture which he had given them. The venerable air of the truly pious man, who was upwards of seventy years of age, commanded instant attention, and as he fixed his eye steadily upon Henry Hunt, the most solemn silence reigned around. All the angry passions that his speech had excited, were now calmed into the most serious and silent attention, under the expectation that he was about to give the intruding speaker a severe reprimand for his intemperate, and as some considered it, not only indiscreet, but an audacious speech. After some short pause he began. At first, Henry Hunt was rather in doubt as to the course which he intended to pursue, although from his well known honourable and independent character, he was not much in dread. To the great vexation and astonishment of the troop, however, his first sentence was a warm eulogium upon what he was pleased to call Mr. Hunt's eloquent appeal to their feelings as men, and to their hearts as Englishmen, and this compliment to the young orator, he followed up with a strain of impassioned eloquence, enough to have made the veriest coward, brave. He repeated all Mr. Hunt's arguments, but in a style of language far superior; and while the tears flowed down his furrowed cheeks, he implored them to save their character from the disgrace which appeared to be hovering over them. He said, that however galling might be the words, which had dropped from the lips of his young friend, yet, as he could not find others that were more appropriate, he himself must repeat them, and must plainly tell them, that if they returned such an answer as was recommended by the cornet, they would deserve to be handed down to posterity as poltroons and cowards. He would, he said, go still farther: they would not only deserve to be thus branded with infamy, but they would actually be so, and their pusillanimity would be a taint in the blood of their children's children. He begged, he prayed, he entreated, he implored that they would not disgrace the name of man by conduct at once so cowardly and so foolish; but he begged, prayed, entreated, and implored in vain; his venerable character protected him from the boisterous disapprobation that they had



shown towards the former speaker; but they heard him unmoved, or rather as hogs would have listened to the harmonious notes of Orpheus, with a grunt. Still persisting, however, in his efforts to awaken a spark of courage in their cloddish bosoms, he declared, that when the day arrived that a foreign foe set foot upon British ground, if he could procure no other conveyance, he would travel upon his hands and knees to the coast to meet them, and there, old and feeble as he was, he would make a bulwark of his shattered frame, to check in their first onset, this daring attempt to destroy the rights and privileges of Englishmen. In fact, he did every thing which man could do, to persuade them to perform their duty, and to save their character from such foul and irretrievable disgrace. It was, however, all in vain; for with the exception of Henry Hunt and the venerable chaplain, they all held up their hands against going out of the county; and it was decided that they should send an answer to that effect to the lord lieutenant. He made one more effort, in a short, but spirited appeal to their honour as men, to their character as Englishmen; but all remonstrance was thrown away. With one accord, they stamped the degrading name of coward upon the colours of the Everly troop of yeomanry, and Henry Hunt immediately handed over his sword and pistols, or rather indignantly threw them upon the ground, declaring from that hour, that he no longer belonged to them, and adding, that he would the next morning enrol his name in any corps, which had extended its services to the military district, unless there was one that had volunteered for unlimited service, in which case, he would enrol his name in that corps. Henry Hunt then shook hands with the worthy chaplain, who warmly applauded his conduct, saying, that he never would attend them again upon any occasion, and that he would much rather have sacrificed his life, than have lived to see so fine a body of his fellow countrymen, desert at such a moment, their duty to themselves and their country.

Henry Hunt felt so ashamed of their conduct, that he put spurs to his horse and galloped from the field indignant, lest,



by remaining even for a short time, he should become contaminated by their vile spirit. Thus ended his military farces in the Everly troop of yeomanry, amongst the members of which were many private friends, for whom he entertained a very sincere regard, and who would never have disgraced themselves in such a manner, had it not been for the unworthy recommendation and advice of their officers.

As his father's house lay in his way home, he called on him to inform him of the result of the meeting. As he rode into the yard, his father met him, and seeing he had left his sword behind, "Ah!" he exclaimed, "I see that it is just, as I predicted;" but when Henry Hunt had related to his father all that had happened—"Well," said he, "*this* is really too bad to laugh at. The expedition against the old women at Salisbury was truly ludicrous, but this deliberate act of cowardice, they never can get over; it must, and will be, blazoned throughout the whole country. You have done rightly, my boy, you had no choice; the man, who after this decision, remains a moment in that troop, must expect to be laughed at and despised, as long as he lives. But mark my words, prepare yourself for all sorts of ill-nature and slander. They, who have not had the spirit to follow your example, will never forgive you; and to gloss over their own baseness, they will load you with all possible calumny, and will miss no opportunity to do you an injury. As by your resignation, you have exposed Astley and Dyke to great odium, be careful how you get into their clutches, or they will squeeze you, rely upon it."

Henry demanded how they could injure him?—"Oh!" said his father, "You know but very little of mankind; they that seek an opportunity, will seldom want an occasion to do a malicious act. You have been a great sporting crony of Astley's, and have frequently hunted with him; he keeps a pack of hounds, and has hunted over my property and my farms for many years, and we have sometimes, though sparingly, sported in return over his. Depend upon it, this will be put a stop to now."

Henry replied, that upon an average, as they had hunted



ten times over his father's farms, when they had sported upon his estate once ; that Mr. Astley's hounds met once a week at Lillecot Furze, and that he could not start a hare upon his own estate, or any part of it, without a great chance of her running over some part of his father's property.

"That is all very true," said the elder Mr. Hunt, "but if he cannot be revenged of you in any other way, he will give up his own hounds in order that he may prevent you from racing over any part of his estate."

With all due deference to the good sense, which the father of Henry Hunt has invariably exhibited in the course of this narrative, it is really not exactly consistent with probability, that Captain Astley would render Mr. Henry Hunt's resignation of such consequence, as to induce him to break up his hunting establishment, merely to prevent him going over any part of his estate. It is the very quintessence of egotism, and attaching a high degree of importance to an act, which could be looked upon as no other, than as one of daily occurrence, and the consequences of which would partake of the same triviality, as the act itself. However, Henry Hunt lays great stress upon the line of conduct which he pursued, and according to his own account, it made as great a hubbub in the country, as if the French had actually landed at Dover. He dined with his father the same day, and returned home in the evening, where he found that the news of the disgrace of the Everly troop had flown before him. Mrs. Hunt heartily approved of his conduct ; she received her husband with open arms ; but if he had returned, and told his wife, that he was one of the number, that had refused in case of invasion, to go out of the county to oppose the enemy, he firmly believed that he would for the first time, have met with a very different reception ; at all events, he was conscious to himself that he would have deserved it.

On the following morning, before he was quite dressed, a messenger came with a letter from Lord Bruce, the colonel of the regiment of Wiltshire yeomanry. He broke the seal, and read a very flattering eulogium from his lordship on his gallant conduct



in resigning his situation in the Everly troop, in consequence of the troop, as his lordship expressed himself, having disgraced itself in such a way, as rendered it impossible for an honourable man to remain in it. After paying him many very high compliments, he solicited the *honour* of enrolling in his troop (the Marlborough troop), the name of a gentleman, who had acted such a gallant part. Before, however, an answer could be returned to the letter, another messenger arrived from an officer of the Devizes troop, to request that he would *honour* that corps with his name. As, however, Lord Bruce had made the application first, and as in that troop, Mr. Hunt happened to have a particular friend, Mr. Thomas Hancock, he complied with his lordship's pressing invitation, and enrolled his name in the Marlborough troop on the following day.

The predictions of Mr. Hunt, senior, now began to be verified, for before the week had elapsed, Henry Hunt was *honoured* with a visit from the Everly gamekeeper, who served him with notices from Mr. Astley, and all his vassals, forbidding him to trespass upon any part of his estates, as, henceforth, he should be treated as a common trespasser. At the same time, the gamekeeper informed him, that his master was grown exceedingly fond of seeing the hares very plentiful upon his manors, and *that he had disposed of his hounds*. This was so precisely what his father had anticipated, that he began almost to think that he possessed some extraordinary means of becoming acquainted with the intentions of men, more than those furnished by common observation. In return, Henry Hunt sent his compliments to the gallant captain, desiring him to mark his hares, by burning them on the ears, and to teach his keepers to persuade them to stay at home, for if he caught any of them trespassing on his father's property, he should certainly make them pay forfeit, and would, if he could, prevent a single one of them from returning to tell the fate of their companions. It must be understood, that the property at Everly belonging to Mr. Astley joined Mr. Hunt's father's, without any other division than a mere furrow, struck with the plough between the arable lands, and that the division between the down lands



consisted of old bound balls, which were merely small heaps of the sod thrown up together, perhaps some hundred years before, so that those, who were not aware of this circumstance, might pass over the plain twenty times, without ever observing that there was anything to mark the separation, so slight and imperceptible are the land-marks that divide all the estates that are situated upon Salisbury Plain.

Henry Hunt now renders himself conspicuous in the Marlborough troop, not so much, however, on account of his military prowess, but from a disposition that was innate in him, of declaring his sentiments openly and freely, without any great respect to the rank of the individuals, in whose company he might be. Lord Bruce was always very polite to him, but he did not appear to relish his delivering his sentiments, which he did with great freedom upon every occasion on which the subject ran counter to the opinion which he had previously formed. The nauseous leaven of radicalism was beginning to ferment in him, and the subject of the existence of such rotten boroughs, as Marlborough and Great Bedwin then were, could not be very pleasantly discussed in the presence of Lord Bruce, the colonel of the Marlborough troop, and eldest son of the Marquess of Aylesbury, under whose control and influence the above-mentioned boroughs were hereditarily placed. When in the field, or in the ranks, Henry Hunt knew how to conduct himself with propriety, and never failed to pay implicit attention to his duty, nor ever deviated from the strictest discipline; but when he was at Lord Bruce's table, or at a mess with the troop, he knew of no distinction; he never felt any other control, than that which was dictated by politeness and good manners. Perhaps, young as he was, he might have been thought to have delivered himself, upon some occasions, and upon some subjects, with too much freedom; and being always brought up with the idea, that nothing was so base and degrading as a slavish disposition, he might, in his endeavour to avoid this, have erred by falling too much into the opposite extreme; but the natural bent of his disposition always led him to avoid giving offence to any one intentionally. His maxim



was never to offer an insult to any one, and to be particularly careful not to say anything to hurt the feelings of any person in an inferior station of life to his own; never to take umbrage lightly, but if any one, be he whom he might, gentle or simple, offered him a premeditated insult, always to resent it upon the spot, whatever might be the consequence of his so doing.

Henry Hunt now contracted a very intimate acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Hancock, the banker, and always made his house his home, whenever he went to Marlborough, although his wife's elder brother kept the Castle inn, where he was always welcome. This brother, and Henry Hunt were, however, never very intimate, for they were of very different dispositions. His acquaintance lay mostly amongst the dependents and tenants of his landlord, Lord Aylesbury, and as his chief pursuit appeared to be directed towards amassing a fortune, and as their tastes were cast in a very different mould, their friendship, although they were upon very good terms, was not of the inseparable kind. He was very much respected among the persons before described, with whom he associated, taking good care to pay particular attention to the steward of Lord Aylesbury, who is, in general, a person of greater importance, in his own opinion, than the individual, in whose service he is. Nor did Mr. Halcomb forget to pay all proper civility to the steward's wife, having arrived at the knowledge, that on many points, the grey mare was the better horse; but to the taste of Henry Hunt, she was one of the most disgusting of disgusting women, both in person and manners.

Henry Hunt was now about to endure one of the greatest bereavements which could befall him, in the death of his worthy father, which was occasioned by the mere simple act of his running a thorn into his leg in getting through a hedge, that he endeavoured in vain to extract, but which ultimately brought on delirium and mortification. It would be tedious and uninteresting to follow Mr. Hunt through his minute, and egoistical description of his father's malady. The latter part, however, of his parent's life shows him to have been a man of no ordinary vigour of mind, and it may also be said that his



life was one of industry, integrity, and respectability. He appeared for some time to be sensible of his approaching end, for one morning he took his son by the hand, who certainly, in his conduct towards his parent, evinced a high degree of filial affection, and in a tender voice said to him:—"My dear son, though I do not feel myself weak, yet as we must part so soon, pass as much of your time with me as you conveniently can, for I feel at present in very sound mind, and I shall be yet enabled to give you some very good advice, which I hope will be of lasting service to you, and as it will be given at such a time as this, I am sure that it will sink deep into your heart. In the first place, you must not give way to sorrow, for you must be a father to your sister, and to your *unfortunate* little brothers, who are at school in London. I shall not for one moment repine upon my own account. I am not afraid to meet a merciful Creator; he is not the implacable Being that some find it their interest to represent him; I always have had, and shall have to the last to continue to have, full and implicit confidence in his loving kindness and mercy. Be you, therefore, calm and temperate in your grief, and consider that you have a great duty to perform. It must be your task to comfort your father in his last moments, when, perhaps, by the exhaustion of his bodily powers, he may become weak in mind. If this be the Divine will, which, however, may Heaven avert, be it your care to soothe, to comfort, and to cherish, and, if possible, collect and control my wandering senses. Promise me, that you will not leave me long at a time. In you, I place my trust, and I know you will not deceive me." Henry solemnly assured him that he would not leave the house. "Nay," said his father, "do not say so; all our large farms, with two or three hundred servants, require your attendance sometimes; but do not leave me long at a time. I feel no symptoms of my approaching end. Send for your wife, she will comfort and be a good companion for your sister, and will assist her to nurse me. I know that you will all make me as comfortable as you can, while I remain here."

The medical attendants had, however, privately informed



Henry Hunt, that they thought it impossible that he could live more than three days at the most, as the mortification had approached the vital parts. As he was a very hearty strong man, with a sound constitution, it was possible he might live for three days; but, nevertheless, as some change might bring on his dissolution much sooner, he ought, they said, to lose no time in settling his affairs. Mr. Hunt himself began, however, on the subject, by saying—"You know that I made my will since your mother's death, and I see no cause to alter the distribution of my property. I have dealt fairly with all my children. You will possess the manor and estate of Glastonbury by heirship, in addition to what I have given you. I wish to make a codicil, to appoint you a trustee, in the place of one of those, whom I appointed, when you were a minor."

As the mortification increased, his leg grew less painful; his amazing strength of constitution went beyond the calculation of his medical attendants, for he lived four days and nearly five nights after the mortification had visibly passed into his body. During the whole of this time, even to the very last, he was perfectly sensible, and not till he ceased to exist did he cease to possess all his faculties in the soundest state.

Notwithstanding his end was fast approaching, he begged to have his daughter's pianoforte brought up into his room, and when he grew fatigued with giving his son his kind admonitions, he was much pleased and refreshed by his daughter's playing and singing. He was always passionately fond of music, and was a tolerable amateur himself, and it appeared to give him as much pleasure as ever to hear her play and sing, "Angels ever bright and fair," &c. Sacred music was mostly his choice on this occasion, yet he would sometimes request a lively and cheerful air.

During the whole of this time, he talked of his approaching dissolution with the greatest calmness and composure, and he gave orders how he would be buried, and named those of his servants, who should carry him to the church, to lay him by the side of his dear Elizabeth. He often repeated Pope's Universal Prayer, and frequently expressed his gratitude that he



did not feel as his beloved wife had done at her decease, the moment of which, he greatly lamented, was clouded with doubts and fears, a circumstance which he always attributed to bodily weakness, and he prayed devoutly to the Author of his being, not to suffer his mind to be impaired, while he had life in his body. He felt that he had lived the life of an honest man, and had never failed in strictly doing his duty towards his neighbour; he declared that he had gone regularly to church, as an example to his servants and his family, but believed that one private act of devotion was more acceptable in the eyes of a beneficent and all-wise Divinity, than any mere outward form of public worship. It was, he said, the greatest consolation to him in his last trial to reflect that he had been honest and upright in all his dealings, and that in his conduct to his fellow-creatures, he had uniformly kept in view the sublime precept of "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." He most emphatically urged his son to follow that example, particularly in that respect that "honesty is the best policy." Recalling to his memory, and mentioning all the little venial errors that he had committed, he assured his children that they gave him not the least uneasiness; that God was too wise, too just, too good, and too forgiving to record such faults, and to make his creatures suffer for them, when they had not been vicious or premeditated.

In this way for four days, he spent the close of his existence, principally with his son, urging and inculcating every good, honest, and noble principle; cautioning him against the effects likely to result from his great enthusiasm, and pointing out to him the path, which he thought would lead to happiness, honour, and renown; and he constantly offered up the most pious and devout thanks to God, for having permitted him to remain so long after he had received notice of his approaching dissolution, as to enable him to give his son so much good advice. He anticipated that his son would do well and prosper in the world, if his daring independent spirit did not lead him into difficulties; he continued to express great doubts about the prudence of his remaining in the yeomanry cavalry; for he



said, that he had always dreaded some great evil would arise out of it to him, and he submitted, whether it would not be much to his advantage to leave it. His death, he said, would be a most ample reason for his quitting it, as he would have such a large business upon his hands, that it would require every moment of his time to attend to it; "and if you want an excuse," added he, "say it was one of the last wishes of your father, that you should do so; but recollect, my dear son, I do not bind you down to any promise of the sort, I only throw out this hint, if you choose to make an excuse. I must, however, say, that a brave and honourable man should never think it necessary to make any excuse for doing that, which he deems right and proper. You will recollect these observations, and feel their justice when I am dead and gone, when you will have no sincere friend to admonish and advise you. I own, I wish I could have lived another year or two for your sake, as we were just now beginning to live as father and son ought to live, upon the most friendly footing. You would have protected and assisted me in my old age, and I know, and you will so feel, that I should have been of the most important service to you. You decide too hastily—you are quick and impetuous; your young hot blood leads you on incautiously into unnecessary dangers and difficulties. The truth is, you are young, and, therefore, I would not have you otherwise disposed than you are. I have long discovered a noble generous spirit to be the ruling passion of your soul, and all your faults ever result from an amiable and praiseworthy enthusiastic desire to excel. You only want prudence and experience to direct you; but that experience, which you might have derived from me, you must now purchase. To have lived, to direct, to advise, and to admonish you, would have been a great happiness to me; "but the Lord's will be done." I have given you a good education; I have made you a complete master of your business, as a farmer; God has blessed you with a strong mind and sound body, and few young men of your age will begin the world with brighter prospects. You will have a large business upon your hands,



that will keep you out of idleness, but I hope this fine business will also keep you out of mischief. You must be a father to your poor little brothers, who are so unfortunate as to require double care. Your uncle Powell has promised that he will take care of your sisters, but be sure and give them repeated advice not to be led away against their better judgement, to adopt his form of religion, that of a quaker. I have not the slightest objection to the quakers; but I have always found the church of England quite good enough for those, who have been bred up in that persuasion. I do not think any one would be justified in dissenting from the church of England till he has acted up to all the Christian precepts of that church. But now, that we are on the subject of religion and the church of England, mark what I say upon my death bed. It will, I know, sink deeper into your young mind, than any thing, that I could have said at any other time. Do not, my dear son, for one moment imagine that I wish to inculcate the idea, that as I approach my Maker, I profess to believe all those mummeries, that I have hitherto dared to disbelieve and dispute. You know that I never joined in St. Athanasius's creed; all such unchristian denunciations I ever held and still hold to be blasphemous impositions. Many of the forms of the church are also superstitious and ridiculous, but the moral precepts of the Christian faith are wise and good. I have never meddled in religious discussions; I have always formed my own opinion, to the best of my judgement, and belief, and if in any of those opinions I have erred, I have not the least shadow of doubt upon my mind, that a wise, just, and beneficent Creator, and Father of all, will pardon my errors. I do not feel the least disposed now to investigate or puzzle myself in my last moments, in a vain endeavour to inquire whether I have been right or wrong; the Lord's will be done, say I, and may he in his goodness assist you to continue an honest and an upright man amongst your fellow-men. Do your duty by your neighbour, and worship your Maker agreeably to the dictates of your own conscience, and you will live happy; and when the time comes, for recollect that it



must come with all, and when it comes with you, my dear son, may you be as well prepared as your father is, to enter the presence of your Maker."

Enough has been said to show the incessant pains, the unwearied exertion of Mr. Hunt to inculcate the true principles of honour, morality and religion, upon the mind of his son. He well knew that what he said upon these matters at such an awful period, was sure to make a lasting impression upon the memory of his son, for whose benefit he appeared to live even to the last. When at times he became so exhausted with his anxiety to serve him, he would say, "Now, my dear boy, go down stairs and get some refreshment, while I meditate, while I commune with God in private, and silently adore his goodness. Come again soon, but in the mean time do not let any one disturb my meditations."

When Henry crept quietly back again, he sometimes found him with his hands clasped, still in the act of silent prayer. On seeing his son, he would cease, and say, "it is all well;" and then he would return to the most interesting discourse with him. At other times he found him in the most sweet and delightful sleep; his countenance as placid as in the most happy and prosperous moments of his life, as if he were blessed with health and spirits. He always awoke cheerfully, and apparently refreshed, and would relate some delightful dream which he had had, frequently consisting of a happy meeting and heavenly converse with his dear departed Elizabeth. He fervently forbade any gloomy sorrow, any weeping in his presence; for he said, they ought all to bless the hour, and to rejoice to see a beloved parent upheld at such a moment by his Creator, so as to be able to die with such serenity and firmness, and to set such an example to his children.

In this manner passed away three days and nights after the medical attendants had pronounced it impossible for Mr. Hunt to survive. As they had all agreed, that it was not probable that he would survive more than two days, his son had every now and then a faint hope that the strength of his constitution would overcome the mortification. One



of the medical attendants, however, repressed that hope, by pronouncing it impossible that his father could live. His predictions were verified by the event. On the morning of the fourth day, it was evident that his father was growing weaker; his voice failed him, he had much greater difficulty in holding any conversation, and his respiration was much less frequent; yet, he was calm and cheerful, and felt pleasure in hearing his daughter play upon the pianoforte, which caused him a short slumber after each time.

About the middle of the day, he desired to be alone with his son, and taking his hand with a benignant smile, he said, in a weak but tender tone, "My dearest son, your father's time for quitting this mortal life is arrived. I find that the hand of death is upon me." After a pause of half a minute to recover from the exertion, he continued; "you will soon lose your best and truest friend. I would not wish to make you a misanthropist; I would not, because it is unnatural at your age, have you suspect all mankind; but of this you may rest assured, that there are few, very few in the world, who will not flatter you, if they can get any thing by it. There are none, who will tell you of your faults with the candid kindness of a friend; some, indeed, may taunt you with them, in order to irritate and provoke you; but before another sun rises, you will have lost the only one, who must be naturally anxious to advise and admonish you with a pure and disinterested friendship. Young and sanguine as you are, you will be thrown upon the wide world to think and act for yourself; but your prospects are bright; your father has done his best for you, and in his last moments, he will pray for your success and happiness through life. My only sorrow is at leaving your little unfortunate brothers. You must be a father to them, and I have left them an ample fortune to repay you well for any trouble you may have with them. I hope you will be a kind brother to them, and I hope in return, that they will be grateful to you. I have little to dread on your account; for though you are young, yet God and your father have done their duty towards you so bountifully, that there is



every prospect of your doing well in the world. I only wish I could have lived to have seen you well out of the *yeomanry cavalry*. Recollect my last words; you will always find honesty to be the best policy; therefore, always do unto others as you would, that they should do unto you; and take care so to live, that when death calls, you may be prepared to follow him, as I now am, in humble, but confiding hope, and without repining."

Mr. Hunt held his son firmly by the hand, and looked him steadily in the face, although his eyes grew dim, and his voice was so interrupted by the difficulty of respiration, which was now so much increased, that he was greatly exhausted. At length, he sunk gently back upon his pillow, ejaculating "the Lord's will be done," "the Lord be praised." His eyes were fixed, and death had overspread his face with a sombre hue; he held the hand of his son about three hours, but never spoke more, lying all the while perfectly still, apparently without the least pain or uneasiness, either in body or mind. In this state he continued till nearly eight o'clock in the evening of the 27th of August, 1797, when he drew his last breath, and gently slid into the arms of death, without a groan, a struggle, or even a sigh, to the inexpressible grief of his affectionate and deeply afflicted son. Mr. Hunt sums up the account of his father in the following words:—"There never lived a better man, nor a better father, nor did ever a son sustain a greater loss than I did by his death. It has been said with great truth, that he was the second founder of his family."

---



## CHAPTER IX.

AT the death of his father, Mr. Hunt was only twenty-four years of age, with a mind but partially formed, and, in the common acceptation of the phrase, he was very young of his age; he, however, found himself in the uncontrolled possession of one of the largest farming concerns in the kingdom. He had a young wife, and family of his own growing up, and the prospect of several more children being born to him; he had also to provide and take care of five sisters and brothers, younger than himself, and now in the forlorn condition of orphans. He saw himself obliged immediately to attend to the farms, which had no master to look over them during the preceding week, independently of the attention which the general affairs, and particularly of the funeral of his father, demanded of him. Necessity, however painful to his feelings, compelled him to see to every thing, because he was without a friend, either to do it for him, or to render him the slightest assistance; the whole lay upon the hands of himself and his wife, his sister not being able to render them any aid, on account of the extreme grief in which she was plunged.

The promises given by Mr. Hunt to his father were punctually performed, in every respect belonging to his funeral; he saw his father laid by the side of his mother in the silent tomb and vaults of his ancestors, in the chancel of the parish church of Enford, in the county of Wilts. This melancholy scene made the most lasting impression upon his memory, and such was the effect of the kind and endearing conversations, which he had held with his father during the four last days of his life, that, for seven years afterwards, he used in his sleep to hold the most delightful converse with the spirit of his beloved parent, in all of which he appeared most anxious for his welfare, and advised, admonished, and kindly cautioned him against every impending evil, so that he was not only the best of fathers



whilst living, but he proved a kind and fostering guardian angel after his death. No young man had ever better advice bestowed upon him than Henry Hunt had, unceasingly kind and paternal advice, as well as the best example, nor was any one ever more sensible of the great and irreparable loss he had sustained, nor more sincerely deplored the loss of an affectionate and beloved parent. His was not that sort of sorrow, which puts on a gloomy outside, the garb of woe, while the heart beats lightly to a merry tune; but although he did not assume any hypocritical outward sorrow, yet he was really and truly most sad at heart. The constant employment of the body, and the full occupation of the mind, are, however, always the very best antidotes to grief, and with those, his business furnished him to the fullest extent.

When his father died, what he rented, and what he left of his own, were nearly all the tything of Littlecot, as well as Chisenbury Farm, he himself being in possession of Widdington Farm, about two miles distant. All the farms were now in his own occupation, and as he deemed it proper to live more centrally, he took Chisenbury House, a large old-fashioned, handsome mansion, and as soon as he could fit it up and furnish it, he went to reside there. This was considered by some of the officious people in the neighbourhood, as being rather an imprudent and extravagant step, for it would require a considerable income to keep up an establishment, such as a house like that demanded. The first step, however, which Mr. Hunt performed was to reduce the number of windows, as he was at no times a friend to the assessed taxes, and, above all, he had a decided aversion from paying for the light of Heaven, at so much per foot of glass, according to the dictum of one of the most heaven-born ministers, who ever guided, or more properly speaking, misguided the energies of this mighty nation; he was one who perfectly coincided in the following denunciation:—

God gave us light,  
And saw it very good,  
Pitt made us pay for it,  
G—d d—n his blood.



In spite, however, of all his prudence, of which he fancied he possessed no inconsiderable portion, this residence could not be otherwise, than highly expensive. But still, he considered that it was not more than he was fairly entitled to, as the profits arising from his well-cultivated farms, enabled him to vie with men of five or six thousand a-year in his domestic establishment. His stables were stored with hunters; his kennels with dogs; his cellars were well stocked with wine, and the best old October; and his table was always furnished with the best of viands. Mrs. Hunt, who was quite as fond of company as her husband, made her female guests uniformly welcome. They kept a comfortable house, and they never wanted for company to fill it, as may easily be supposed to be the case as the world is constituted; for where was there ever a good table and a profusion of wine, but an unlimited number of people, styling themselves friends, could be found always ready to partake of the hospitable cheer. Mr. Hunt, however, considered that he was called upon, in other respects than the mere display of his hospitality, to show that he could fall in very readily into all the fashionable extravagance of the day. Curricles at that time of the day were as much in vogue as the Stanhope or the cab in after times. If the keeping of the latter be considered in our age as one of the criteria of respectability, notwithstanding the extreme ugliness and clumsiness of the vehicle, not less was a curricule considered as an indispensable one, in the early years of Henry Hunt, wherewith to establish the character of a dashing young man. Lady Lade could not vie with Mrs. Hunt as a driver, and, therefore, as it happened that a Dr. Clare, of Devizes, had bought a handsome curricule at a sale of some of Lord Audley's effects, Mr. Hunt took the opportunity, and purchased the vehicle of the doctor, who, it was hinted, had bought it on speculation, knowing that he should find a customer for it in Mr. Hunt. The curricule was accordingly no sooner inspected, than it was purchased, and Mrs. Hunt soon astonished the clodpoles of the country, and the gaping, staring gossips of Marlborough, and other towns that they visited, by her extraordinary skill in the management



of the reins. In the midst, however, of this apparent extravagance, Mr. Hunt would not have it supposed that he was a careless squanderer. He has informed us that his stables were stored with hunters, and consequently a number of grooms to look after them; his kennels were well supplied with dogs, and yet, under all these circumstances, the habits of economy which he had imbibed, almost from his infancy, in consequence of the example that he had always before his eyes, did not in any manner desert him. By good management, he says, he lived as well, kept as good a house, and had his whole establishment so arranged, as to make quite as good an appearance for a thousand, or fifteen hundred a-year, as many persons make, who spend more than thrice that sum.

In regard to the following eulogium upon himself, Mr. Hunt shall tell it in his own words, at the same time, we may be allowed to mention, that we have no data extant to disprove the statements, as given by Mr. Hunt, on the contrary, we know some of them to be founded on truth; but where the subject is one of direct self-panegyric, the account is best given from the immediate information of the individual.—“Thus,” says Mr. Hunt, “I had at all times plenty of money, and I had every comfort and luxury about me; but in the midst of all this apparent extravagance, I never forgot the poor. All my servants were well paid and fed, and I scarcely ever failed to attend the parish pay-table, to see that those, who held the office of overseer, turned no one away, who was really in distress, without affording him relief. Thus early, I gained the character of being the friend of the poor. I always pleaded the cause of the widow, the orphan, the aged, and the infirm, and being the largest paymaster in the parish to the fund of the poor, I never pleaded in vain; the idle, the indolent, and dissolute, I left to fight their own battles, but the infirm, the aged, the widow, and the orphan never fruitlessly sued when I was present, and, as I have just said, I seldom failed to attend, if I did, I was sure to hear complaints. The friend of the poor is a title which I earned very early in life, and I hope I shall deserve to carry it to my grave.”



It will be here necessary to enter rather more fully into this part of Mr. Hunt's history than may, at the first view, appear necessary or proper, in order to account for a mean and pitiful insult, which was passed upon him by the magistrates of the county in which he resided, but which had the wholesome effect of opening his eyes to the great advantages which the country derives from the valuable services of the *Unpaid*. "Thus," says Mr. Hunt, "those who have known me from my early days have not failed to have discovered, that I have proved myself to have been animated by an ardent love of country; that I possessed a sort of inherent patriotism, without having at all entered into politics. A patriot I consider to be a man, who is devoted to the laws and constitution of his country in their purity; a defender of the rights and liberties of the people, and one who does his best to promote their happiness and welfare."

"Merely possessing the good quality of being charitable, by no means makes a patriot; therefore I am not professing any claim to patriotism on the ground of my being at that period a friend to the poor. In the first place, I believe that charity and sympathy for the sufferings of my fellow-creatures are inherent qualities in my breast, at any rate, I know that I felt them in all their purity as long ago as I can remember. In the next place, I was taught to practise charity by the example of my amiable and excellent mother, who possessed as much christian charity, as well as piety, as any mortal that ever lived. She was, indeed, the very milk of human kindness, and although my father taught me to exercise the virtue with more discretion, yet he never checked it."

"When my father died," continues Mr. Hunt, "he was the vicar's churchwarden, as well as the principal overseer of the parish of Enford, and, of course, as I came into possession of his estate and farms in that parish, I continued in the parochial offices, as his substitute, until the next Easter. During that time it was a severe winter, and I exercised my own discretion, and, without any ceremony, raised the pay of the poor, particularly of the aged and infirm, those, whose labours



were done. I found their pay at two shillings and sixpence per week, I raised it to three and sixpence each, and, in some instances, as in cases of infirmity, still higher; and when some of the parishioners mentioned their objections to the measure, I declined to reduce the allowance, but offered to pay out of my own pocket the advance which I had made, in case of my conduct being disapproved of at a meeting or vestry. No meeting was, however, called, nor in this large parish, where the population is above six hundred, was there any complaint made to the magistrates by any pauper against me during the whole time I was in office."

"When Easter came, I being the largest paymaster in the parish, it was my turn, by rotation, to serve the office two years longer, and my name was placed at the head of the list that was sent into the magistrates for their approval. The practice is for the parishioners, at the annual Easter meeting, to send in a list of three or four names, to give the magistrates a choice in the appointment of two; but as the two names that are placed first and second, are those that were considered by the resident proprietors as the proper persons, and whose turn it is to serve the office, the magistrates seldom or ever, without some very substantial reason, pass them over, and appoint any of the others, whose names are placed, as a mere form, below them. In this parish, which was known to be well conducted, the circumstance of passing over the recommendation of the principal inhabitants was never known to have happened. My name being the first, I had no doubt, but that I should be obliged to remain in this disagreeable and troublesome office. I was, however, deceived; my disposition to give to the poor more liberal relief than had been heretofore granted to them, had been too evident during the short time that, in the winter season, I had been in office. The considerable and permanent advance that I had made to all the old people in the parish, who were no longer able to labour, had got wind, and this was canvassed amongst the magistrates, who were all farmers, some of them very large farmers in the neighbourhood; and who should be the magistrates of the district, but the valourous



officers of the gallant Everly troop, Messrs. Astley, Poore, and Dyke, the latter being nearly as large a farmer as myself, and employing a great number of labourers. It never entered into my head for a moment, that I should be objected to, on the contrary, I should rather have expected that the worthy bench of *just-asses* would have been pleased with the opportunity of fixing me in, what was generally considered, a troublesome and harrassing office, one which, in such a large parish, would require a considerable portion of a man's time to execute it properly; even when there was least to be done, it occupied three or four hours every other Sunday to attend in the vestry room at the pay-table, to hear the complaints, and to relieve the wants, of those who were in distress. This I had never neglected nor left, as others had frequently done, to the care of servants."

"The parish books were returned from the justices, and lo! and behold, my name was passed over, and a little apron farmer was appointed in my stead. At the first view of the case, I felt a weighty responsibility and trouble taken, as it were, off my shoulders, and I was, as I conceived, released from a great deal of labour, which I anticipated, and I heartily despised the petty malice, the little dirty insult, intended me by the magistrates, who, in their desire to annoy me, had, in fact, rendered me a great service. On my speaking of it in this way to my old housekeeper, who first brought me the news, she archly addressed me as follows:—'Ah, sir, I know your heart too well to believe that this will save you any trouble, though you are not in office; yet as you pay so much towards the relief of the poor, and feel so much for them, you will not desert them, you will, I am sure, still attend the pay-table, and see justice done them, at any rate.' This was quite enough for me—while she was speaking, a thousand ideas crowded my imagination, and, like lightning, I resolved to put them in execution. I said nothing, but the following Sunday, after the service of the day was over, I attended the pay-table, as I had constantly done while I held the office. It was so unusual for any one to attend but the two overseers, that it



was instantly noticed by the poor, who were in waiting. I sat silent, but that was quite enough, every one was paid the same as they had been the week before, when I was the paymaster, though I knew that it had been agreed upon to dock them."

"There was scarcely a single servant of my own whose name was upon the books, for my wish was, that they should always earn sufficient by their labour to support their families, without going to the parish. While I was in office, I acted upon this system, without making any remonstrance with those farmers who paid their labourers about half price, and sent them to the parish for the remaining sum, which was required for their support. But I now made up my mind not to bear this grievance any longer, without an effort to remove it. I therefore got the overseers to call a special meeting at the vestry to take these matters into consideration. At this meeting, I proposed that every farmer in the parish should raise his servants' wages, to enable them to keep their families, at any rate, those who were able-bodied men. There was scarcely any objection made to this, and it was carried unanimously; but I soon found that this measure was eluded, and of course would not answer. Several of the farmers turned off half their servants, and others all of them, and hired servants out of the parish, whom they could procure for less wages. I, however, always persisted in engaging my servants to earn enough to keep themselves and families without going to the parish, which most of them did, till all sorts of provisions were risen to double, if not treble their usual price."

Mr. Hunt had scarcely recovered from the insult which had been offered to him by the magistrates in withholding his appointment as overseer of the poor, when another of a more serious nature occurred to him. Contrary to his father's advice, he still continued in the Marlborough troop of yeomanry cavalry. His last words, however, turned out to be quite prophetic, as to the danger which his son was in by remaining amongst a set of men, whose notions were so very far from being actuated by a pure love of country. Still, as the threat of invasion continued to be held up to the country as likly to



executed, Mr. Hunt could not make up his mind to quit their ranks. He felt an ardour to be one of the first to meet a foreign foe, if ever they dared to invade us, and he therefore continued to join the troop as often as it was convenient; and as he was perfectly acquainted with the duty, and resolved to perform it, he was never once fined for any breach of the rules or regulations which were made and agreed to for the guidance of the members of the troop, and he was upon particular good terms with the commander of it, Lord Bruce, the eldest son of the Marquess of Aylesbury, who always treated him with the most polite attention.

The officers of the Everly troop of yeomanry had, as they thought, offered him an insult, and one which he had no power to resent. They were his majesty's justices of peace; and if they chose to mix up their revenge with their duty as conservators of the peace, he, Mr. Hunt had no power to prevent it; nor as they kept their own council, could he ever remonstrate. Aware as he was of the insult intended by their passing over his name, yet, as he was glad to be out of the office, and had taken such a course as would enable him to protect the poor from any partial or unjust treatment, and as he was still appointed the vicar's churchwarden, he felt little or no resentment on that account. He had expected neither candour, liberality, nor justice from them, and they had not disappointed him; he was therefore quite indifferent on that score. But, as his father always had a presentiment that something would turn out unpleasant to him before he got quit of the volunteer service, he was exceedingly guarded in all his movements in the Marlborough troop, and was particularly careful never to omit any part of his duty, nor to do anything in violation of the rules or regulations, and he really believed that he was the only man in the troop, that had not been fined over and over again. In the midst, however, of all his fancied security, a circumstance occurred that proved all his father's prognostications to be well founded, and this arose from a shooting excursion, which he had with his friend Mr. Hancock, the banker of Marlborough, on the preserves



of the Marquess of Aylesbury. That nobleman is proprietor of Marlborough forest, and also of very extensive estates and manors in the vicinity, almost the whole of which he had made into one large preserve of game; but as it was then necessary, previously to the passing of the reform act, that his lordship should keep his tools, the members of the corporation of one of the rottenest of the rotten boroughs, Marlborough, in good humour, he allotted one small manor at a distance of several miles from his principal preserve, where all his tenants and the inhabitants of the town of Marlborough and their friends, were allowed to shoot without interruption whenever they pleased. To this manor, Mr. Hunt and his friend repaired, and the former in a very short time had killed ten brace of pheasants. Mr. Hunt was not aware that he had committed any offence, but in four or five days afterwards, he received a letter from Lord Bruce, merely saying, "that my services were no longer required in the Marlborough yeomanry cavalry, and he therefore requested that I would return my sword and pistols by the bearer."

Mr. Hunt wrote a brief answer, to say that he was astonished at his lordship's communication, but that he should attend on the next field day for an explanation, and that he should not fail to bring his arms with him. He was wholly at a loss to conjecture the cause of this unceremonious and laconic epistle of his lordship, and he conjured up a hundred imaginary reasons for this, his abrupt dismissal from the troop of yeomanry. He had been in it for many months; he had never been once fined, or received the slightest reprimand from his lordship, or from either of the other officers, nor could he recollect any one instance in which he had either failed to perform or neglected his duty as a soldier; but although he could not recollect any of those things, he now recollected the last sad foreboding words of his dying father—  
*"I only wish I could have lived to see you well out of the yeomanry cavalry."*

On the following day a letter came from Mr. Hancock, which unriddled the mystery, for he had also received his



dismissal from the troop ; and it was a current report amongst the tools of Lord Aylesbury at Marlborough, that they were dismissed from the troop because they had killed so many pheasants on the 1st of October upon one of his lordship's manors. Mr. Hancock was desirous to know how Mr. Hunt intended to act in the affair, as he should like to go hand-in-hand with him, at the same time vowing vengeance against their colonel. Mr. Hunt sent Mr. Hancock a copy of the letter which he had written to his lordship, apprising him also that he would be at his house early on the morning of the next field day, in his uniform, as usual, to accompany him to the place of exercise.

The day arrived, and they rode together to the field where the troop were accustomed to perform their evolutions. It was upon one of the plains in Savernake Forest, about half a mile from Lord Bruce's house, but within full view of it. When they reached the ground, the troop were assembled, and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hancock fell into the ranks as formerly, to the utter astonishment of his lordship's vassals, who composed a great portion of the troop, and who had heard of the discharge or dismissal of the two sporting members, or, in plainer terms, who had been turned out by their equally sporting colonel.

After they had remained a little time, one of his lordship's toad-eaters came to reconnoitre, and as soon as he discovered the discharged members in the ranks, he retreated to carry the astounding intelligence to his patron. Messages now passed backwards and forwards from the troop to his lordship's house for nearly an hour before he made his appearance, a delay which had never before occurred. The cause was not only anticipated by Messrs. Hancock and Hunt, but by all the members of the corps ; and just as the latter was preparing to march to his lordship, since he did not appear disposed to come to them, he at last made his appearance, riding on his charger with slow and solemn pace. He at length arrived in front of the ranks, and continued to direct his eyes quite to the opposite flank to that in which Mr. Hunt was, nor could he



ever catch his look directed even askance towards him. After considerable delay, the serjeant pulled out the roll-call, with which he proceeded, till he came to the number filled by Mr. Hunt's name; he passed it over, and began to utter the name of the next man; but the name was scarcely out of his lips, when Mr. Hunt put spurs to his charger, and brushed up so furiously to him, that he reined back several paces before he stopped, on which Mr. Hunt sternly demanded by whose authority he had passed over his name? In a tremulous voice he stammered out, "that it was done by order of Lord Bruce." He then rode briskly up to Lord Bruce, saluted him as his officer, and firmly demanded by what authority or for what cause he had given orders to have his name struck out of the muster-roll. Conscious of being about to persist in a dishonourable and unworthy act, after hesitating a little, he said, "Pray, sir, did you not receive a letter from me?" Mr. Hunt, hastily replied, "Yes, and I am here to demand in person an explanation, and to know what charge you have to make against me, either as a soldier or a gentleman." His lordship now seemed still more confused, and he looked everywhere, except in the face of the individual who had just addressed him. At length he mustered courage to say, "I make no charge against you, neither do I feel myself called upon to give you any reason for my conduct. I—I, as commanding officer of this regiment, have a right to receive any man into it, or to dismiss any man from it, without assigning any reason for my so doing."

This was a critical moment of Mr. Hunt's life. He was young—he was devoted to the service of his country—he was a soldier—he was insulted without the shadow of a pretext to justify the insult—he was wounded in the most tender part—his patriotic zeal; at such a moment he would take no counsel of cold, calculating prudence, and therefore sternly replied, "Then, my lord, you are no longer my officer; you have offered me a deliberate insult, which it seems you are not prepared to explain or apologize for; I therefore demand that satisfaction, which is due from one gentleman to another; and



mark me well, unless you do give me that satisfaction, I will post you as a coward; upon which Mr. Hunt took his pistols from the holsters, and was taking his sword from his belt, in order to cast them with defiance at the feet of his lordship's horse, those arms being the only thing that he possessed, belonging to the government. Expecting that Mr. Hunt was going to make use of them in a different way, his lordship wheeled suddenly round, and clapping spurs to his charger, he was, without once looking behind him, soon out of sight, he having wheeled into the gateway of Savernake Lodge, his lordship's residence. While this was passing, Mr. Hunt had hurled the sword and the brace of pistols upon the ground, and his friend, Hancock, had moved out of the ranks, and came up to him. As long as their gallant commander was visible, Mr. Hunt kept his eyes upon him, and when on his disappearance, he looked round, he found the whole troop staring with astonishment, which, when they had recovered themselves a little, was followed by a general laugh. He then rode up to the centre in the front of the troop, and addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, you have lost your commander; you have seen and heard the cause; as, however, a troop without a commander is like a ship without a sail or a rudder, I, for once, will give the word. To the right wheel—dismiss; every man to his quarters:" upon this, every man made the best of his way home, and Mr. Hunt returned to Marlborough to dine and spend the evening with Mr. Hancock.

If, in this affair Mr. Hunt had paid more regard to prudence, and not acted with such precipitation, he would have put this lordling so much in the wrong, that he would have had no small difficulty in satisfactorily accounting for his unwarrantable conduct; as it was, however, every circumstance of the case was soon spread all over the county, and particularly amongst the members of the various corps, the ten troops of yeomanry. His lordship, however, did not choose to meet him, but rather preferred to settle the point in the courts of law.

Accordingly, in the following term, a criminal information



was filed against him for challenging the noble lord and gallant colonel to fight a duel. As Mr. Hunt could not deny the fact, he suffered judgment to go by default, rather than try the question in the court at Salisbury. His counsel, Mr. Garrow and Mr. Burrough, having informed him that it was useless to defend it, as he could not plead the provocation, however great, with any chance of obtaining a verdict. They were, however, of opinion, that when the affidavits on both sides came to be read, the court would never call him up for judgment. In this conclusion they were, however, incorrect; but it is by no means wonderful that such a one should have been drawn by them, for the late Lord Kenyon expressed a great unwillingness to proceed, and term after term he hinted to Mr. Hunt's counsel, that he hoped their client had seen his error, and that he would make an apology to his lordship, which would save the court the trouble of taking any further steps in the affair. His counsel answered, that they were not instructed to say, whether their client would or would not. His lordship then stated, that in case he did so before the ensuing term, he understood that the other party would not press for judgment. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Vicary Gibbs, who were employed as counsel against him, added, that so far from wishing to degrade Mr. Hunt, they did not even wish that he should make any personal apology to his lordship. If his counsel would say for him that he committed the offence against the law, and regretted the uneasiness which he had occasioned to his lordship, there should be an end to the business.

This offer, Lord Kenyon strongly urged Mr. Hunt's counsel to accept. Mr. Burrough, who was junior counsel, said that he knew the feelings of his client upon the subject so well, that he would undertake, although in his absence, to say, that he was perfectly sensible that he had been provoked to offend the laws of his country, and that he was ready to make the most ample apology to those offended laws, but that, as he considered Lord Bruce to be the aggressor, he could not, on Mr. Hunt's part, undertake to make any apology to him, and



that he was fearful that he never could be persuaded to do it, although he would communicate the wish of his lordship and the court upon the subject.

This affair had now been before the court four or five terms, and had been as often put off by Lord Kenyon. In the meantime, the affair created a considerable sensation amongst all the yeomanry corps in the kingdom, and in none more than in the different troops of the Wiltshire yeomanry, and the conduct of their colonel was canvassed with great freedom. Every gentleman in the regiment, and, in fact, every member of the whole of the volunteer force of the country, felt that it was a common cause, as he might be placed in a similar situation, and, consequently, if he were punished, he himself might be liable to arbitrary and unjust dismissal by a superior officer. The court knew and felt this; however, the next term came, and when Mr. Hunt's counsel were again called upon to know whether they were instructed to make the necessary apology, the answer was, that he was sorry for having violated the laws of his country, but that the illegal and unjustifiable provocation given by Lord Bruce was such, that he had declined to make any submission whatever to his lordship. Lord Kenyon begged Mr. Garrow to do his duty to his client, and make the apology for him; and Mr. Erskine, Lord Bruce's counsel, also begged his friend Garrow to do it, declaring he would accept the slightest acknowledgement, made in his, Mr. Garrow's, own way; that he felt for Mr. Hunt, and did by no means wish to degrade him in the slightest degree.

Mr. Garrow rose and, in a spirited manner, said, "that he thought Mr. Hunt had offered quite a sufficient apology to the offended laws of his country, and that he, for one, did not feel that, under all the circumstances, Lord Bruce was entitled to any apology whatever. If Mr. Hunt had felt disposed, of his own accord, to suffer him to say, that he was sorry for having challenged his lordship, he would have done it with all his heart, without believing that the slightest stigma would have been fixed upon that gentleman's character, either as a soldier or a gentleman; but Mr. Hunt had a right to have his own



feelings on the subject, and he could not blame him; and so far from making any apology for Mr. Hunt in his absence, without his consent, he, as his counsel, with all the respect which he entertained for the court, yet he would not take upon himself to advise him to do it against his inclination."

Mr. Erskine appeared to assent to this, but Mr. Vicary Gibbs jumped up, and, with great petulance, said—"Well then, my lord, we demand that he may be brought up; we pray the judgement of the court." Lord Kenyon said—"It must be so, then;" and he fixed a day in the following Michaelmas term for Mr. Hunt to attend to receive judgement.

The day at length arrived on which Mr. Hunt was to stand, for the *first* time, on the floor of the court of King's Bench to receive judgement. Mr. Garrow, as one of his counsel, made an eloquent appeal to the court, declaring that he would much rather be placed in his client's situation, than in that of the prosecutor. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Vicary Gibbs were employed to pray for the judgement of the court against Mr. Hunt; the former conducted himself with the greatest moderation, and even kindness towards him, and never uttered one single offensive or unkind sentence in the whole of his eloquent harangue. But, as Mr. Hunt terms him, the little, waspish, black-hearted viper, Gibbs, whose malignant, vicious, and ill-looking countenance was always the index of his little mind, made a most virulent, vindictive, and cowardly attack upon him, which was so morose and unfeeling, and so uncalled for by the circumstances, that, if he had not been held back by his attorney, Mr. Hunt declares, that he would certainly have inflicted a summary and just chastisement upon him on the spot, by dashing back his lies, together with his teeth, down his throat. He was, however, very prudently restrained from committing himself in so outrageous a manner, and the sentence was passed upon him by Mr. Justice Grose, which was, that Mr. Hunt should pay one hundred pounds to the king, and be committed to the custody of the marshal of the court for six weeks; the fine was immediately paid, and two of Mr. Hunt's friends, who were in court, entered into recognizances



in five hundred pounds each, and himself in one thousand pounds, to keep the peace towards the gallant lord for three years.

Mr. Hunt was handed over to the tipstaff, who very civilly conducted him and his friends in a coach to the King's Bench prison, which place, he had the evening before, been to reconnoitre with his friend, Mr. Wm. Butcher, who had come to town with him, and who had voluntarily become one of his bail. At this time, Mr. Waddington was a prisoner in the King's Bench, for forestalling hops, and as he had conducted his defence before the court with great energy and considerable talent, and as he was convicted upon an old obsolete statute, he was not esteemed guilty of any moral crime. Mr. Hunt had imbibed rather an illiberal notion, that the debtors in the prison were generally a set of swindlers; but if he had said, of improvident and extravagant young men, connected with the first families of the kingdom, he would have been far nearer the truth. Many swindlers there certainly were; but that is a class of men which is to be found in other places than the King's Bench prison; at all events, at the time of which we are now speaking, there were some individuals confined in that prison, of whose society, Mr. Hunt need not have been ashamed, and who had moved in a station of life far superior to his own. Mr. Hunt, however, declares, that he was anxious to avoid the society of the debtors, or, indeed, of having anything to do with them, which feeling, erroneous as it was, increased his desire to become acquainted with Mr. Waddington; but of this Mr. Waddington, or of his private character, he knew no more than he did of any other of the inmates of the prison; he had distinguished himself on the floor of the court, where Mr. Hunt had just received his sentence, for his eloquence and energy, but in his general character, he was many shades beneath many of the individuals, whom Mr. Hunt affected to despise. Mr. Hunt, however, says, that his chief temptation in courting the acquaintance of Mr. Waddington, who, it may be recollected, was afterwards well known in London, under the name of Bill-sticker Waddington, was his



being a man, who had become celebrated for the spirit, which he had several times evinced before the court, in defending himself against what was generally considered as a mere political prosecution. Mr. Hunt made several inquiries about him, but he only learned, that he was not within the walls, but that he had apartments over the lobby, without the gates. He was as yet too great a novice to comprehend what was meant by imprisonment, without being in prison.

Mr. Hunt arrived at the prison about two o'clock, and was conducted into the coffee-room, kept by Mr. Davey, the marshal's coachman, where they were soon accommodated with a very good dinner. In the mean time, he had made the necessary inquiry for an apartment, but the prison was represented to be very full, he was, however, shown one or two rooms, where the parties occupying them, had no objection to turn out to accommodate him, on the payment of a certain stipulated sum. Amongst the number, he was shown into a very good room, which was occupied by a lady, who, it was said, would kindly give it up for ten pounds. When they entered the room, she was singing very divinely, she being no less a personage than Mrs. Wells, the celebrated public singer. With great freedom, she inquired which was the gentleman, Mr. Hunt, or his attorney, who accompanied him, and upon the former informing her, that he was the prisoner, she eyed him over from head to toe, and then with that art, of which she was so much a mistress, she simpering said, "that she was loath to part with her room at any price, but that as he appeared a nice country gentleman, he should be welcome to *half* of it, without paying any thing." Mr. Hunt, however, was not prepared to enter into a contract of that sort, he therefore hastily retired, and left his attorney to settle the quantum of pecuniary remuneration with her.

Before the dinner cloth was removed, Mr. Hunt received a visit from his friend, the Rev. John Prince, the chaplain of the Magdalen, and vicar of the parish of Enford, whose churchwarden he then was. He stated to him the difficulty he had in procuring a suitable apartment, of which he was no sooner



informed, than he volunteered his services to go immediately to his friend and neighbour the marshal, with whom, he had no doubt, he should readily arrange that matter, to the entire satisfaction of Mr. Hunt, who was well pleased to have such an advocate as Mr. Prince, a man so well known, and so much esteemed for his piety and goodness of heart. He, however, soon returned, looking very grave, and said, that he could do nothing with the marshal, who would not enter into any conversation with him upon the subject, but told him, if Mr. Hunt wanted anything, he was ready to do whatever lay in his power to serve him, but that his attorney was the proper person to transact such business, and that it was quite out of the worthy parson's line.

It was, however, evident that Mr. Prince was totally ignorant of the character of Mr. Jones, the marshal, for had he presented himself before him to make an inquiry of the sum which would be demanded for permission to Mr. Hunt to walk into the rules, the urbanity and politeness of the marshal would have been flattering to the worthy clergyman, but to trouble him upon such a profitless subject, as the mere provision of a room in the interior of the prison, was rather bad policy on the part of the clerical advocate.\*

Mr. Hunt now sent his attorney, Mr. Bird, to wait upon the marshal, and, during his absence, Mr. Prince informed him, that his old friend Jones had behaved quite rudely to him, and expressed himself very much surprised that a man of his calling should think of interfering in such matters. Poor Prince was, therefore, fully impressed with an idea that Mr. Jones would do nothing to accommodate Mr. Hunt, as he had been quite huffed by him. In ten minutes, however, Mr. Bird returned, with the news that he had settled every thing with the marshal; that Mr. Hunt was to have an apartment over

\* When Alexander Davison, Esq. was committed to the King's Bench prison for a twelvemonth, on account of the Ilchester election, he tendered the marshal 500*l.* for the liberty to reside in the house contiguous to his own. The marshal, however, returned the 500*l.*, it not being deemed sufficient. Mr. Davison then sent his check for 1000*l.*, and the indulgence was immediately granted.



the lobby, and that he was to accompany Mr. Bird to the marshal, and enter into security not to escape, &c. &c., which security consisted in Mr. Hunt giving a bond for 5000*l.*, on which it would not be again necessary for him to return again within the walls. This was readily agreed to on the part of Mr. Hunt, and the matter was settled in ten minutes. Mr. Hunt is silent as to the sum which he paid for this accommodation; but that he obtained it without some gratuity is not a very probable case.

Mr. Hunt now returned to his friends, elated with the prospect of his being so comfortable; Mrs. Filewood, the principal turnkey's wife, who kept the lobby, was to prepare his bed, and get every thing ready for him in his room, by ten o'clock, the time at which his friends were to leave the prison. When the hour arrived, he was shown into a very spacious room, nicely furnished with a neat bureau bedstead, standing in one corner. His hostess, who was a modest, pretty looking woman, was very attentive, and so communicative, that he really felt quite as comfortable as if he had been at an inn. It was, in fact, much better than the apartments which he had occupied at the inn in London, the Black Lion, Water-lane. There was a good fire in the room, and every thing bore the air of cleanliness and comfort; and, as Mr. Hunt expressed himself, "I went to bed, and slept till daylight, as sound and as well as I ever slept in my life."

As Mr. Hunt lay in his bed, thinking of the new situation in which he was placed, he lamented that he had not on the preceding night made some further inquiries about Mr. Waddington, as he still felt very anxious to become acquainted with him, and he was devising all sorts of schemes how he could gain an introduction to him, when his hostess knocked at the door, to say that Mr. Waddington, the gentleman who lodged in the room over him, sent his compliments, and wished that he would favour him with his company at breakfast. This was to Mr. Hunt a most gratifying invitation, which he cheerfully accepted, with as little ceremony as it was made.

As is generally the case with a person of some notoriety,



we generally form to ourselves an idea of what sort of a man he is in his external appearance, but the ideal which we form very seldom answers to the reality. Mr. Hunt had fancied that in Mr. Waddington he should find a tall, stout, athletic person, of dignified manners, and a countenance which was to be irradiated by the intellectual fire which burned within him; but he saw himself greatly deceived, for he beheld in Mr. Waddington a short, thin, insignificant personage, with the air and address of a foreigner, and not a single trait in his physiognomy which could indicate the existence of superior talent. He, however, received Mr. Hunt with great politeness, and having shaken each other by the hand, they had a hearty laugh at the expense of their prosecutors, and the ridiculous situation in which both of them were placed. From that moment all reserve was laid aside between them, and before they had finished their breakfast, they agreed to mess together during the six weeks which Mr. Hunt had to remain, Mr. Waddington being sentenced for six months.

✓  
✓  
Mr. Hunt soon discovered that his new acquaintance was a great politician, and that he was a decided opposition man, or rather a democrat, a sort of being which he had been hitherto taught to look upon, if not with an evil eye, at least with a suspicious one. Mr. Hunt was himself a professed loyal man, but before they had been together four-and-twenty hours, Waddington declared his companion to be a real democrat, without his being aware of it himself. Mr. Hunt, however, found him a cheerful companion, who, whatever he might think of his political feelings and information, was, at any rate, possessed of a great share of mercantile knowledge. His opinions upon political matters were, many of them, new to Mr. Hunt, and his arguments, though there was much ingenuity in them, were not altogether calculated to carry conviction to the mind. His conversation, however, gave him an insight into many matters that he had never before had an opportunity of investigating, or of hearing discussed.

On the second day, Mr. Hunt was, for the first time, introduced to Henry Clifford, the barrister, who was one of Mr.



Waddington's counsel, and who on that day came to dine with them. Mr. Hunt was much pleased with him; and although he advocated the same principles that were professed by his client, yet he did it in such a way, and in such plain intelligible language, that every word, every sentence carried conviction with it. He conversed of rational liberty, of freedom, as the natural rights of man, and as the law of God and nature; he put the matter clearly and distinctly, undisguised by sophistry, and, as far as he could discover of his discourse, Mr. Hunt had already an inherent love of that liberty of which he spoke, he was naturally an enthusiastic admirer of freedom, and an implacable foe to tyranny and oppression; this he admitted to Mr. Clifford, at the same time that he disclaimed any participation in those principles which were designated as jacobinical, and professed himself a loyal man, and a friend to his king and country.

Mr. Clifford smiled at his folly, and, with the greatest good-nature, said—"But, my worthy young friend, and I am proud to call you so, I see that you have in reality imbibed the best, the most honourable principles; the seeds of genuine patriotism are implanted in your heart; it only requires a little time to rear them into maturity, and I have not the least doubt but they will, ere long, produce good and useful fruit. I believe that you are a really loyal man, a sincere friend to your king and country, and if I thought you were not, our acquaintance, I assure you, should be very short; but as you are one, I hope our friendship will only cease with our lives."

Their discourse now became more general, Mr. Waddington had listened with great attention to his friend Clifford's clear and undisguised manner of initiating, as he called it, the young countryman into the science of politics, and he appeared much delighted to find that "the bait took so well." Clifford reproved his expression, and added, that the young countryman, as he was pleased to call Mr. Hunt, required nothing more than a little practical knowledge of corruption, to make him shake off all his natural prejudices, and become as good and sincere a defender of liberty as either of them.

X



By this time their friend Clifford, who was then a two-bottle man, had taken his glass too freely to make him intelligible any longer, and Mr. Hunt resisted the proposition of Mr. Waddington to uncork another bottle, as he was very much shocked to see one of the most intelligent and truly able men in the country, reduced to a mere idiot by the effect of wine. Mr. Waddington, who was naturally an abstemious man, agreed with Mr. Hunt, and as they had previously given a general invitation to Mr. Clifford to dine with them twice a week, they now also came to the resolution that, in future, they would not be deprived in such a way of his instructive and agreeable society.

Their friend and guest now literally reeled down stairs, when he took leave of them, and Mr. Hunt could not help observing what a misfortune it was for such a brilliant man to drown his senses, and obscure his intellect, with wine. Though Mr. Hunt had for some years, at least since he was married, kept that sort of company which led him to take his glass freely, yet he seldom took it to excess, and never to inebriate himself. This melancholy example of Mr. Clifford had a very great effect upon Mr. Hunt; to see a man of the most brilliant talents, of the most profound erudition, so far forget himself as to become an object of pity and contempt, imbecile and even beastly, was a sight which made a deep and lasting impression upon his mind, and he began to think that his own partial indulgence in the practice of drinking so freely after dinner, was an act of great weakness and folly, which, if not checked, was likely to degenerate into one of the worst crimes.

Mr. Hunt and Mr. Waddington both formed the resolution that such a scene should never again occur at their table, although they found it was a difficult task to perform. When Mr. Clifford and the Rev. Dr. Gabriel dined with them, which was regularly twice a week, the reverend doctor in particular they found it incumbent upon them to keep within strict bounds; for when he had got a little too much wine, though he was an old man and a dignitary of the church, it was with great difficulty they could restrain him from indulging in



obscene conversation, with which both Mr. Hunt and Mr. Waddington were equally disgusted. The doctor was a wit and a scholar, but as Mrs. Waddington and her family, as well as other amiable females, frequently visited them, his language was not to be tolerated; and, consequently, Mr. Hunt undertook one morning to remonstrate with the doctor upon the subject. He frankly acknowledged his error, but attributed it to a foolish habit that he had acquired at college, of which he could never afterwards wholly break himself. At the same time, he pleaded that he never forgot himself so far as to disgrace his profession, unless he had taken too much wine, which, by-the-bye, was every day, when he could get it. It was, however, made known to the doctor, that a resolution had been formed to limit him to a bottle, and that his visits were to be continued upon that understanding alone. To this he readily assented, upon the principle that a bottle is better than none at all; and thenceforth they found him to be a well informed and entertaining companion in the two days of the week that he was invited to dine with them. The doctor was reduced in his circumstances, and was then living within the rules. He was the individual who built the octagon chapel at Bath, of which he was the proprietor, and where he preached for several years. He was a man of letters, and when sober, a perfect gentleman; but whenever so little elevated, he betrayed even to them, comparative strangers, that he was a complete free-thinker. The literary controversy will be remembered, which took place between him and Dr. Gardiner of Bath. One thing Mr. Hunt particularly mentions in regard to the doctor, which was, that when he was going to relate an obscene story or anecdote, he always gave them a preliminary intimation of it by *sneezing*. He was, however, on the whole, one of the most extraordinary characters with whom Mr. Hunt became acquainted during his residence in the King's Bench, on his first visit there of six weeks in 1800—1.

Although we feel a particular dislike at any attempt of self-eulogium, yet, where the character of the individual is con-



cerned, and the actions on which that eulogium are founded are brought forward as the refutation of the slander and obloquy to which that individual has been exposed, we should deem it not only unjust, but also uncourteous to withhold the mention of those circumstances which are strongly corroborative of the existence of that very virtue, which popular clamour or party has denied to him. We speak it from personal conviction, that Mr. Hunt was a humane and charitable man, in the fullest acceptation of the term; but by his enemies, and he had many, he was stigmatised as the enemy of the poor, and a kind of monster, who could have bathed himself in the blood of his fellow-countrymen. We have not the slightest reason to doubt the truth of the following statement, which Mr. Hunt gives of his charitable actions, and we can only say to those who found a satisfaction in throwing a stone at him, whilst living, and who pass through the world as upright and charitable men, because they wrap themselves in the garb of sanctity, to those men we can only say, "Go ye, and do likewise."

Mr. Hunt shall, however, relate his charitable actions in his own words:—"This," he says, speaking of the winter of 1800—1, "was a very distressing season for the poor, and Mr. Waddington and myself gave a ton of potatoes to the poor prisoners in the King's Bench every week, nor during the time that I was there, did we ever fail to relieve every applicant\*, and they were numerous, but also to seek privately for objects of distress within the walls; and wherever we found an unfortunate object, we did our best to alleviate his misery. Some we found almost naked, without clothes or even bedding; some, who were pining in secret, silent want—who were ashamed to make their wretchedness known: these,

\* We remember visiting Dr. Campbell, who occupied the same rooms as Mr. Hunt did, and who, as a philanthropist and a Christian, was not to be surpassed. During the time that we were at dinner, no less than thirty applications for relief came from the interior of the prison. To relieve every applicant, he said, would absorb his income, and the greatest drawback was the inability to distinguish between the real object of charity and the fictitious one. He relieved 100 individuals, but because he did not relieve the 101, he was loaded with abuse.



we never failed to succour. The marshal, likewise, assisted us in these acts of charity, and did every thing that kindness or humanity could suggest, to ameliorate the condition of the unhappy prisoners in his custody.

“It being now the season when those who toil for us naturally expects some proof of our friendship and gratitude to enable them to enjoy this long anticipated merriment, I sent home to Mrs. Hunt to have my usual Christmas present given to each of my servants. It consisted of a good piece of beef, some potatoes, and fagots to dress it with, the quantity given being in proportion to the size of the family. This good custom I learned from my father, and I regularly continued it every year, but it was always done, I hope, with a becoming spirit, without any ostentation. I never, as many did, caused my little charitable acts to be blazoned forth in the public newspapers: I will venture to say, that while we were in the King’s Bench, Mr. Waddington and myself gave away privately, a larger sum, in comparison with our incomes, than any of the publicly blazoned forth charitable men in the city of London, who were lauded up to the sky for their benevolent disposition. Every Christmas, each servant who had worked for me during the year, received a present of beef enough to keep each person a week, which was never noticed in any of the public newspapers, though they constantly teemed with pompous accounts of the generosity, benevolence, and charity of my more opulent neighbours, who never gave half so much; in fact, who never gave a twentieth part so much as myself in proportion to their means.

“A circumstance of this sort, which happened not a hundred miles from this place, and the description of which was given to me by a farmer, has caused me a hearty laugh. It was lately paragraphed in all the country as well as the London newspapers, and spread far and near, that a worthy and reverend magistrate in this neighbourhood, had, with great liberality, given away an ox to his parishioners; some, in their great bounty, added eight or ten sheep to the boon. I was one day speaking with praise of the act before a farmer



of the neighbourhood, who had called to visit me, upon which he burst into a loud horse laugh, and exclaimed, 'Oh! the old cow.' The fact was, as he informed me, that the worthy magistrate had an old Norman cow that had done breeding, and consequently gave no more milk, and as every farmer in the country well knows that the devil himself could not graze an old cow of this sort to make her fit for the butcher, the worthy parson very properly gave her away amongst his parishioners, and the praises of this mighty gift were hawked about in almost every newspaper in the kingdom.

"I do not give any name, neither do I in the remotest degree bring forward the circumstance by way of taunt or ridicule. There was nothing improper in it, but the contrary; and of course, the old cow afforded many a hearty meal, and many a porridge-pot full of good wholesome broth to those amongst whom she was divided, who, no doubt, were very thankful to the worthy justice for the present. I only mention it to show, 'that it is not all gold that glitters,' and how such a thing is trumpeted forth, when it is once set agoing. I know it is the practice of many persons to give a trifle at this time of the year, and then get one of their dependents to send, and not unfrequently they themselves send, an account of it to the county paper; away goes the news, and a person's name is blazoned forth all over the kingdom, as a most charitable man or woman, when it often happens that a great deal of misery, poverty, and wretchedness, and want, present themselves to their view all the year round, without their having once extended that aid, which, to bestow in private, would afford them ten times as much heartfelt pleasure and real satisfaction, as they can gain from their ostentatious newspaper fraud. I have given away four times the value of the old cow, every Christmas, for ten or fifteen years together, without having even once had a wish to have my name held up in a public newspaper, as an example of charity and liberality to the poor. Yet, twenty years ago, before I was known as a reformer, when, for instance, I was in the King's Bench, a pound note, a fifth part of what Mr. Waddington



and I gave away privately, besides the ton of potatoes, would have caused my name to cut a pompous figure in all the annals of news, both in town and country. I may, without boasting, declare, that scarcely a month in my life ever passed, without my having given away more than the value of the said old cow, to relieve and assist my fellow-creatures, and yet the public well know how my name has been bandied about in every newspaper in England, Ireland, and Scotland, and of late years in almost every paper in Europe, as the greatest enemy of the poor, as their deceiver, their deluder, and their plunderer. I have been held up for political purposes by the venal press, as a sort of ferocious monster, who longed to gorge upon the life-blood of my fellow-countrymen. It may be asked by some, how comes it that *all* the public press has been induced to represent you as a monster of this description? The answer is easy; for this plain reason, because all those, who belong to the *public press—the liberal press*, have been the agents or the tools of one or the other of the two great political factions, nicknamed Whigs and Tories, because throughout the whole of my political life I have honestly opposed the peculations, the plunderings, and frauds of the borough-mongers of both these two factions upon the people, upon the earnings of the poor; because I never have in any way been, nor ever would be linked in to either of those factions—because I have fairly, manfully, and openly stood up for the political rights of my poorer fellow-countrymen, and never for one moment of my life have compromised those rights in order to secure or promote my own interest.”

We have ourselves, in several parts of this work, alluded to the tendency which Mr. Hunt has, in various instances, displayed in speaking of himself, in rather too high a strain of eulogium, and of dwelling upon particular facts, in which he was the chief actor, with a degree of vanity and self-conceit, which considerably detracted from the real character which he was anxious that it should be supposed belonged to him. In speaking of his charitable actions, he appears to have been himself sensible that he was carrying the spirit of egotism a



little too far; but he exculpates himself on the following grounds:—"Some might say that my statement of what I have done, is an egotistical digression—that I am sounding my own trumpet, and that to do so is no proof of a truly charitable disposition; but let those recollect, that I am compelled to this digression in order to do justice to my own calumniated character—let them recollect that I am writing my own history, and that as all the press of Europe has been sedulously and malignantly employed to prejudice the public against me, I owe it to myself, my children, and family—to the myriads of my fellow-countrymen who have honoured me with their confidence—I owe it to them to show, past all contradiction, that my accusers are slanderers—that my conduct deserves to be otherwise spoken of than it has been; and this duty I can perform openly, by speaking candidly and boldly of such facts as may tell in my favour—facts, be it remembered, which admit of being proved, or disproved, by thousands of living witnesses. I make no assertions which are morally or physically incapable of being refuted. I appeal to evidence which is still in existence, and if my enemies can convict me of having in my defence gone beyond the limits of truth, I will be content ever after to listen in silence to their calumnies."

We now must, however, return to a relation of the immediate circumstances which occurred during the imprisonment of Mr. Hunt in the King's Bench. He was there every day in the society of men, who had not merely mixed in the busy scenes of the metropolis, but of whom he found that many had been connected with the government; many had borne a part in all the dirty tricks, frauds, perjuries, and briberies practised at elections; of such abominations as he did not think it possible ever to have occurred; the reality was clearly proved to him by those who had been eye-witnesses of them, and who participated in the plunder. *Circumstances* here brought Mr. Hunt into strange company, and here he saw men of all persuasions of religion, and of all parties in politics. It may, however, be deemed as not the least singular of those circumstances, that it was during the confinement of Mr. Hunt in



the King's Bench prison, and his consequent intercourse with men of a particular stamp in the political world, that he imbibed many of those principles which afterwards rendered him such a distinguished character in the political world. Mr. Clifford, Mr. Waddington, Dr. Gabriel, and Mr. Hunt, formed at their mess-table a *partie quarré*, all men of strong intellectual power; and from the deep political knowledge which Mr. Clifford possessed, many startling truths became impressed upon the mind of Mr. Hunt. Penned up, as it were, in the midst of Salisbury plain, he heard the roar of the political world at a distance, and frequently as he might long to mingle in the fray, yet family affairs, and his business, had hitherto confined him within a particular sphere. If within the circle of a dozen miles he had heard an individual question the prerogatives of the king, it amounts almost to a certainty, that Hunt would have made him eat his own words, or he would have smashed the lips that uttered them; but it was within the four walls of his prison chamber that he first heard some truths touching those prerogatives, which by degrees established the opinion in his mind, that there was something very fallacious about the prerogatives of kings, and that they were, by no means, as they ought to be, used for the benefit of the people. Hunt, indeed, did not require to be taught that prerogative is the life and soul of royalty, but he did require to be taught and he learned the lesson in the King's Bench prison, that it is the duty of all men gradually to destroy prerogative; the very word is an insult to a free people, for it implies the superiority of the king to the law, whereas, of all beings, the most obedient and subservient to the law, ought to be the king. Prerogative varies in every country and every age, and it is as different now in England from what it was two hundred years ago, as it is now different in this country, from its actually existing state in Russia, China, France, or even Timbuctoo; for even African kings have great and mighty prerogatives, and they are as well entitled to them, and make just as good use of them as the kings of Europe.



“And then,” said Mr. Hunt, on hearing Mr. Clifford express himself so forcibly on royal prerogatives, “you would be for abolishing them.”

“Not suddenly,” said Mr. Clifford, “all sudden changes, especially political ones, are bad; for seldom is the country prepared to deal properly with a sudden alteration in its political constitution, and above all things, the sudden extinction of the prerogatives of royalty could not but be attended with danger to the commonwealth; but in proportion as a people advance in the extinction of those prerogatives, the greater will be their liberty and freedom. Society has always benefitted by the destruction of prerogative; for such an abstract curse is prerogative, so essentially and thoroughly is it the bane of all freedom, that even Blackstone assumes as a first principle, that the principal bulwark of civil liberty, or in other words, of the British constitution, is the limitation of the king’s prerogative. So criminal and absurd is the very nature of prerogative, that it has always been the effort of all princes and ministers to screen it from any investigation whatever. Elizabeth forbade both houses of parliament to glance at her prerogatives, but had she been mulcted of some portion of them, the blood of Raleigh would not have flowed on the scaffold. That unnatural miscreant James I., declared that as it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what the Deity may do, so is it presumption and sedition in a subject to dispute what a king may do. If the people of this country had not been stultified at the time, they would have exercised a little more presumption and sedition, and have taught the fool, that a king’s prerogatives were not given him to enslave and impoverish his people. It is the prerogative of an English king to dissolve the parliament at his pleasure; but some late occurrences have taught us that it is essential to the public welfare that that prerogative should be taken away from him. It was formerly a prerogative of the kings of England to seize upon all the carts and wagons of the people, and to use them without any remuneration; and likewise to seize upon all provisions in any shop, warehouse, or upon any



farm, for the king's use, and to pay for the seizures a nominal value; and it actually took thirty-six statutes even to check this royal larceny. Another prerogative of the crown was the guardianship of all minors of a certain rank and estate; in fact, our kings were special swindlers of widows, orphans, and minors. George III., that pious monarch, by virtue of his prerogative, took from his debauched and profligate son, the estates of the duchy of Cornwall; but the rightful owner of the estates could never get an account of the proceeds, nor the proceeds themselves, from his gracious and royal father, who had taken them into his keeping, until he brought the royal steward, and eke his prerogative, into the court of Chancery, when he was obliged to reimburse, that is, the people of this country did it for him, all the revenues of the duchy which he had collected in his coffers. Another prerogative of our ancient kings, was that of allowing no man or body of men to trade in any thing without a royal licence; these licences were sold at an enormous price; and directly the poor trader had paid to the royal thief the price of the licence, the offering to the prerogatives of kings, than the regal Turpin would take away the licence, or grant a monopoly to some other person or persons, who would pay him more. Cities were severely fined if they remonstrated against this illegal exercise of the prerogative. London did not escape this infliction of a king's prerogative; for it was once fined £36,000 for presuming to remonstrate against it. For the payment of this sum, certain city estates were confiscated, for the redemption of which the corporation paid to the thief, called a king, £70,000. The royal felon took the redemption money, but surrendered not an acre of the estates. According to the lawyers, prerogative is that law in case of the king, which is law in no case of the subject, or in other terms, there is one law for the poor and another for the rich, or rather that the king, in the robes of prerogative, is above all law. Even Sir William Blackstone, a vile courtier, and most corrupt lawyer, acknowledges that the enormous weight of prerogative, if left



to itself as an arbitrary government, spreads havoc and destruction."

If Mr. Hunt was in the habit of hearing sentiments like the foregoing, on the prerogatives of kings, it is not to be wondered at, that he relaxed in his rigid notions of royalty, and discovered that there were certain blotches and blemishes in it, which, if well cauterized, or wholly removed, would prove of essential benefit to the people.

There is, however, another subject on which Mr. Clifford enlightened the mind of Mr. Hunt, and that was in regard to the *practices* of the *gentlemen* of his own profession. On this subject, Mr. Hunt says,—“I have since suffered many great inconveniences and disappointments, which I might have avoided, if I had given credit to some of his statements, which, at the time, I thought totally impossible to be correct, but which I have since, by experience, and to my cost and sorrow, found to be true to the very letter. I was induced by him to believe many of the infamous acts attributed to their ministers and agents, and the cruelties practised by their agents and myrmidons; but it was not possible for me to give full credence to many of the stories and anecdotes which he recounted of the *judges* upon the bench in connivance with the *gentlemen* at the bar. It was difficult to make me comprehend and credit the infamous and disgraceful practice of the masters of the crown office, in procuring and packing a special jury, which he assured me was constantly and invariably done in every political cause, where the crown was the prosecutor; but he brought me so many proofs, that at length it was worse than self-deception to doubt of it. But that the judges upon the bench, in violation of their solemn oaths, would lend themselves to *delay*, to *deny*, or *sell* justice, was a course which I could not be persuaded to imagine was within the verge of possibility, though he solemnly assured me, that all this was not only done, but that it was the every-day's practice, particularly in political matters. To think that upon the *exparte* statement of one of the counsel, a judge would



submit to make himself acquainted with the case before he came into court; to think that a judge could be spoken with privately upon a cause that he was going to try openly in public court, that he would be influenced by unworthy motives, or take a bribe, was so abhorrent to every notion of justice, that I had imbibed; it was to me so horrible, that I could scarcely listen with any degree of temper to his recital of numerous instances of the kind, which he assured us had come to his knowledge."

"If I could have had the wisdom to have listened and have improved from the excellent information that I gained from Mr. Clifford, how many painful and useless exertions I might have saved myself—how many difficulties might I have avoided. But it was not in my nature to believe such things, or to think mankind, and particularly the judges of the land, such hypocrites, or such base tools, as he represented them to be. And such are the natural feeling and habits of an Englishman, that he imbibes the notion of reverence for the judges of the land at a very early period. We are taught this almost as early as we are taught the Lord's prayer, and it is nearly as easy to eradicate the one as the other, such is the effect of early impressions. Poor Clifford! how often have I heard him exclaim, 'Of all tyrannies, that which is carried on under the forms of law and justice, is the worst.' How well he understood the practice of the courts, and the trickery of the judges: every word, which he ever communicated to me upon this subject, I now believe to be true, and my own experience has since confirmed it. He gave us the history, a full account, of the treatment of those persons, who were confined in dungeons for political purposes, under the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and amongst those, he described the cruel and unnatural treatment of poor Colonel Despard, who was then confined in the tower, and who had been imprisoned at that time, five or six years. Mr. Clifford was employed by Colonel Despard, and offered to convince me that his description of his treatment was correct, by introducing me to him any morning that I would accompany him to the Tower, which I



promised to do the first opportunity, and a day was fixed accordingly for the interview.

Disposed as we may be in general to give full credence to the statements of Mr. Hunt, we still cannot pass over the foregoing passage without a few remarks. There certainly was a period in English history, when the judges of the land were the tools of a corrupt and unprincipled court, and who, particularly in political prosecutions, delivered their judgments accordingly as they were known to be agreeable to the king or his ministers; but when George III., amongst the very few reforms, which he instituted in the government of the state, rendered the judges independent of the crown, and thereby emancipated them from all political biases or servile truckling to the designs of the ministers of the day, an integrity of character was established amongst the judges, which has gradually raised them to that high estimation in the opinion of the country, of which they are at present in the enjoyment; not but that we could point our fingers at several of the lord chief justices both of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, who have most flagrantly lent themselves to be the panders of a political faction, at enmity with the real interests and constitution of the country; we have heard a Tenterden and a Wynford lose the character of the judge in that of the advocate, in their summings up to the jury on some of the state prosecutions, and even in cases of private actions, where either party has exhibited an adherence to certain political principles, not accordant with their own. The charges, however, which Mr. Hunt brings against the judges, are in their character, of a grave and serious nature, and which, we are certain, if they could be substantiated against them, would lead to their immediate expulsion from their exalted station. It may be true that they are irresponsible to the crown for their actions, but not so to the country; and we are convinced, that if Mr. Clifford could have positively proved the truth of the allegations which he made to Mr. Hunt against the honour and integrity of the judges, he was the first man, who would have taken the advantage of it. Mr. Clifford stood in rather *mauvaise odeur*:



with the judges; nor were the individuals, who then filled the bench any very great favourites of Mr. Clifford. They had all, particularly the lord chief justice, a strong leaning to the tory clique, and whenever an opportunity presented itself, Mr. Clifford was not backward in telling them of their political principles, but to accuse them of taking a bribe, or of hearing privately an *ex parte* statement, and giving their judgements according to that statement, is a charge, which, with all our knowledge of the moral delinquency of the majority of the high functionaries of the state, we never could bring ourselves to impute to any of the judges, who then filled the bench. It was easy to perceive that the information imparted to Mr. Hunt by Clifford, was given under the influence of a strong and rankling prejudice; but our surprise is not small when we find Mr. Hunt corroborating the statements of Mr. Clifford, from *his own experience*, according to which, the judges of this country are as open to bribery as a custom-house officer; or like the inquisitors of the three holy inquisitions, they heard the evidence in private and passed their judgements accordingly. It cannot have escaped the experience of Mr. Hunt, that the judges have frequently expressed their extreme indignation at the attempts which have occasionally been made to influence their judgements by means of private communication in letters, and declaring at the same time, that such letters have never been read. We pretend not to be thoroughly acquainted with the character of Mr. Clifford, although we do know some traits of it, which do not redound to his advantage; but it is to Mr. Hunt that our observations must be directed, and we do profess to know so much of his character, as to determine at once, that if he could have brought home to any of the judges a decided act of receiving a bribe, or *privately* hearing one part of the evidence, he is the last man from Penzance to John-o'-Groats, who would have suffered the knowledge of the iniquity to remain sealed up in his breast, and not having used every exertion in his power to bring the delinquents to justice. Mr. Hunt, in his general character, was by no means of a credulous dispo-



sition: he seldom believed a thing upon mere parole evidence, especially if he had not the opportunity of confronting the evidence with the statements of the opposite party. It is the province of the weak mind to attach belief to all that is reported to the disadvantage of another; but the man of the world and of experience, will withhold his opinion until he has put the conflicting testimonies in the opposite scales, and thence arrive at the knowledge as to which side the truth preponderates. When, however, we see an individual attaching implicit credence to the statement of another, and confirming that statement by his own experience, it then becomes a question whether such statement be not more the effect of prejudice and of rancour, which have hoodwinked his better reason, than of calm and deliberate investigation. We mean not to dispute, that it was unfortunately the lot of Mr. Hunt to fall under the infliction of high aristocratical tory judges, and it must be obvious to every one, that that political offence, which would have been severely visited by an Abinger or a Lyndhurst, would have been regarded with a lenient eye by a Denman or a Brougham; but it is a wholly different question, a judge allowing himself to be carried away in his judgements by his political principles, and a judge receiving a bribe in order to pronounce a particular decision, or having those judgements influenced by *ex parte* statements.

That Clifford contributed to poison the mind of Mr. Hunt towards the method in which the laws of this country were administered, is too apparent; and that he fully succeeded in his design, is also fully borne out by the result. Mr. Hunt, however, appears during his six weeks residence in the Bench, to have acquired a vast fund of knowledge; Mr. Clifford was on his right-hand, exposing him to the abuses of the law, and Dr. Gabriel was on his left, instilling into him a full and particular account of the abuses of the church, and Mr. Waddington acted the part of a kind of middle man, who, having seen a good deal of the trickery of the world, was well able to guard others from falling into the same pitfall as himself. Thus with such a triumvirate continually around him, it is no



wonder that Mr. Hunt, at his departure from the custody of the marshal, was a very different man, than when he was delivered into his custody. Speaking of these characters, Mr. Hunt says,—“Mr. Clifford was an intelligent man, and Dr. Gabriel was likewise an intelligent man, and these two individuals gave me an insight into the practice of the persons who were concerned in the courts of law and the church. I was not more astonished at the trickery, deception, and complete deception of the former profession, than I was at the cant and hypocrisy of the latter. I soon became a disciple of Clifford's; yet so astonished was I with his account of the mummery of the courts, and the farcical deception of what was called the administration of justice, particularly in all political matters, that I really looked with such astonishment, and sometimes with such a suspicious and unbelieving eye, that he frequently thought it necessary to bring me living proof and incontrovertible demonstration of the truth of his assertions; nor was it till he had done so, that he could bring me to acknowledge that I was convinced of their correctness. To the doctrine so unequivocally maintained by the worthy dignitary of the church, Dr. Gabriel, I became a convert with still more tardiness.”

“Mr. Waddington was also an intelligent man, and he had seen a great deal of the world. As a citizen of London, he had called a public meeting at the Paul's Head tavern, to petition for peace, and this public spirited and truly constitutional act was at that period quite sufficient to draw down upon him the vengeance of Pitt and his myrmidons. His ruin was decided upon by them, and he was handed over to the care of the minister's pliant, powerful, and dangerous tools, the judges of the court of King's Bench, the chief performer being Lloyd, Lord Kenyon. Mr. Clifford assured me, that which was afterwards proved in the same court, that there was neither law nor justice in Mr. Waddington's persecution, but that the ministers had determined to destroy him for his decisive opposition to their measures in the city, and he had not the least doubt but they would accomplish the ruin of his fortune.



2' though he was then worth one hundred and twenty thousand pounds."

Mr. Hunt was now introduced to two new characters, rather of a different calibre than his former associates. Whilst he and Mr. Waddington were one morning sitting at breakfast, Filewood, the turnkey, entered their apartment, and told them, that two very elegant ladies were just brought into the prison for debt, that they were in the greatest distress, as they appeared to be deserted by all their friends, and had scarcely money sufficient to procure the common necessities of life. This was quite sufficient to induce Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hunt to interest themselves in their behalf, and they accordingly made the necessary inquiries, in which they were assisted, with great alacrity, by the officers of the prison; and they learned that the parties were a gentlewoman and her daughter, the mother being arrested for a considerable sum, and being sent into the gaol, the daughter had accompanied her. A polite letter, tendering their humble aid, was sent to the ladies, accompanied with an invitation to dinner. The invitation was accepted; but a difficulty arose, as Mr. Hunt and Mr. Waddington were without the walls, and the ladies were within, which appeared at first view to be an insurmountable obstacle to their visiting them, for although the two gentlemen could pass into the prison, yet no prisoner within the walls could pass out, unless by a day-rule in term time, or the special permission of the marshal, which no one expected to obtain without giving sufficient security. Mr. Hunt, nevertheless, determined to apply to the marshal, as they were not to be driven, without an effort, from the pleasure of doing a kind action, after they had once made up their minds to it. They knew the character of the marshal to be that of a gentleman, and it may be added, the very reverse, whenever he chose to assume that character, which was generally in proportion to the former as six is to one. Mr. Hunt, however, felt no dread at the idea of placing himself under an obligation to such a man, and, therefore, without any further ceremony waited upon him, and communicated the circumstances, and the wishes of the two



gentlemen on the subject. Without the slightest hesitation the marshal granted Mr. Hunt's request, and having called his deputy, he demanded the reason why he had not been made acquainted with the situation of the ladies, who had been brought in the night before, and he called for the books, to know who the lady was, and what sum she was committed for. It was found that her name was M——e, and that she was detained for three hundred pounds. Mr. Hunt immediately offered to the marshal to become security for the sum, if he had any difficulty about it. His only answer was, "your word, Mr. Hunt, is quite sufficient;" and turning to the officer, he said, "recollect, sir, that Mrs. M——e and her daughter have free access to Mr. Hunt's and Mr. Waddington's apartments to dine, drink tea, and spend the evening, whenever they please to invite them, and take care also that they have a good room provided for them, if they have not already got such, within the walls."

Mrs. M——e and her daughter arrived at the appointed hour: she was a tall, elegant figure, apparently upwards of fifty, and her face, though clouded by misfortune, bore evident traces of no common beauty; her manners and address were at once graceful, dignified, and unembarrassed. Her daughter was a pretty little interesting girl of eighteen, and though she was very accomplished, yet it was easy to discover that she had not received that highly refined education, nor enjoyed those advantages, which can only be acquired by associating with persons, who have moved in the first circles of fashionable society, all which advantages her mother evidently possessed in a very eminent degree. Mrs. M——e appeared to be well acquainted with Mr. Pitt, Dundas, and some of the royal family; but as the conversation turned upon general subjects, they did not enter into any further particulars on the first visit; Mr. Hunt and Mr. Waddington confining themselves to making arrangements for the future comfort of the ladies, while they remained within the walls, and this, with the co-operation of the marshal, they easily contrived to promote. After a visit or two, Mr. Hunt became *enthusiastically* inte-



rested in the fate of Mrs. M——e. He discovered that she had moved a great deal in the higher circles, and was particularly well acquainted with the ministers of the crown, and a *certain great personage*.

We will here digress, for a short time, from Mr. Hunt's narrative, to explain a circumstance, not generally known, connected with the history of this lady, and which will show that she, like many others who have rendered services to *certain great personages*, are totally neglected and abandoned when those services are no longer required. Mrs. M——e was at one time one of the most beautiful women, as it is significantly styled, upon the town, and, of course, the panders to the lustful appetite of royalty were not long in tracking her to her abode. The extent of the charms of Mrs. M——e became the general topic of conversation in a certain circle, at the head of which was the greatest personage in the realm, then in a state of lunacy. One evening Mrs. M——e was sitting in her apartment alone, when the arrival of two gentlemen was announced, who wished to have a few minute's confidential conversation with her. On their introduction it was easy to distinguish, by the polish of their manners, that they belonged to the highest class of society, and after apologizing for their apparent rudeness in intruding themselves into her company, without any previous introduction, they gradually unfolded the object of their visit. It was on their part wholly disinterested, nor by any means personal, and at the same time they pledged their honour, that in what they had to propose to her, they were the accredited agents of the first family in the kingdom, although, for obvious reasons, the name could not be mentioned. By degrees, the full object of their visit was fully developed, which was, that for the douceur of 500*l*. she should consent to be taken in the carriage, which was then waiting at the door, to have her eyes bandaged, and that, on their arrival at the place of their destination, 'if the proposals, which would then be made to her, were such, that she could not comply with, she should be brought back again, without the slightest personal insult being offered to her. It was a most startling proposition,



and she begged for time, to consult a particular friend on the subject; to this, it was replied, that the very communication of the circumstance to another person, would put an end to the negotiation at once. From the apparently candid and truly gentlemanly conduct of the individuals, she was induced to accede to their proposal, leaving with her the 500*l.* note as a guarantee of their honourable intentions. On entering the carriage, Mrs. M——e submitted to be blindfolded, and the carriage drove off to the westward. The distance was not great that they travelled, but she was perfectly conscious of passing under a gateway, after which the carriage shortly afterwards stopped. Hanging on the arm of each of the gentlemen in a state of great trepidation and alarm, they entered an apartment; and on one of the gentlemen closing the door, the bandage was taken from her eyes. She now found herself in an apartment of stately dimensions, the furniture partaking of the splendour of royalty, and she was requested to be seated at a table, on which stood various kinds of refreshments. In the meantime, one of the gentlemen had left the room, and in about a quarter of an hour returned, bringing with him a gentleman dressed in black, and the introduction having taken place, the two gentlemen retired. For obvious reasons, the subject of their conversation cannot be detailed; but in order to give some clue to it, *the gentleman in black was one of the physicians attending on George III.* Mrs. M——e did not return to her residence that night, but on the following morning discovered that she had slept in a royal bed.

To return to Mr. Hunt. As Mrs. M——e perceived that she had excited, if not an interest, at least, a great curiosity in his breast; she told him that she was the natural daughter of the late, the great Marquess of G——, and that as her's had been a most eventful life, she would relate to him some very extraordinary incidents in it, if he would favour her with an interview some morning. This was readily assented to, and their meeting was fixed for the following day. Her history was briefly as follows:—She had been brought up by the Marquess of G——, and educated by him with great care and tender-



ness. She married young, and was an early widow. After the death of her husband, she fell a victim to the seductive powers of old Harry Dundas, and became his mistress, which she continued to be for many years. During that time, she had an opportunity of seeing a great deal of Pitt, of whom, and his associates, she related a vast number of anecdotes, which cannot here be detailed; but many of them went to show that the heaven-born minister was not quite so callous to the power of feminine beauty as some celibatists would be inclined to make him.

Her old paramour at length became tired of her, and a very extraordinary event led to the opportunity of shifting her off his hands without the inconvenience of making a settlement upon her. This circumstance was no other than the one which has been previously related, relative to the royal personage. In fact, it must not be concealed, that Dundas himself was the person who recommended Mrs. M-----e to the physicians of the king, and he very kindly and right loyally consented to resign the lady, upon condition that an annuity of four hundred pounds should be settled upon her. The proposal was immediately acceded to by the family of the afflicted personage, and it was one of the conditions mentioned to Mrs. M-----e, on which she consented to become the partner of the royal bed. Although the wily old Scotchman was delighted to get rid of his mistress upon such advantageous terms for himself, or rather to drive such an excellent bargain; yet he all the time professed that he was making the greatest sacrifice in the world, and doing the greatest violence to his feelings, by parting with a beloved object, a sacrifice which he was induced to make, solely from the love and veneration which he bore to his afflicted sovereign. It was the belief of Mrs. M-----e, that for this great and noble sacrifice, a most splendid reward was bestowed on Dundas, whilst she, for the sum of four hundred a year, consented to submit to the embraces of a lunatic.

But, "put not thy faith in princes," says a good and excellent book. The royal patient recovered; her *services* were



no longer required, and she was turned adrift, without her salary being regularly paid. She had contracted a debt of three hundred pounds, for which she was sent to the King's Bench prison, though she convinced Mr. Hunt, by documents which she produced, that she had at that time seven quarters of her salary, seven hundred pounds, due to her from the said personage; less than half of which would have saved her from a gaol. After all, the royal family of England are a singular race of beings; if their example were followed, the whole nation would be an assembly of the most finished rogues, libertines, cheats, w—emongers, and—to use the phrase of Lord Lyndhurst—*something more*, which the civilized world could produce. No bond nor obligation appears to be binding upon them, any longer than they find it to be their interest to adhere to it, and that end being accomplished, they think no more of forfeiting their bond, or of breaking their obligation, than that it was an act so common with them, that the person must be a consummate fool, to expect any other conduct from them.

The circumstance of the non-payment of the annuity to Mrs. M——e for the great services which she had rendered to royalty, extraordinary as it may seem, was nevertheless confirmed, not only by very credible witnesses, but also by most indisputable documentary proof; and, as a confirmation of its correctness, Mr. Dundas, the original “*wha wants me*,” and subsequently Lord Melville, a few days after the commitment of Mrs. M——e, came in person to bail her into the rules, the merit of which, Mr. Hunt in some measure takes upon himself, for he says, that he sincerely believes, that he never would have done it, had he not heard of the company into which she had fallen. It is pleasant to give an individual, and especially a courtier, all the credit that is due to him for the performance of a good action, and we do not see any good reason, in the present instance, for abstracting from Mr. Dundas that merit which was justly due to him, on hastening to the assistance of a female, with whom he had been intimately connected, seeing, at the same time, that no positive obligation rested upon him to take any notice of her whatever. It appears, however, that



would have been enforced. We shall shortly see how Mr. Hunt palliates this part of his conduct, by placing a construction upon the intent of the bond, which it was never designed to convey.

After entering their names in the book, which had been for a length of time the invariable practice at the Tower, they were admitted to the apartment of Colonel Despard. Mr. Hunt represents him as a mild gentlemanlike man, and Mr. Clifford introduced him by name, as a country friend of his, and he was received by the colonel with great courtesy and politeness. During their stay, he inveighed with some warmth, against the injustice of his treatment, and the protracted length of his imprisonment, which, he said, had been nearly six years. Two beef-eaters were always in the room with him, when any person was admitted, and they never left the room, even when his wife came to see him; but as far as within their power, consistently with the orders which they had received, and were obliged to obey, they conducted themselves with great propriety and civility towards the colonel and his friends. He laughed heartily at the idea of a visit from Mr. Hunt, who was himself a prisoner in the King's Bench, and Mr. Clifford surprised him when he said, that his friend Mr. Hunt had entered his name, "Mr. Henry Hunt, King's Bench," which was really the case.

To show Mr. Hunt the style in which the procession accompanied the prisoner, Mr. Clifford proposed a walk upon the terrace. He had described this ceremony to Mr. Hunt, and it appeared so preposterous, that he saw him look doubtful as to whether he should believe him or not. When he observed that Mr. Hunt looked suspicious, he always took uncommon pains to convince him by some unequivocal proofs, and this was his motive for proposing the walk. A guard of soldiers was called, and the procession was as follows: one of the beef-eaters walked first, with his sword drawn; then followed two soldiers, carrying arms, with their bayonets fixed; then came Colonel Despard, with Mr. Clifford and Mr. Hunt, one on each side of him; immediately behind them marched two more



soldiers, carrying arms, with fixed bayonets; and another beef-eater, with a drawn sword, brought up the rear. In this manner they walked the parade or terrace for about half an hour, taking care to speak loud, so that the whole of their conversation might be heard by the beef-eaters. After their walk, they sat with him a short time, and then took their leave.

Anxious to hear something more of the particulars relating to the confinement of the colonel, Mr. Hunt called a coach, and ordered the coachman to put them down at the King's Bench, where Mr. Clifford had engaged to dine with him. There was something not consistent with common prudence in this act of Mr. Hunt, and, considering his high sense of honour and his general integrity, we should dispute the truth of the circumstance altogether, had we not the account transmitted to us by Mr. Hunt himself. The circumstance of his driving up to the King's Bench prison in a coach, himself a prisoner at the time, and only allowed to go at large on his own personal security, must have appeared to the officials of the prison, as strongly declaratory that he had been infringing the boundaries to which he was restricted, for it was not to be supposed that he and Mr. Clifford would take a coach for the mere purpose of riding about the rules\*. It was a risk which a man possessing common prudence would not have done; for Mr. Hunt thereby laid himself open to a criminal action, which the marshal could have brought against him for an escape, and as he was a crown prisoner, it is not improbable that such a course would have been adopted against him.

On their way to the Bench, Mr. Hunt began to ply his companion to inform him what desperate offence Colonel Despard had committed, which called for such rigorous treatment. Mr.

\* When Alexander Davison, after his release from the King's Bench, turned the tables upon his prosecutor, Sir William Manners, and by which the baronet was sent to occupy the very apartments in which Mr. Davison himself had resided, Sir William fancied that he would not be discovered if he attended a masquerade, which was given one night at the Pantheon, in Oxford-street; unfortunately, however, the deputy marshal himself was there, and Sir William was put into a coach, and conveyed into the interior of the prison.



Clifford answered, that Colonel Despard had served the government faithfully and zealously as a soldier; he had advanced money for them upon some foreign station; but the government was ungrateful and ungenerous to him, and in consequence of some quibble, they refused to pay him what he had advanced on their account\*. He complained and remonstrated, he became importunate for justice; he was considered troublesome, and, for complaining, they sent him to a prison, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, as the only effectual means of answering his just complaints.

“And can it be possible,” Mr. Hunt asked, “that justice will not in the end be done to this unfortunate gentleman?”

“Depend upon it,” replied Mr. Clifford, “he is too honest ever to gain redress. If he would crouch and truckle to his persecutors, he might not only be set at liberty, but all that they have robbed him of, would be returned. This, however, he never will do: he, poor fellow! expects that, when the operation of the Habeas Corpus Act is restored, he will be able to bring his cruel persecutors to justice; but he will be deceived. He is marked out for one of that monster Pitt’s, victims. When he comes out, which will be when the suspension act expires, and not before, I know that he will de-

\* The faith of the English government in the repayment of debts of this kind was, at this particular period, at a very low ebb, and, in fact, from the princes of the blood royal, through every department of government, there was a deplorable want of common integrity in the adjustment of pecuniary claims. When the three royal libertines, George, Prince of Wales! Frederick, Bishop of Osnaburg!! and William, Duke of Clarence, the friend of Mrs. Jordan!!! raised their million on their joint bonds, to be paid on the accession of the first of them to the throne of these realms, and those bonds were cut into 100*l*. debentures, and circulated over Europe on the faith and honour of British princes; how were the persons treated who demanded payment of those securities? by the power of the pious Lord Sidmouth they were hurried out of the country, and the securities remain to this day unpaid. Has our most gracious sovereign no recollection of these bonds? nor of the circumstances, too dreadful to relate, by which a number of them were lodged at the bottom of the Thames? or would it not become our thrice gracious Queen Adelaide, that enlightened enthusiast in all that is British, or that belongs to Britain, to liquidate all debts contracted by the Bishop of Osnaburg, and the friend of Mrs. Jordan, before she sends her thousands to enrich her pauper relations, at the expense of the people of England, who are as fond of her, as she is of them?



mand to be put upon his trial. But the ministers, who have always a corrupt majority at their beck, will easily procure an act of indemnity, and, as they have nothing to charge him with, they will refuse to give him a trial, and they will laugh at him. And this is the boasted freedom of the people of England! this is the way in which the ministers serve those who oppose them; these are the methods they take, first to punish, and then to drive their opponents into violence and desperation\*. I know that he will complain, and that he has just cause of complaint, and I dread the consequences; because I know full well their arts, and the power which they have to carry their diabolical plans into execution. If he be troublesome, they will stick at nothing, and I should not be the least surprised, if they were ultimately to have some of their spies to swear away his life."

"Gracious God!" says Mr. Hunt, "I little thought how prophetic these words were. Was this really the case, Mr. Justice Best? you were his counsel upon his trial; you must know if this were really the case." After the death of poor Despard, Mr. Hunt and Mr. Clifford never met, that the former did not recal to his recollection the prophetic conversation that took place in the coach, as they passed over London-bridge and up the Borough, on their return from the Tower.

When they got back to the King's Bench, they were informed by Mr. Waddington, that there had been a great inquiry for Mr. Hunt in his absence, as some friends out of the country had been to visit him, and had foolishly enough made much stir in the King's Bench in their endeavour to find him. Mr. Waddington, however, having learned what was going on, satisfied their inquiries so far as to induce them to be quiet, and promise to call the next day. On this occasion, Mr. Hunt

\* It was an act like this which made Bellingham an assassin; but the ministers of this country seem unwilling to profit by experience. If the demand of the individual on the government be groundless, let it be determined as such by the parliament of the country, but let not the claimant's feelings be goaded to desperation by a reiterated denial of justice, until he throws his life away upon a scaffold, to be revenged upon his persecutors.



says, "some persons may be surprised that a prisoner should have been from *home*! but the fact that I was committed to the custody of the marshal of the court for six weeks, and I had given him ample security for being at all times ready to appear, in case he should be called upon to produce his prisoner—they were not then so particular as they now are." This is the version which Mr. Hunt gives of the business; but it is not a correct one: he had given his bond that he would not absent himself from the custody of the marshal, and he knew well that his sentence was, that he should be confined within the walls of the prison, and that the circumstance of his being permitted to enjoy the benefit of the rules, was wholly unknown to the judges of the court of King's Bench; not that, perhaps, any immediate injury would have arisen to Mr. Jones had the circumstance been known; for it was through the interest of his countryman, Lord Kenyon, then chief-justice of the King's Bench, that he obtained the most lucrative office in the gift of the court. It was a risk, however, which Mr. Hunt should not have run, merely to visit an individual who was a perfect stranger to him, and by the commission of which he might have forfeited his honour.

The visit, however, to the Tower made a lasting impression upon the mind of Mr. Hunt, and, after what he had witnessed, he was easily persuaded by Mr. Clifford, that the account which he had given him of the treatment of other prisoners confined under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, was perfectly true. These horrible facts created in his breast a deep-rooted, never-ceasing antipathy to that tyranny, which is perpetrated under the disguise, under the false colour, the mere forms of law and justice, and sanctioned by the hypocritical mummeries of superstition, instead of real religion.

The dinner being concluded, Mr. Clifford described to Mr. Hunt a scene, of which he had been a spectator, in the Tower, in the previous week, when he went there with Mrs. Despard to consult with the colonel, and to make his will; the colonel being then, and having long been, labouring under a serious complaint, which had been brought on by the length of his



confinement, and which was considered as dangerous by his physician. During the whole of that time the beef-eaters remained in the room, so that even the sacred obligation of making his last will could not be performed, unless it was done in the presence, and in the hearing of the officers of the Tower, and they actually became the subscribing witnesses to his will.

Mr. Hunt had now become acquainted with many political characters, and he was frequently invited by Mr. Clifford to go down to Wimbledon with him on a Sunday, to join the public parties of Mr. Horne Tooke, from whom he promised to insure him a hearty welcome. Deep-rooted vulgar prejudice against this extraordinary and highly-gifted man had, however, got such possession of his feelings, that he continually made some excuse; for Mr. Hunt had very foolishly imbibed a notion, that he was an artful, intriguing person, of an insinuating address, who frequently led young politicians into scrapes and difficulties. His idea of him in politics was, that he was a violent jacobin, and an enemy to his king and country, and this was quite enough to make him avoid his company. The real fact was, that he was afraid to trust himself in his society; he felt within himself the consciousness of his own infirmity, and, as Mr. Hunt continually tried to persuade himself that no man could possibly yield to him in loyalty, he began to fear that some contamination might ensue, were he to come into collision with a man, who had already rendered himself conspicuous in the arena of politics. Mr. Hunt asserts, that he had no wish to become a politician; but he soon added to the many examples, which could be adduced, that a man often becomes in the world, what he does not wish to be. Mr. Hunt became, therefore, a politician *perforce*, for he found that the principles of liberty, which Mr. Clifford inculcated, had made a considerable impression upon his mind; and he was afraid to encourage too far his natural propensity to resist injustice, oppression, and tyranny. He did not wish to fan the flame, which Mr. Clifford's eloquence and convincing arguments had lighted in his breast. Another reason for his refusing to make one of the Wimbledon parties was, the probability that



he should there meet with Sir Francis Burdett, whom he was induced to look upon almost as a political madman, a dangerous firebrand in the hands of Mr. Tooke, who appeared to him to be nothing less than a designing incendiary. Mr. Clifford took some pains to persuade him out of his ridiculous notions, yet in the account which he gave him of Mr. Tooke's character, he in some measure confirmed him in the opinion that he had previously formed, as Mr. Tooke certainly made Sir F. Burdett a puppet to carry on his hostility against those ministers who had persecuted him, and who had aimed a deadly blow at his life.

Mr. Tooke was a man of profound talent, a persevering friend of liberty, and an implacable foe to the measures of Mr. Pitt; but he only supported partial, not general liberty; he was no friend of universal suffrage; he supported the householder, or rather, the direct tax-paying suffrage. To those who contended for universal suffrage, namely, the Duke of Richmond, Major Cartwright, and others, he made this comprehensible, intelligible reply, "you may go all the way to Windsor, but I will stop short at Hounslow;" thereby implying, that he was not prepared to give political freedom to more than one-half of the people; that he would not go farther than Hounslow, which is not half way to Windsor. Sir Francis Burdett gloried in being a disciple of Mr. Tooke.

The Sunday parties at Wimbledon were composed of the disaffected persons of London and Westminster. Amongst the number stood pre-eminently the noted Charing-cross tailor, Frank Place\*, who was always an avowed republican by profession; Samuel Miller, the shoemaker of Skinner-street, Snowhill; Thomas Hardy, and many others, with whom Mr. Hunt did not become acquainted till some time after this period, though he collected their different characters from Mr. Clif-

\* If our memory be correct, there was a Mr. Place, of Charing-cross, on the coroner's jury to inquire into the manner by which Selli, a domestic of the popular Duke of Cumberland, came by his death. Did not Mr. Place, shortly after that inquest, receive a considerable order from the royal household for clothing? It would be strange indeed, if a PLACE-MAN could not be bribed.



ford. Mr. Thelwall had, at that time, seceded from the society, having commenced teacher of elocution.

At this period, the taste of Mr. Hunt leaned more to the sports of the field than to anything else, and as those amusements were more congenial to his habits, and his large farming concerns in the country, he never, while he was the first time in prison, sought much for political information; though he necessarily heard a great deal of politics from his friends Waddington and Clifford, as well as from numerous political characters, with whom he became acquainted in consequence of their coming to visit the former gentleman. Indeed, seldom a day elapsed that Mr. Hunt did not see half a dozen, or half a score of political characters.

Mr. Hunt's young friend, Mr. Butcher, was delighted with the society of Mr. Clifford. Butcher was a disciple of Thomas Paine; he had been bred up in a country village, where the clergyman, Mr. Evans, of Little Bedwin, who was his associate, had instilled into his mind all the principles of Thomas Paine, both political and theological, and, consequently, Butcher was delighted with the society that he met with at their table. Butcher was a famous great arm-chair politician; over the bottle he would be as valiant as any man, yet he would never *act*. The reason he used to assign for never meddling in active politics was, that, except in a republic, no private citizen could ever attain the eminence of being the first man in the country; and no man, he thought, could have a proper stimulus, unless he could hope to be placed at the head of the government. Washington was his idol, and the American constitution was his creed in politics. He was enraptured to hear Mr. Hunt listen, with so much earnestness and attention, to the political dogmas of Clifford, as he was pleased to call them; for Mr. Clifford never professed to wish for a republican government; he always contended that the English constitution, if it were administered in its purity, was quite good enough for Englishmen. In this opinion, Mr. Hunt then concurred with him, and from that opinion he never swerved to the last hour of his life. A government of king, lords, and



commons, so that the latter be fairly chosen by all the people, would secure to them the full enjoyment of rational liberty: he was for that liberty, which is secured and protected by the government of the laws, and not by the government of the sword. But those laws must be such as are made by the *whole* commons—the whole people of England; and not the arbitrary laws that are made by the few for the government of the whole—not the laws that are made by the few, for the partial and unjust benefit of the few, at the expense and cost of the whole.

From the above slight sketch, the real political principles of Mr. Hunt are easily to be traced. But had he lived unto the present day, would he not have seen reason to alter his political creed, and have entered deeply into the question of the positive use of the House of Lords, now that they have set themselves up in array against the reformation of those abuses, which have so long disfigured the municipal corporations of the country, and which may be considered as the strong-holds of that aristocratical power, which, if it could, would ride rough shod over the liberties of the people. If we demand seriously to know what is the House of Lords, we shall find that it is not a body acting for the benefit of the people, but that by virtue of its hereditary irresponsibility, it puts a negative upon every thing that is done for the good of the people by their representatives. The constitution of the House of Lords might have been agreeable to the times of the first Georges, but it is a mode of government not accordant at present with the spirit of the age, or with the interests of the people at large. There are certain conditions which are necessary to the efficiency of every controlling body, and one of those conditions is, that it should be responsible to the people. Now, in regard to the House of Lords, that condition is utterly vague and nugatory; for it is not responsible to the people for the exercise of its powers, neither are its interests the same as those of the people. It is the interest of the oligarchy of the House of Lords to perpetuate those abuses, which are the ground-work of their aristocratical power; and it is the interest of the people that they should be



abolished: thus one of the states of the government come into collision with the people; and it is well known that a people were seldom ever determined upon a reformation of their government, but what they ultimately succeeded. No one will dispute that the House of Lords is irresponsible for the exercise of its power, and that it is not the will of the people that can deprive it of the functions which now belong to it; and as a still greater injury, it cannot be punished for mischievously employing those functions: for were this the case, such men as Lyndhurst, that hired pander to an oligarchical faction—and such men as Newcastle and Winchelsea, and Londonderry and Ellenborough, would receive such a chastisement from the hands of the people, that their ducal and baronial coronets would never again sit upon their brow.

The business of a legislator is not one that a man can take up at his pleasure, with any expectation of being able properly to perform the duties of the office: to form a legislator requires much labour, much patience, much study, and an enlarged and comprehensive understanding. If, now, we measure the House of Lords according to the standard of the latter qualification, what a miserable spectacle does it afford:—a peer becomes a legislator by the effect of a mere chance; no fitness, no knowledge, no virtue, no ability, are requisite to form the eldest son of a peer into a hereditary legislator of the country. Let him, on coming to his title and estates, be idle, profligate, vicious and ignorant, he is entitled by his birth to rule over the destinies of the country. What entitles the son of Dolly Jordan to be a legislator? he may, it is true, have royal blood in his veins; but the people have already enough of that precious commodity in the legislative councils of the nation, and it is a matter of no little surprise, mingled with indignation, to the people of this country, that one in particular, who has done every thing in his power to demonstrate the utter worthlessness and viciousness of royal blood, should have the effrontery to appear in those councils at all, by virtue only of his hereditary right.

The battle has begun; the people are the assailants; they



have besieged the strongholds of hereditary legislation, and of irresponsible aristocratical power : every day sees that power diminished ; and although the result of the contest cannot be doubtful, yet long and arduous will be the struggle, before the victory of the people be complete. With the decrease of the aristocratic power—that blasting incubus upon the energies of a nation—have virtue and social happiness advanced ; and it is also worthy of remark, that aristocracy itself also improves in proportion as it is weakened. If we look to the reigns of the Georges, what a despicable set do the nobles of the land exhibit themselves : search the world's history, and you will not find their superiors in licentiousness, meanness, corruption, and rapacity. It is true they cannot gratify the latter vice, in the barefaced scandalous manner, which distinguished the conduct of the nobles in the times of the Tudors, but the instinctive sense still remains with them : they seize with avidity, and use without scruple, every shred and remnant of power which remains to them, in order, like the drones in a hive, to live at the expense and by the labour of the people at large. Look at the pension-list—that pauper-book of the aristocracy : what an exhibition of meanness does it exhibit—what a portraiture of profligacy does it present to the country. The pimps and prostitutes of a vicious and debauched court are there pensioned upon the country, not for the services which they have rendered to it, but the sum of their annuity advances in proportion to the extent of the profligacy which they have exhibited.\*

As to the ignorance of the House of Lords, with some very few exceptions, it has become a byword and a proverb. They are at least an age behind the rest of the community. It is the last stronghold of prejudice and antiquated notions ; and

\* As a specimen, we would ask what benefit or services has Sir Frederick Beilby Watson conferred on the country, that he should be entitled to a pension little short of 1000*l.* ? We know the *services* which he rendered to his debauched monarch, George the Fourth ; but, *it is too bad*, that the people of this country should be made to pay for those *services*. Had George the Fourth no means in his own coffers for providing for his faithful servant, but he must pension him upon the public ? as if he had been actuated by the desire of perpetuating in the remembrance of the people the *services* for which the pension was granted.



if an error, political, judicial, civil, or municipal has been driven from every other nook in the kingdom, it still finds a sanctuary, where it can maintain itself, in the addle pates of the hereditary legislators of the kingdom—there it holds fast on to the horns of its own altar, and at last gradually fades away in such an imperceptible manner, that no one can tell the precise date of its disappearance. We certainly admit that the House of Lords does advance, and so does the hour hand of a clock, but no one can perceive its motion. In many instances it has the backward motion of the crab, or, at all events, it has never that straightforward course, which is demanded by a free and enlightened people.

It should be remembered, as a strong proof of the utility of the House of Lords, that every amelioration in the condition of the people, every improvement in their institutions, has been made in spite, and in the very teeth, of the House of Lords, and to which they placed every obstacle in their power. Every lingering prejudice has found its defenders in the obtuse body of hereditary legislators; every sinister interest has found amongst them congenial sympathy, and they have hugged it to their breast with all the pride of doting imbecility. Every thing that is base, every thing that is mean, every thing that is corrupt, every thing that is cruel in our various institutions, flies to the Lords for succour. When the people have determined upon the reformation of an abuse, either in church or state; when there is not a single class amongst the people, who will hold up a hand in its defence; when the intelligence of the people has deserted it, and the will of the people demands its suppression, it then entrenches itself in the House of Lords, it there fights its last battle, and, relying upon the prejudices, ignorance, and doltish stupidity of the members of it, and, at the same time, triumphing in their irresponsibility, it too often comes off victorious. Noxious as it may appear to the nation, vociferous as it may be for its repeal, the Newcastles, the Winchelseas, the Londonderrys, and the Lyndhursts, enshrine themselves in their hereditary privileges, and the voice of the people is as the chafing of the surge on the



deeply imbedded rock; however glaring, however injurious, however unconstitutional it may be, the Lords will take it under their wing, and continue to fatten on it, until the people, goaded by desperation, proceed to take by force what was withheld from them as their right. The united voice of an enlightened nation may condemn the corporate abuses—they may declaim against, and prove the scandalous robbery of above 30,000*l.* a-year, extracted from the public purse, for the purpose of paying the royal rangers of the royal parks, some of whom know or care as much about the state of the parks, as they do about the icebergs in Lancaster Sound; they may deny the infamy of the pension list, but the dull intelligence of the Lords cannot, or will not, see the scandal of the affair; and, in fact, their fondness for an abuse seems to increase in proportion as the condemnation of the nation shows itself. The louder the cry of the nation is for reform, the more tenaciously do the Lords cling to their antiquated abuses. Like the sanguinary bull-dog, they relax not their hold, until a greater power than their own steps in to tear them from it; the nation rejoices and is glad at every step which is made in the political or municipal administration of the affairs of the nation; the Lords appear in sackcloth and ashes, when a bill is laid before them, which cuts at the root of any antiquated abuse, or which trenches in the least upon their hereditary privileges. In proportion as an abuse is removed, the welfare of a nation advances; but what is the welfare of the people to the dolts who fill the benches of the House of Lords; so long as they are permitted to revel in their political corruption, and to thwart every wish which the people may express for their restoration to those rights, which the ancestors of some of those nobles, supported by a vile and profligate court, have unjustly deprived them of. To question the utility of the House of Lords would, half a century ago, have been deemed the effusion of some crack-brained enthusiast; but it is the Lords themselves, who have shown to the people their inutility, to which may be added, the extreme danger of an hereditary, irresponsible legislature. To doubt of the indispensable use of



the House of Lords, would be tantamount to a clergyman denying the truth of any of the thirty-nine articles; an individual might be a good, honest, and conscientious man in all his dealings, but he could not possibly be a good citizen, unless he believed that the House of Lords was necessary to a perfect political constitution.

From this digression we return to the more private affairs of Mr. Hunt. Under the tutorage of Mr. Clifford, Mr. Hunt gradually became a politician; in fact, he admits, that that true radical, Sir Charles Wolseley, as well as himself, were the political disciples of the *honest* Counsellor Clifford, and, in fact, it was through the instrumentality of the latter, that Mr. Hunt became acquainted with Sir Charles Wolseley, whose first wife was Mr. Clifford's sister. "If," says Mr. Hunt, "Clifford, poor fellow! were now alive, how would he laugh to see two of his staunchest and most disinterested political disciples caught in the toils of the boroughmongers. But he would also laugh to see the melancholy state to which the said boroughmongers are reduced. Now they have caught us, they do not know what to do with us."

Speaking of the consequences of his imprisonment in the King's Bench, Mr. Hunt says, that, although it put him to considerable expense, and no trifling loss in taking him from his family, his home, and business, yet that he had gained more real information, more knowledge of the world, and of men and manners, more insight into mercantile, political, and theological affairs, than he would have gained in so many years, if he had continued in the country, employing his time in farming, shooting, fox-hunting, and attending the exercise of the yeomanry cavalry. It is more than probable, that he never would have taken the lead (such a lead!) in the political affairs of his country, if he had not thus early been placed in such a situation, and in such company, by the court of King's Bench. Before that period he had, it is true, a natural and an inherent abhorrence of tyranny and oppression, and his excellent parent had instilled into his breast a pure love of justice, and an invincible attachment for fair play, and, therefore, it is not likely



that he would ever have been a tool of arbitrary power. Yet if he had not been imprisoned in the King's Bench, he never would have been such an enthusiast for equal rights, and such a determined enemy to a corrupt and a sham representation.

Mr. Clifford found in Mr. Hunt a willing, a zealous proselyte to the cause of liberty, and a warm admirer of the principles of universal political freedom. He recommended to his notice the political works of Paine, particularly his "Rights of Man," and applauded his determination never to mingle religious with political discussions, and never to risk the cause of liberty by doing anything which could excite religious prejudices. Mr. Clifford was a *catholic*, a *rigid catholic*, notwithstanding which, there never lived a more sincere friend of religious as well as of civil toleration. Some of their visitors were frequently introducing theological discussions, and some, who ought from their profession to have known better, denounced all religion, as relics of superstition. Mr. Clifford, as well as Mr. Waddington and Mr. Hunt, discountenanced, and ultimately prohibited, those subjects. Each of them professed their own faith, and they did not choose to be dictated to, any more than they wished to dictate to others, in mere matters of conscience.

The day of the liberation of Mr. Hunt at length arrived, and it was not without feelings of the greatest regret that he took leave of his prison associates, with whom he had spent his time most agreeably and profitably, and whose enlightened conversation had beguiled many an hour, which would, perhaps, otherwise have been sacrificed to tedium and ennui. On his return into the country, he was met at Marlborough by his friend Hancock, who accompanied him to Devizes, where they were joined by a large party of friends at a dinner, which was provided for the occasion at the Bear Inn. Some of his more rustic neighbours expressed great surprise to see him look so well after coming out of a prison; their idea of which had led them to expect that he would look *pale*, *thin*, and *emaciated*; on the contrary, they found that he had lost none of his usual ruddy and florid appearance, and instead of looking as if he



had been fed upon bread and water, he had grown stout and fleshy; although he had taken regular exercise, and, compared with his usual habits in the country, had lived moderately, and, in fact, abstemiously, yet with all his precaution, he had so much increased in bulk, that it was very visible to all his friends, who had not seen him during his imprisonment.

He found his wife and children in perfect health, by whom he was greeted warmly on his return: in fact, his absence was, after all, nothing more than a visit of five or six weeks to London. He found all his business going on with the greatest regularity, his stock in good order, and his hunters in excellent condition, and as he longed again to taste the sports of the field, and to mingle in the pleasures of the chase, his favourite mare was ordered to be ready on the following morning at the usual hour, that he might ride to join the hounds, which threw off for the occasion within three miles of his house, as the sportsmen were to meet upon the down of his farm at Widdington.

Here he was met by his old brother sportsmen, who appeared rejoiced to see him once more amongst them; but they one and all declared, that his scarlet coat was grown too small for him. Some said, he was grown a stone heavier, others that he was increased two stone, and some bets were made corresponding with those contending opinions; all, however, agreed that he was increased very considerably in weight. Like a true sportsman, he knew his weight to an ounce before he went to London; it was twelve stone five pounds. In the midst of this conversation, as they were riding along, he espied a hare sitting at a considerable distance; she was started, and off they went, to the music of the merry pack of harriers, supported by subscription, but kept by Mr. Tinker, of Lavington.

Mr. Hunt was more than commonly elated, and enjoyed the sport with great pleasure, in fact, he entered into the spirit of the chase with the greatest enthusiasm. His beautiful high-bred hunter was in admirable condition and spirits, and appeared to participate with the rider in the full zest of the sport. She almost fled with him across the downs, keeping pace with



the fleetest of the pack. The hills and vallies upon that part of Salisbury Plain very much resemble those of Sussex, in the neighbourhood of Brighton race course. Persons unaccustomed to such countries, would consider them almost as precipices. Their horses, however, as well as their riders, being accustomed to them, mounted them with apparent ease, and generally descended them at full speed. Mr. Hunt had been spanking across for nearly an hour, with the highest glee, and was going with great speed down the well-known steep hill, which leads into Waterdean Bottom, pressing on his mare, so that she might be able to ascend half-way up the opposite hill by the force of the increased velocity that she had acquired in descending the other, which is the common practice of all good sportsmen and bold riders in such a country. On passing, however, with great speed over some rather uneven, rutty ground, at the bottom of the hill, he received a violent and sudden shock, by his poor beast coming all at once to a standstill. He jumped off without her falling, though she was nearly down. She stood trembling, and he was shocked to find that she had broken both of her fore legs, the right one short off above the knee, and the other below the fetlock joint. This was a most distressing accident, and the miracle was, that she had not fallen, and Mr. Hunt, her rider, smashed in the fall; her wonderful courage, however, saved him from almost inevitable destruction, for they were going at the time with the velocity of an arrow shot from a bow.

The other horsemen had gone on, and were soon out of sight, and he was left in this situation upon the open down, a distance of two miles from his home. Seeing the deplorable state of his poor horse, and knowing, from the nature of the injury she had sustained, that it would be impossible to recover her, he determined to proceed on foot to his home, that he might send some proper person to release her from her misery. He had proceeded some little distance on his road, when on looking round, he saw the poor creature hobbling after him, almost indicating that it was her wish not to be left alone, and abandoned in such a pitiable state. His heart bled for his



faithful and noble beast, and he instantly attended to its apparent call upon his humanity; he took the rein, and she followed him home, nearly as fast as he could walk. Having arrived there, she was instantly relieved from her pain, by the sad resource, the fatal unerring ball, which, directed by a skilful hand, produced instantaneous death, without a groan, or scarcely a convulsive struggle. Mr. Hunt could not refrain from shedding a tear when his generous animal, which had so often borne him over flood and field, breathed her last, consoling himself, nevertheless, with the reflection, that his life had been spared by a beneficent and merciful Creator, for had the poor animal fallen, at the swift pace she was going, his destruction must have been inevitable. What is very remarkable, Mr. Hunt never before or since ever knew a horse break its legs, when going at full speed, without falling; but the noble animal in the struggle, in the amazing effort to save herself from falling, when the bone of her right leg snapped, actually fractured the other. He had the fractured bones of both legs preserved, for the inspection of the curious, for many years afterwards.

This sad accident was a great drawback to the pleasure that he had promised himself in the chase during the spring of the year, subsequently to his return from the King's Bench, and to add to his mortification and disappointment, the next time he mounted his next greatest favourite hunter, he found that it was broken-winded. He had lent her, *during his residence in town* (for it is a farce to call it imprisonment), to a gentleman of the name of Tompkins, who lived in Oakley House, near Abingdon, and he had returned it in the state just described, so that his hunting was spoiled for that season. There is an old adage which saith, that there are three things which a man should never lend, viz. his horse, his razor, and his wife; and we certainly gave Mr. Hunt credit for so much knowledge of the world, as to prevent him falling into the commission of the first fault. He, however, attributed the accident which had befallen his favourite mare to his increase in corpulency, for he found that he had increased two stone two pounds.



during his six week's comparative inactivity in the King's Bench, and to this increase must be attributed the melancholy accident which occurred to him.

Mr. Hunt was, indeed, rather unlucky in his sporting acquaintance, as will be seen by the following circumstance. Soon after his return from his imprisonment, his friend Mrs. Tinker, of Lavington, and her family, came to visit him; after dinner, amongst other things that he was describing, relative to what had occurred during his stay in the King's Bench, he mentioned the toast, that was usually drank first by the prisoners every day, which was, "plaintiffs in and defendants out." Mrs. Tinker asked, whether Mr. Hunt and Mr. Waddington had joined in the toast? Mr. Hunt answered yes, and he believed that it was the first toast, which they drank after dinner. This also she set down at once for a very disloyal sentiment, because Mr. Hunt's nominal plaintiff or prosecutor was the King against Hunt, and she consequently pronounced him, as he thought in a mere joke, to be a disloyal man, or a jacobin. In this opinion of her's she was confirmed, by learning that he had called upon Colonel Despard in the Tower, and hearing him inveigh, in rather warm language, against packed juries, treacherous lawyers, and corrupt judges; and also venturing to call in question, *à la* Clifford, the measures of the heaven-born minister. She therefore set him down at once in her mind as a rank jacobin, and, as the sequel will prove, she did not fail to act upon the impression; for about a month afterwards, Mr. Hunt received a letter from his only paternal aunt, the contents of which were, that Mrs. Tinker had informed her, that since he had been in London he had become a disloyal man, and that he had actually drank at his own table the most disloyal toast, wishing the king to be *imprisoned*. All his forefathers, said his aunt, had been loyal men, and one of them, Colonel Thomas Hunt, had been only by a miracle saved from losing his head for his loyalty to King Charles the Second, and for which, it might be added, the said King Charles, *à la façon des autres rois*, rewarded him most nobly; as, therefore, he had chosen to take a different course, by professing different



principles, she should alter her will, and leave that fortune which she had intended for him, to some other persons. She most religiously kept her word, although in Mr. Hunt's reply, he unequivocally disclaimed any intention of offering the slightest insult to the king, or saying anything that could, without the most wanton misconstruction, be deemed disloyal. He claimed, however, the right to think for himself, nor did he admit, that because he professed the most unbounded loyalty to the king, he was to be called upon to pledge himself to a blind subservience and attachment to all the measures of his ministers. All that he could urge against the breach of confidence in betraying, nay in misrepresenting, a conversation at his own table, and the malignity of Mrs. Tinker's motives, was of no avail. Although this aunt, who, by the by, must have been a consummate fool, died without any children, and Mr. Hunt was her nearest of kin, yet she made her quondam friend Tinker her executor, and never left her nephew a shilling.

It may be easily conceived that this half-witted action of his aunt's neither changed the politics of Mr. Hunt, nor increased his confidence in his sporting friends. The fact was, that this old lady was an illegitimate daughter of his grandfather, by a relation of this same Mrs. Tinker, whom he afterwards married. His grandfather had been induced to leave this daughter a very considerable patrimony, at the suggestion of her father; and as she died without issue, it would have been only an act of justice to have restored the money to its lawful source. But the kind interference of Mrs. Tinker, who for her own interest, perhaps, had worked upon the doltish disposition of the superannuated lady, and sent it in another direction; but although Mr. Hunt lost the money, he retained his opinions, and preserved that independence of character, which it was his pride and boast to maintain through every circumstance of his eventful life.

If this Mrs. Tinker had not been on the most confidential terms with Mrs. Hunt, the connection between the two families would have here terminated. Mr. Hunt was, however, in the



future very cautious what he said when Mrs. Tinker was of the party; by her perversion of a conversation which occurred at his own table, and by her officious misrepresentation of him, she was the cause of Mr. Hunt losing some thousand pounds. This was the first instance in which he experienced the serious consequences of sporting liberal opinions; but it was not the only instance in which this good lady, who was always called *mother* by her family and friends, on account of her very motherly habits, had an opportunity of doing Mr. Hunt another good turn in the same way. A Mrs. Watts, of Lavington, another elderly lady, had voluntarily made her will, and left Mr. Hunt property and estates, as being her nearest and only relation, and upon being taken ill, desired that he should be sent for; but his evil spirit, Mrs. Tinker, again interfered, who sent for another lady, and they contrived, as they reported, to get the old lady to alter her will in her last moments, and leave her property away from him to other persons. This was effected in *such a manner*, and *at such a time*, and under such circumstances, that Mr. Hunt would have disputed the will, had he not been afraid of exposing a relation of his own, who was privy and instrumental to this mysterious transaction. It is sufficient to say, that the old lady never signed her name, although she wrote a most excellent and legible hand, this precious instrument only bearing her mark; and the maid servant, who attended, would have proved quite sufficient to have set aside the will, and exposed the parties concerned; but as one of them was a very near relation of Mr. Hunt, and one whose faults he had always been anxious to conceal and palliate, rather than expose and condemn, he put up with the loss without opposing the proof of the will. There is one more fact connected with this case, which shall be stated, to show to what extent the cruelty of some persons will lead them, when they wish to accomplish a bad action. The maid servant informed Mr. Hunt, and offered to swear it, that her mistress had constantly, during several day's illness, expressed the most ardent desire to see him, and most anxious not to sign, nor to do anything about her will, till he arrived. She was, however,



as repeatedly put off, by the assurance that he had been sent for, and did not choose to come, although he was the whole time at home, at the distance of a few miles, and never received the slightest intimation of her illness until after her death.

By this circumstance it may be fairly reckoned that Mr. Hunt was minus about five thousand pounds, so that the politics which he had learned in the King's Bench were not to him a source of profit, but, on the contrary, had hitherto proved most detrimental to his pecuniary interests. "But," says Mr. Hunt, "thank God! I was never a trading politician, for if I had been such, my losses would very soon have made me a bankrupt in the cause."

At this time, however, though the sentiments which Mr. Hunt entertained upon public matters were never concealed, but were, when occasion required, expressed openly and without any reserve, he attended much more to his business than to politics. His farming concerns were well regulated and attended to, though he spent a great portion of his time in fox-hunting and shooting, and likewise kept a great deal of company; scarcely a day in the week passed that he was not out at a party, or had one at his own house, but much more frequently the latter; this period Mr. Hunt considered as the least interesting portion of his life; he kept an excellent table, had a good cellar of wine, and there never was any lack of visitors to partake of it. The old adage, that "fools make feasts and wise men partake of them," was pretty well realised at Chisenbury House. "When I look back," says Mr. Hunt, "and recollect the train of hangers-on that constantly surrounded my table, amongst the number of whom was always a parson or two, I am induced to exclaim, in the language of Solomon, 'it was all vanity and vexation of spirit.'" His life was a scene of uninterrupted gaiety and dissipation, one continued round of pleasure; he had barely time to attend to his own personal concerns, for no sooner was one party of pleasure ended, than another was made: the hounds met at this cover to-day, at that to-morrow, and so on through the week; din-



ners, balls, plays, hunting, shooting, fishing, driving, in addition to his large farming concerns, which required his attendance at markets and fairs, and which business he never neglected, even in the heyday of levity and vanity; all these things combined left him no leisure to think or reflect, and scarcely time to sleep; for no sooner was one pleasure or amusement ended, than he found he had engaged to participate in another, and he joined in them all with his usual enthusiasm. In the midst, however, of all this giddy round of mirth and folly, he enjoyed less real pleasure and satisfaction than he had done at any former period of his life; he saw and felt, (and this is an experience that will come home to the breast of every one similarly situated), that there was little sincerity in the attachment of his companions, for there was no real friendship in their hearts, though they would praise his wine, admire his viands, and bestow the most unqualified compliments upon the liberality with which they were dispensed. Their praise on this score was certainly merited, for whether it was a dinner party or a ball at Chisenbury House, no expense or trouble was spared to make the guests happy, and to send them away delighted with their entertainment. Mr. Hunt might be said to have got into the whirlpool, into the very vortex of endless dissipation and folly. He saw and felt his error, but he knew not how to retreat; his wife too entered into the very marrow of this round of pleasure and gay society. The means to support all this were never wanting, for he found himself in possession of landed property, in Wilts and Somerset, at Littlecot and Glastonbury, of the value of six hundred pounds a-year, besides all the large farming business which his father had left him; there was, therefore, no deficiency of money, and large as was the expenditure, Mr. Hunt took care never to live fully up to his income, but had every year something considerable to lay by, or to assist a friend with.

Speaking of the unexampled prosperity which at this period attended the farmers, Mr. Hunt gives a curious picture of their style of living in those days, which, when contrasted with the present price of corn, the excessive taxation, and the weight of



the poor rates, exhibits a change in the circumstances of the country, which, in some respects, may be traced to the ruinous influence of the corn laws, and to other political measures which the Tory ministers adopted, and which the Whigs have not had the courage or the wisdom to remove. In fact, in the administration of the affairs of the nation, the Whigs and Tories remind us of opposition coaches, that raise a dust, or spatter one another with mud, but both travel the same road. A Whig is a coward to both sides of a question, and, perhaps, this accusation can never be brought home to that party with greater force than at the present moment, when the Tory lords have mutilated, if not wholly swamped the Municipal Reform Bill, and rather than fling the original bill back again into the faces of the Lyndhursts, and the Winchelseas, and the Newcastles, are truckling to them with all the servility and subserviency of the slave, who is fearful of offending his master. A Whig has not the courage to be a knave nor an honest man, but is a sort of whiffling, shuffling, cunning, sly, contemptible, unmeaning negative between the two; he is a cloak for corruption, and a Marplot to freedom; he will neither do anything himself, nor let any one else do it; his cry is the good of the people, and their restoration to those rights which the revolution granted them; but his cry is that of the hound, it has sound and nothing more. A Whig is always on bad terms with the sovereignty of the kingdom, and perhaps never more so than at the present period, where, although professing to be at the head of the government, he dare not show his face, except, by virtue of his office, when he claims an audience of his majesty; but a Whig at the table, at which an Adelaide presides, would be as rare, as if an attorney were known to be in Heaven. A Whig is afraid of his own conscience, which will not let him lend his unqualified support to arbitrary measures; he stickles for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, but abandons its principles, with the effrontery of the prostitute, to any shabby coalition which he can patch up with its deadly enemies. This is pitiful, most pitiful, and we believe the public are tolerably sick of the cha-



racter. The Whig of the present day, and especially as he has shown himself in the months of August and September, 1835, is a cur of a mongrel breed, and so different from the original stock, that no traces of it are to be recognised. The following is perfectly applicable to the people of England at the present moment:—

There was a village, which had in its neighbourhood the stronghold of a *band of robbers*. The villagers laboured and toiled, and accumulated wealth, and stored up the means of a comfortable subsistence. The watchmen of the village on a sudden ran into them, disturbed them in their peaceful and industrious avocations by the cry, "*the robbers are upon us!*" The plough was left in mid furrow, the sickle was thrown down, and the musket was seized. Days and weeks were spent in driving away the marauders, and when the husbandmen returned to their fields and their homesteads, they found ruin nearly upon them, in consequence of their forced absence, and that keeping off the robbers was very little less destruction than by yielding to them.

The villagers also discovering that the business of repelling the robbers was becoming every day more harrassing and mischievous, at length called a council, to determine on the course that ought in future to be pursued. After a long debate, which, like most debates, seemed likely to end in nothing, a grave elder, who had as yet been silent, thus addressed his friends and neighbours—

"Neighbours, I have listened a long time to what you have been saying, and cannot help wondering at one thing—you none of you seem to understand the cause of your misfortunes."

Upon this the assembly set up a shout, and they all vehemently exclaimed, that they knew well enough the cause of their misfortunes: it was the robbers, they said, that was the cause.

"But," said the old man, "did you not, neighbour Plough-hard, propose to put a *strong fence* round the rubbers? and did you not, neighbour Thresher, want to increase the number of our watchmen and our dogs?"



“ Yes,” said they, “ we did so.”

“ Well, then,” said the old man, “ if I, like you, had known that the robbers were the cause of the evil, I should not have thought of more fences, and watchmen, and dogs, *but I should have just set about getting rid of the robbers themselves.* Let us all assemble once more, make one serious effort to rout the robbers, disperse them, burn their castle, and *take care they never build another.* This trouble will be our last, we shall be at peace ever after.” The old man’s advice was followed, and the robbers and their stronghold were destroyed altogether.

Would that the people of England would profit by the advice of the old man, and disperse the aristocratical robbers, who have so long battered on the vital energies of the country, and if their castle was once burnt, fools and idiots would be the people, if ever they built another for them. It was, perhaps, an act of Providence that actually did burn their castle, to point out to the people the cause of all their grievances, and, at the same time, the most summary method of getting rid of it; but the robbers have still congregated in a temporary cave, and if the people will now go hand-in-hand, they will be prevented from ever congregating again either there, or elsewhere.

From this cursorary sketch of the noxious influence of an irresponsible hereditary legislature, we shall return to the more immediate subject of our work, and gradually as Mr. Hunt was progressing towards that line of politics, which afterwards rendered him one of the most distinguished characters of his times, yet he still fancied himself a thorough-bred royalist, and a staunch adherent of the constitution of his country. At that period, indeed, Pitt had thrown other tubs wherewith the people were to amuse themselves, than investigating the mode and manner in which the affairs of the country were administered. Some portion of the people, particularly the farmers, were highly delighted with the state of affairs, for never was the agricultural interests of the country in such a flourishing condition, as far as the most exorbitant prices were concerned, which every species of produce fetched at market; and, in fact,



so high were the prices, that the produce of a single acre of wheat was known to exceed three times the value of the fee-simple of the land, the produce per acre being worth 50*l.*, whereas the land itself would not have fetched 20*l.* per acre. Of the conduct of the farmers at this time, Mr. Hunt gives a curious description; and it was about this period that the late Lord Warwick, speaking in the House of Lords of the state of insolence to which the farmers had arrived, and alluding to their extravagant course of living, assured his right honourable hearers that some of them had reached such a pitch of luxury, that they actually drank brandy with their wine. This caused a laugh from their lordships; but they little knew how literally true the assertion was. His lordship alluded to a gentleman farmer, of the name of Jackson, who lived at ——— farm, in the county of Warwick, and who then always took brandy with his wine. Mr. Hunt also remembered a humourous farmer, and a very worthy fellow, of the name of Mackarell, of Collingburn, who frequently afterwards did the same thing at the principal market room at the Bear at Devizes, at the head of which table Mr. Hunt at that time presided every week. Mackarell used to call this liquor, that is, brandy and wine, Lord Warwick; and another farmer used to drink a nob of white sugar in each glass of claret. Then they would mount their chargers, and off they would go in a body, each of them with two or three hundred pounds in his pocket, and the Lord have mercy on the poor fellow who interrupted them, or failed to get out of their way, upon their road home. No set of men ever carried their heads higher than they did; no set of men were ever more inflated, or more purse-proud, than were the great body of the farmers during these times of their boundless prosperity. It also pervaded every branch of their families: the wives and daughters appeared in the market towns dressed in the highest style of fashion; instead of the hum of the profitable spinning-wheel being heard in their residences, the daughters were delighting and astonishing the clodpoles of the villages with the *Battle of Prague*, or the *Lass of Richmond Hill*, on the harpsichord, which *pa'* had procured from London.



Instead of making the butter and cheese, and attending to the piggery or the poultry-yard, Miss Jemima Adelina Rosetta thought her time better employed at the tambour table, or making a bell-rope, or a fire-screen with riddles and charades, or apeing gentility at a neighbouring ball. At that period, Mr. Hunt says, a hundred sacks of wheat would have paid the rent of Widdington Farm, now three hundred sacks would not pay it. What a reverse of fortune does the present period exhibit; and we only hope that the farmers will display somewhat more of fortitude and patience in the days of their adversity, than they did of moderation, christian forbearance, and temper, in their days of prosperity.

Mr. Hunt, although living at this time in a vortex of dissipation, was not wholly inattentive to the important political events which were passing on the great theatre of Europe, and many of the prophecies which had fallen from the lips of Mr. Clifford now began to be verified. On the 10th October, 1801, General Lauriston arrived in London with the ratifications of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, and the general was drawn through the streets by the populace. The peace was, however, by no means universally popular, and the preliminaries of it were debated in both houses of parliament with great violence on both sides. Many of the opposition denounced the preliminaries as a hollow truce, and subsequent events proved their opinion to be true; declaring, at the same time, that if peace were concluded upon a basis so unsatisfactory, and so disadvantageous for Great Britain, the English government would soon be obliged to violate the treaty, which must lead to fresh hostilities. Mr. Hunt, for one, sincerely rejoiced at the return of peace, for he had long been convinced that the war was carried on, not to preserve this country from the horrors of a French revolution; that it had never been waged for any of its avowed purposes; that it had, from the beginning, been a war against the principles of liberty, established by the revolution in France, which had been attacked by every power in Europe, every one of which powers the French troops had, under the banners of liberty,



defeated over and over again. Pitt, the great fomenter of the war, had indeed resigned, and was succeeded by that most imbecile of all creatures, who ever undertook upon himself the task of directing the energies of a mighty nation, Mr. Addington, speaker of the House of Commons, pensioner, sinecurist, and holder of other valuable and lucrative offices, and now Lord Sidmouth, deputy ranger of Richmond Park, &c. &c. &c. The resignation of Pitt was, however, a juggle, consistently with his former assertions, he could not make peace with the then ruler of France, and therefore it was left for "the Dootor," as Addington was styled in the House of Commons, and the epithet of which gave rise to Sheridan's celebrated sarcastic attack upon him, which he closed with—

" I do not like thee, *Dr. Fell*,  
The reason why I cannot tell ;  
But this I know full well,  
I do not like thee, *Dr. Fell*."

It was left to this truly old woman of a minister to patch up a peace, which Pitt laughed at secretly, and of which the country was ashamed. Addington saw not that he was the dupe of Pitt, who only resigned to give Addington an opportunity of playing off some foolish mountebank tricks, in order that his return to office might be attended with greater honour to himself. The men of talent who had obtained a controlling power in the affairs of France, knew full well the importance of England ; her almost exhaustless resources ; her immense fleets, by which she had so long kept command of the ocean ; her hardy sons, so brave in combat, were duly appreciated by the able man at the head of the affairs of France ; and that country gave evidence of its desire to prevent the application of her vast means against her rising liberties. France sent over an ambassador to negotiate, and humbled herself almost upon her knees before Pitt, the arrogant minister of this country, in hopes of at least keeping him neuter in the affairs of France, if they could not induce him to assist them in the grand struggle in which they were engaged ; but they applied to a young man, conceited and intoxicated with the office of



premier of the British dominions, though controlled himself by an oligarchy of boroughmongers, trembling for their own existence; they negotiated in vain, and as men supplicating for favours are generally treated with scorn by superficial and tyrannical persons, so were the proposals of the French rejected by the English ministry, and themselves dismissed in a manner dishonourable to a great and noble-minded people, and disgraceful to the understandings of the rulers of the day.

Pitt, the apostate, who had once given a fair promise of a noble mind, and disinterested patriotism, but wanting the solid judgment of a Chatham, presumed to embark the vessel of state on a boisterous sea, and holding the helm, fancied he could steer it safely, amidst "a war of principles," and "the clash of arms." O, how high aloft might this young man have stood above all compeers, had benevolent sympathy for the miseries of the human race been the predominant feeling of his heart; but being vain, arrogant, and austere, fate decreed otherwise; with the apathy of a cynic, he listened to the language of philosophy delivered by the French consuls, and began his calculations of successful warfare with the delight of a despot; he fancied, he saw France instantly prostrate at his feet, and proud honours rushing wholesale upon him, and with that vain contumely, not unusual to minds impressed with an opinion of their own individual importance, he disgusted those, which a wiser line of policy would have cherished, that he might afterwards use them to aggrandize his own country. Had he on that occasion told the messengers, that, certainly having no right to interfere with the internal regulations of another people, they might rest assured, that while they showed no disposition to violate or oppose the rights, laws, and interests of the people of these kingdoms, they would meet with no interruption from his government, in the measures they were desirous to adopt, to promote their own happiness; but as the passions of the people were likely to be greatly agitated in this country by the scenes in France; as other persons were infringing upon the rights of Frenchmen, by interfering with their internal concerns; and that, as large armies were



collecting on all sides, and that when nations were in warlike motion, it behoves all others to be prepared against any event, which might endanger their own peace; therefore, without any hostile intent, it would be necessary for England to be prepared, to guard against all possible evils, both from internal commotion or external violence; had Pitt adopted this policy, the only policy that prudence could dictate, what rivers of blood would have been spared; what millions of treasure would have been saved; what true glory would have been gained; what prosperity would have been secured; what losses and sorrows; what wailings and complainings; what discontent; what dungeoning; what persecutions; what violations of the charter of the land; what spying and informing; what transporting and hangings; what ministerial delinquency; what a display of royal imbecility and ignorance in the command of armies; what indemnity bills; what starvings; what misery; what disgust at corn bills—would have been avoided; but as there is no evil without a share of attendant good, would the people of this country have arrived so early at that knowledge of governmental crimes, and acquired that resolution, which want and woe impel, and to the determination to resist oppression? and would they so soon have been likely to be roused to take vengeance of their oppressors, for the sins which cry to heaven for punishment?

Experience has been wisely said to be the source of knowledge, the people of this country ought, therefore, to be the wisest of all the nations of Europe, for its rulers, backed by a tyrannical, oppressive, and doltish oligarchy, have done every thing in their power to impress the conviction on the minds of the people, that it is not for their benefit that the legislation of the country is carried on, but for the purpose of upholding and maintaining those abuses by which the bloated aristocracy of the land trample on the rights and privileges of the people, and attempt to support their extravagant and detestable claims, as if they had really emanated from reason, and were sanctioned by God. And, let us ask, whether society can much longer endure the supremacy, or even the existence of so



odious a body? odious in its power, contemptible in its nature, criminal in all its exertions, and deserving extinction for the ruinous consequences of those exertions to the people. Is it possible that such an unnatural state of society can exist much longer? Will the middle, and the superior part of the lower orders of society, consent to prostrate their useful, extensive, and profound intelligence to such imbecility? will they expose their religion to the control, and their morals to the influence of such a corrupted body? or will they lay their immense property at the mercy of such a profligate, consuming, non-producing set of drones, and who, like those insects, are of no other use in the hive of society, than to propagate their species, which, if it were extinct altogether, would be one of the greatest blessings that could be conferred upon the country.

It was the protracted administration of the Tory government under Pitt, that brought the country to the verge of bankruptcy, and burdened the people with a debt, which now paralyses all their energies, and reduces them to an actual state of slavery, to labour for the payment of the interest of the debt, which an accursed and profligate ministry incurred to support the principles of aristocratical legitimacy. How can it be supposed that a people can flourish, when, upon the supposition, that a man earns 100*l.* a-year, 75*l.* of it goes in the direct or indirect taxation of the articles, which he is in the daily habit of consuming, when he cannot even buy a bundle of matches of the itinerant vendor, without every material of which they are made, having paid a duty towards the liquidation of the interest of the national debt. But the people of this country are at length roused to the danger of their situation; they have acquired the experience, that tyrants and knaves, whether they sit on a throne or on the benches of the House of Lords, are only to be subdued by *personal* and physical resistance; that, whilst the people remain in a state of passivity, oppression must be their fate; let, however, the people but oppose the vultures that prey upon them, and the good that they sigh for, will soon follow; let them cease, like cowards to complain, when they should be dealing blows in their defence, and peace and plenty



will soon be their portion. He who does not risk his life to destroy the wretches who fixed and holds him in their chains, deserves to be a slave.

It was with these and some similar sentiments that Mr. Hunt occupied his mind even in the midst of his dissipation and amusements. He found frequent opportunities for serious reflection, and he found that the six weeks which he had passed in the neighbourhood of the King's Bench Prison, where he had access to some of the most experienced and intelligent men in the kingdom, had not been spent in vain. Mr. Hunt found by experience that the time which a man spends in a prison is not always thrown away; and it is rather a singular admission on the part of Mr. Hunt, that he considers the time, which he spent during his confinement in Ilchester Jail, as the most valuable part of his life. Before his entrance into that English bastille, he never knew what real leisure was. He had enjoyed retirement as much as any man in England; but then he had always been surrounded by his family and friends; but never, until he was in Ilchester Jail, did he know what it was to have seven or eight hours of a day exclusively to himself. He was locked up in solitary confinement in his dungeon every night at six o'clock, without having the power to go to any one, or without any one having the power to come to him. He could sit down with a book or a pen at six o'clock, almost with the certainty of not being interrupted by any living creature, for six, seven, or eight hours at a time. His keepers thought this the greatest punishment that could be inflicted upon him; but on the contrary, he contrived to turn their malice to advantage, and made his imprisonment the most valuable part of his life. We are, however, anticipating the regular course of our narrative.

When Mr. Hunt was in the King's Bench, he was not subject to any privation, nor the petty annoyances which he underwent during his imprisonment at Ilchester. His time there passed very pleasantly; and as a great portion of it was spent in the best of society, amongst some of the most intelligent men of the age, his time was not thrown away. He was in-



duced to think for himself; and to form his own opinion of public men and public measures, without placing, as he had hitherto done, an implicit reliance upon the opinions of others, whom he supposed to have had more experience, and better means of judging of such matters, than he had. He began not only to think, but to act for himself. Amongst the many facts that he ascertained, not the least important was, that common fame was a common liar; and, in our humble opinion, we suspect that many circumstances which must have occurred to Mr. Hunt during his life, should have taught him the verity of that apothegm, without first discovering it in the purlieus of the King's Bench Prison. A person who places implicit faith in common report will, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, find, that he has either imposed upon himself, or been imposed upon by others; and there is nothing more indicative of the weak and simple mind, than that exercise of credulity, which attaches truth to every flying rumour of the day; and, what is still worse, often regulates the conduct according to the impression, which that report immediately makes.

Mr. Clifford had, it is true, made him acquainted with all the tricks, frauds, and deceptions of the public press, and to convince him that almost the whole of the public press of that day was venal and corrupt, he proved to a demonstration by some practical experiments, that for a few pounds, any thing, however absurd, might be universally promulgated, particularly, if the absurdity were in favour of the ruling powers. For instance, he wrote a paragraph, the greatest hoax that ever was, in praise of the mild and amiable manners, the courtesy, and the humanity of Harry Dundas. "Now," said he, "to show you how this will be promulgated by the venal press, and how it will be swallowed by John Bull, give me five shillings, and I will put it into the hands of one of the runners for collecting information for the papers, and you shall see it in all the newspapers both in London and the country." Mr. Hunt produced the crown-piece immediately, and out it came in one of the morning papers the next day, and, as he had pre-



dicted, it was copied into all the London and country papers. Thus the humantiy and suavity of one of the most unfeeling and impudent Scotchmen that ever crossed the Tweed, was cried up to the skies, and he was eulogised by some of them as the very cream of the milk of human kindness\*.

Then as to public opinion, and the popularity of the leading characters of the day, Mr. Fox, to wit, Mr. Clifford declared a hundred times to Mr. Hunt, that that great Westminster Patriot was never drawn home in his carriage from the hustings in his life by the populace, without the persons, who drew him, being regularly *hired* and *paid* for it. The price was always *thirty shillings*, to be divided amongst thirty persons, a shilling *dry* and sixpence *wet* each person. Clifford assured Mr. Hunt that this office of hiring the men to draw their candidates home, was frequently allotted to him, and that it was invariably the same with Mr. Horne Tooke and Mr. Chamberlain, alias John Wilks; and that he would undertake to have Mr. Hunt or Mr. Waddington, drawn through the streets of London, from Whitechapel to Piccadilly for the same sum. At that time there was, in fact, very little disinterested patriotism among the working classes of the community. They had for so many years been made the regular dupes of those, who were called the Opposition Members of Parliament, without that faction, denominated the Whigs, having ever done any essential service for the people at large, that public

\* As a proof of the manner in which some part of the news for a London paper is got up, we are acquainted with a certain reporter and short-hand writer, who at any time, when he is in want of a few shillings, which is generally the case six days out of the seven, will sit down in a coffee-house, and, from a mere trifle, manufacture an article, which will appear on the following day in the papers, headed, "MOST EXTRAORDINARY OR MOST MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCE." This person once found a small phial in a crevice in one of the walls of Newgate; he immediately repaired to an adjoining coffee-shop and there wrote an article, declaring that the said phial had contained prussic acid, and no doubt existed that some of the prisoners had it in contemplation to poison themselves, or had already done it. The article was headed "MOST SINGULAR CIRCUMSTANCE." At a penny a line, he gained by the story of the phial four shilling and two-pence; but no death by prussic acid took place in Newgate, and the whole was one of those hoaxes which are daily and hourly practised by the caterers of news.



feeling, amongst the labouring classes of mechanics and manufacturers, was at a very low ebb. Nor is this to be at all wondered at, because none, not one of those leading public characters ever professed to accomplish any thing that would openly, tangibly, and immediately give any political rights to the people at large. Whenever the opposition or Whigs wished to oust their opponents, or harass them in their places, they used to call public meetings in London, Westminster, and other places, and they never failed to get the multitude to pass any Whig resolutions which they might choose to submit to them, there never being, at that time, any body to oppose or expose their faction or party measures. At that period, many men saw clearly, that until the people retained in their own hands the power of making laws, of regulating their own concerns by the agency of servants appointed by themselves, and removable at pleasure, or at short intervals of time, that opulent, designing, and unprincipled men would continue to confederate as they had done in all former ages, for the purpose of obtaining power, of investing themselves with peculiar and exclusive privileges, and of making partial laws, the better to secure to themselves and their particular family connexions, legislative control, to impose burdens upon the people, and to absorb into their own hands the natural wealth of nations. And, although, our short-sighted and arrogant statesmen of that day were the cause of losing to the mother country the most extraordinary dependencies that ever belonged to a nation, they unwittingly gave, by their narrow policy, and their desire for absolute control, a stimulus to the reflecting powers of the truly honest men both at home and in other countries, and thus revived those principles of freedom and justice which had given way to colonial possessions and commercial speculations. Their desire to impose burdens, contrary to the spirit of the laws of this country, upon the people of America, called up in the course of freedom, men who quietly propagated doctrines calculated to hasten forward the social and civilized rights of mankind. The Americans had shown to the people of England, and to all the countries of Europe, what a people can



accomplish, when united, to emancipate themselves from the galling bondage of their oppressors; and the French revolution, which soon after shook all the thrones of Europe to their foundation, raised a spirit of political freedom in this country, the effects of which, although they have been slow in their growth, are now showing themselves in the determination of the people to be their own rulers. Amongst the able writers, soon after that epoch, may be numbered the truly honest Major Cartwright, who addressed a treatise to the king, upon the impolicy of driving the system of aggression to an extreme, and in the most manly and independent language described the probable fatal consequences which would follow the conduct pursued by the borough factions, and their agents, commonly called the king's ministers. The world is replete with wonders, but one of the greatest would be, a king of this country reading a treatise, by following the precepts of which, the condition of his people could be ameliorated, and those abuses extinguished which operate as a blasting influence upon the moral and commercial energies of the nation. This culpable supineness on the part of England's kings can, in some measure, be ascribed to what has been called by a great statesman, "the power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself;" in plain language, the detested oligarchy, who, in fact, stand in front, behind, and around the throne, to intercept all communications between the king and the people, the sordid and privileged vultures, who, to the great good of the country, are now completely exposed to view, and to the odium of an aroused and irritated people; a herd of aristocrats, with interests separate from the great body of the people, who have been guilty of the most savage and unrelenting oppression, to preserve their power, that ever disgraced the worst despots in any age; not that they committed generally those appalling and torturing enormities practised by the bigots of the Inquisition, or the fire and fagot zealots, but they have legalized their barbarities, and tortured the mind; they dungeoned those who have dared to oppose or expose the system by which they retain their power; they have



reduced the advocates of political justice to poverty; they have famished thousands, and thereby destroyed domestic happiness, and wrung the hearts of parents and children; they have hired ruffians to hoot down with vague, undefinable, and opprobrious epithets the friends of order and justice; they have transported many excellent, good, and learned men, whose bosoms heaved with sympathy at beholding the sufferings of the people; they have hanged and decapitated others, who in better times would have been an ornament to the country; they have used spies and informers to manufacture treason, and, by irritating the passions, have incited people to acts of rebellion, not against the king, but against his controllers and their oppressors; and all this has been the work of the hereditary legislators of the country, who, to insure their own privileges, would sacrifice the interests of the people, although, in their infatuated blindness, they could not see, that if the latter were injured or destroyed, the former must fall to the ground, as a matter of course.

There is, however, another evil attached to the aristocracy of the country, and particularly to the constitution of the House of Lords, which ought to be, and will be soon removed, if the people be determined, that it shall be so. It certainly shocks the feelings of many, and it shocks the faith of others, to see the worldly zeal, with which a reformation of abuses is opposed by the ministers of a religion, in its source essentially meek, simple, and unendowed, and at one time highly popular, and, in the modification under which we live, calling itself *reformed*; calling itself by that very name, which in practice it opposes! The love of money, we are told by the Prince of that religion, whose ministers are now foremost in defending the abuses of mammon, the love of money, He says, is the root of all evil. Can it possibly be, that it is the love of this money, a love of the abuses of the church, which now makes its higher orders strenuous in the defence of the abuses of the state? their conduct may expose them to such imputations. Let then those right reverend lords, and less reverend holders of accumulated livings and stalls, pause ere they make the people of



this country draw a broad line between their religion and their church, their church and its professors. Few, very few, are the enemies of religion, abstractedly speaking, and not many are the enemies of our church; but we suspect it would be no easy matter to number the enemies of the abuses of our church. Till very lately, the enemies of these abuses were indignantly called the enemies of the church, and even of religion itself; but we would ask, whether the defenders, the perpetrators, and enjoyers of such abuses, as the four, five, six, and seven-fold pluralities, do not, at least, merit such uncharitable appellations? With what conscience, the manyfold pluralist connections of the Earl of Eldon can, after reading his Bible, hear of the half-starved wretchedness of some worn-out curate, or of his still more disconsolate widow and orphans, it is not form an to inquire; but in the present times, it is for a reformer to inquire, by what possible sophistry can they justify themselves, who have been guilty, by their heaping preferment on their connections, of perverting the sacred patronage entrusted to their charge, and thereby, despite of all their saintly protestations, of bringing their church into danger, and their religion into disrepute. We say, it is for reformers, when such and like men, get up and oppose reform from an asserted love of their country, and its venerable institutions, it is for them to inquire, how such men dare call themselves supporters of its church. Let not, then, our right reverend fathers in God make common cause with the patrons of abuse. We are not disposed to deny that there may be a vast fund of learning on the bench, but whether there be any patriotism or virtue, is a wholly different matter; at all events, whatever learning they possess, finds its counterpoise in a direct ignorance of the ways of men, and of the real temper of the times. Bred in seclusion, living in a confined circle, promoted in the halcyon days of the late war, and now listless with the weight of years, many of the elder bishops are scarcely accessible, except through the confined channel of their immediate relations and dependents. We have hitherto seen enough of the conduct of the bishops in the House of Lords, and we fearlessly tell them to prepare



for a change, for the time of their expulsion from the upper house is near at hand. In the name of peace, patriotism, and religion, we earnestly implore them to pause and deeply meditate, ere they again indecorously step forward, and make themselves the scapegoats of the House of Lords. The false and insidious cry of the church in danger, may afflict the whole bench with the St. Vitus' dance of terror and alarm, and the poor apostolical souls may reverberate the cry throughout their respective dioceses, and send forth their Agnews and their Poulters, as their missionaries, to proclaim the awful tidings of the diminution of the episcopal revenues, the extinction of pluralities, and the compulsion that a clergyman shall perform the duties of his office, before he calls upon the people to pay him. The bishops cannot conceal it from themselves that a reformed parliament must lead to a reform in the church, and hence, their decided opposition to all and every bill brought into parliament, which had for its object a reform of the abuses either in the state or the church. It is not a little remarkable, that men, who would have the world to believe that they are pre-eminently gifted with learning, are generally the last to profit by experience, and that remark particularly applies to the bishops; for is not the fate of their predecessors, who opposed the just demands of the people, the commons, and the liberal minority of the lords, already on the record of the country? The clerical defenders of abuses in church and state met their reward from an avenging parliament flushed, with success; the resolution of March, 1642, declared, *that the legislative and judicial powers of the bishops in the House of Lords were a hinderance to the discharge of their functions, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away.* Nearly two hundred years have elapsed, and the people of this country have allowed a nuisance to be continued, which was acknowledged as such by the wisdom of their forefathers, and which would certainly have been abolished, had not the country, in 1660, been again cursed with the restoration of a vicious and profligate monarch. The influence of the bishops is great, nor is it our intention or wish to deprive them of any portion of it, be it but provided



that that influence is confined to those objects which particularly belong to their sacred office (and there is enough for them to do in that office, without troubling their heads about other matters), and that they be not permitted to have a voice in the legislative councils of the nation. We are not ignorant that we owe much of our present liberties to the bishops and dignitaries of the church, for, in 1688, they nobly joined with the nation in resisting the bigotted tyranny of another Stuart, and the result was not civil war, and the disorganization of society, but that, which all parties have been proud to call our glorious revolution. Did the church, did its property, did religion suffer by such an alliance with the friends of freedom? were the bishops of those and subsequent days less respected, less distinguished, less religious than those of more modern times? Did the patriotic Bishop of London, who was one of the seven glorious requisitionists, die a less honoured, a less happy death, than the despotic Laud? did he serve his country, did he further the cause of religion, more or less than that deserted friend of a false master? From the present Bishop of London we have not much, if anything at all to expect relative to the restoration of the liberties of the people, and to the annihilation of abuses; he is too deeply steeped in aristocratical pride, and too fond of aristocratical power, to show himself, under any circumstances, the friend of the people; but let him reflect, ere it be too late; the foundation of episcopal legislation has been shaken by the Reformers, and the whole fabric will soon be thrown down by the confederated power of an incensed and suffering people, who have been goaded on to vengeance by a protracted postponement of the abolition of all abuses in church and state, by a marked indifference of the aristocratical branch of the legislature to their just and constitutional demands, by a reckless expenditure of the public money in support of the useless pageantry of royalty, with all its expensive adjuncts, and by the support of a multitude of pensioners and sinecurists, whose revenues have risen in proportion to the moral turpitude which they have exhibited, and the *services* which they may have rendered to a debauched and profligate king.



## CHAPTER X.

FROM the foregoing political disquisition on those subjects, which now began to occupy the mind of Mr. Hunt, we return to his more private affairs. He was at this time living in the zenith of thoughtlessness; he had a large income, and he contrived to live nearly, though, perhaps, not quite up to it, by keeping a great deal of expensive company, as well as an expensive establishment, both within and without doors. In all this, his wife fully participated; but he attributed no blame to her on that account; it was *his* business and his duty to know better, and to act otherwise. As this portion of Mr. Hunt's life is accompanied by some circumstances not exactly in keeping with the rigidity of morality, he shall be his own narrator, by which we shall be absolved from all disposition "to extenuate, or to set down aught in malice."

"In the midst of all revelry," says Mr. Hunt, "I could not make any excuse for myself, as I knew that I was leading, what might be fairly and justly called, a dissolute life; I do not mean to admit that there was anything, which is generally termed criminal in my conduct, but I must say, if I tell the truth, which I am determined to do at all hazards, that I led a very dissipated existence.

"When I look back soberly, and divest myself of fashionable prejudices, I cannot conscientiously call it by any milder name. In fact, though my habits at that period were similar to those of thousands and thousands of fashionable families in the country, who are looked upon as most respectable and correct people, I cannot look back but with regret upon the manner, in which I spent this most valuable portion of my time. Hunting, shooting, coursing, or fishing all day and every day; and then at night, instead of passing it with my family and children, in the calm, serene, delightful joys of a



domestic and rational fireside, I had always a large party at home, or made one amongst the number at a friend's house. Seldom were we in bed till two or three o'clock in the morning. The next day brought sporting, and the next night a ball, or a card party, or a drinking party, and thus I was hurried from one scene of dissipation to another, without ever allowing myself time scarcely to look round, seldom to look back, and never seriously to reflect. It was with me, even in dissipation, as it was in every thing else that I engaged in, that I was enthusiastic. In the record of my errors and failings, the reader must, therefore, prepare himself to hear, at any rate, of some thumping faults; and although I do not deserve, and do not expect to escape the deep censure of *some*, yet I rely upon the liberal indulgence of the more virtuous portion of the community, who know that it is the lot of man to err, but that it is godlike to make allowances for human infirmities, and to forgive them; and, after relating all my errors, I shall boldly say, in the language of our Saviour, 'Let him that is without fault, throw the first stone.'

"In the midst of this life of thoughtless gaiety and pleasure, I was always greatly attached to female society, and I gave the preference to those amusements, where females were of the party, such as dancing, music, and those card parties where they could join; in consequence of this, I frequently escaped those bacchanalian carousals to which many of my intimate friends and companions were strongly addicted. Not that I mean to pretend that, when I made one of those parties, I ever flinched, no, I took my bottle as freely as any of them, but, thanks to a good constitution, never to excess, or rather, never so as to become inebriated.

"Dancing I enjoyed, and participated in it to excess. My partiality to female society led me into many extravagances, and into some difficulties, for I could not pay *moderate* attention to a lady. My partner, if I admired her, received my enthusiastic attention, for though I was a married man, yet I suffered no single man to outdo me in polite assiduities to my partner. This sometimes drew down upon me the anger, and,



upon one occasion, the unjust suspicion of Mrs. Hunt. A young lady, who was upon a visit in our family, had attracted my particular notice; she was handsome, elegant, lively, and fascinating, and I was at first led to pay her more marked respect, because I discovered that it excited the envy of a widow lady, of Andover, who came with her on a visit to our house. She, like many of her fellows, because she never possessed any of those personal charms, or acquired accomplishments, that please all, who come within the reach of their influence, was uncommonly envious of those, who did; and setting herself up as a sort of duenna to this young lady, undertook to take her to task for receiving, with so much ease and unconcern, my extremely marked attention, which she declared made my wife very unhappy; this was, at that moment, a barefaced falsehood of the old hag; though she contrived afterwards, by her arts, insinuations, and fabrications, to produce that effect in the breast of Mrs. Hunt. The old widow, whom, for convenience sake, I shall call Mrs. Butler, at first was successful in thwarting, as she said, her young friend's amusement, and in rendering miserable the person, whom she affected to pity; but, at last, by carrying her calumnies too far, she failed altogether in her diabolical schemes: for having represented to Mrs. Hunt, that she had seen me take a gross and indecent liberty with the young lady, the falsehood struck my wife so forcibly, that the object of it was very visible, even to her jaundiced eye, and without ceremony, she ordered her carriage, and packed the slanderer off to her own home, very properly forbidding her ever to enter her door again.

“ Though my wife behaved with becoming spirit upon this occasion, by banishing such a fiend in human form from her house, yet the latent sparks of jealousy, which had been lodged in her breast, were still too visible to be concealed. I was stung by being subject to such unjust suspicions, and, instead of taking the prudent and proper course, conscious of the purity and innocence of my feelings, with respect to our young visiter, I continued, nay, redoubled my zealous devotion. Instead of healing the breach that this fracas had made, I braved



it out, and what was before only the polite attention, which I was always in the habit of paying to an interesting female, became now, to all outward appearance, an enthusiastic attachment. Unfortunately, too, the young lady, feeling indignant at the groundless and unjust ideas of Mrs. Hunt, too readily fell into my views, and appeared to be very much pleased with my open and increased assiduities. This added fuel to the fire; it led to the most unpleasant consequences, and laid the foundation for those little bickerings, which are too apt to create at length a marked indifference. However, after having braved the affair out for a few days, the young lady returned amongst her friends, who had the sincerity and candour to represent to her the imprudence of her conduct, and the flirtation, which was so innocent in fact, but so injurious in its result, was at length put an end to.

X " I have related this seemingly uninteresting affair, first to show and admit the folly of which I was guilty, for folly it was to say the least of it, and next as a warning to my young readers to avoid the rock of tampering with and detaching the feelings of those, whom they ought to love and cherish. I sincerely believe, if a man once excites jealousy in the breast of his wife, whether well-founded or not, the virus that engenders is of such a corroding nature, that it is seldom, if ever, totally eradicated. Married persons, therefore, can never be too circumspect in their conduct. Though I never offered the most distant insult, or took even the most innocent liberty with this young lady, yet I admit that I was guilty of an act of gross and wanton imprudence. I was guilty of gross injustice to the young lady, and of greater injustice to Mrs. Hunt, and I feel at this moment, that to induce the reader to forgive this faulty part of my conduct, will require a considerable portion of liberality and good nature, and of that amiable spirit and virtue, which teaches a person, conscious of his own innocence, to look with charity on the failings of others."

The confession of our sins goes certainly a great way to disarm the censure even of the most rigid moralist, nor should we be in the least inclined to visit Mr. Hunt with our reproof, had



we not arrived at the knowledge, that his extraordinary attachment to female society, as he himself expresses it, led him to form other attachments which were ultimately the cause of the complete ruin of his domestic happiness, and the separation from his wife. To suppose that an individual, moving in the sphere of life which Mr. Hunt did, and forming, as it were, the focus of a particular circle, should be engaged in an amour, and at the same time, that the leading circumstances could be kept a secret, can only be supposed probable by those, who have never experienced the malicious propensity of people living in the country, to penetrate into the affairs of their neighbours, to blazon all their misdeeds, to aggravate their faults, and to amplify the grossness of them. The circumstances, however, of this inauspicious amour did not long remain rankling in the breast of Mr. Hunt, for whatever slight compunctions of conscience they might have occasioned, they were soon dispelled by the round of amusements in which he was thoughtlessly engaged, and which it was evident occasioned those drains upon his finances, which common discretion ought to have taught him to avoid.

Mr. Hunt now again enters the arena of politics, in which he gives some proofs of his ultra-loyalty and patriotism. The alarmists of Pitt were still active in disseminating throughout the country a general terror of invasion. The respective lords lieutenants of counties were kept actively at work to support the delusion; for nothing but the immediate dread of invasion could have induced the people to pay the immense drains that were made upon their pockets by taxation; nothing less than the dread of having their property annihilated, their wives and daughters violated, and their children bayoneted before their faces, could have made them submit to the burdens, which were imposed upon them.

The Lord Lieutenant of Wiltshire, the county in which Mr. Hunt resided, had caused circular letters to be written to the clergymen, churchwardens, and overseers of every parish, to return an account of all the moveable property, live and dead stock, that was in their respective parishes;



and also to require every farmer to give in a list of his stock of grain, horses, wagons, and cattle, and at the end of it to state what he would voluntarily place at the disposal of government in case of an actual invasion; he was also to declare, whether he was employed in any volunteer corps, and if not, whether he would place himself under the lord lieutenant, and act as pioneer, driver, &c. In the parish of Enford, a public meeting was called, and being much the largest farmer in the village, Mr. Hunt was called to the chair. Having opened the business of the day by reading the circular of the Lord Lieutenant, and explained, as well as he could, the object of the meeting, he urged those, who were present, by all the eloquence that he possessed, to come forward and manfully and devotedly to resist the common enemy with their property and their lives, in case they should dare to set a foot upon English ground. He told them that he should feel himself a disgrace to human nature, if he could be capable of urging or exciting his fellow-countrymen to any act, in the danger of which he would not stand forward personally to participate. Mr. Hunt now made out an inventory of all that he possessed, under which he wrote as follow:—

“ I, Henry Hunt, of Chisenbury House, in the county of Wilts, having given a true and faithful account of all the live and dead stock, cattle and grain that I possess, I do hereby voluntary tender the whole of it, without any reserve, to the government, to be at their disposal in case of an actual invasion of the country by the enemy. I also engage to find at my own expense, able, careful, active, and willing drivers for the teams, and shepherds to attend the cattle and flocks, to conduct them wherever they may be required. As for my own personal services, I having been lately dismissed from the Wiltshire yeomanry by Lord Bruce, the colonel, and having no confidence either in the courage or skill of the colonel, or any of the officers belonging to that regiment, but having by considerable pains and perseverance obtained a pretty correct knowledge of military tactics, I hereby engage to enter myself and three servants, completely equipped, and mounted upon



valuable hunters, as volunteers into the regiment of horse that shall make the first charge upon the enemy, unless that the lord lieutenant should think that an active and zealous friend to his country, well mounted, and ready to perform any service, however desperate, accompanied by three servants, also well mounted, can serve the cause of his country better by placing himself at the disposal of the lord lieutenant of the county."

Mr. Hunt's neighbours stared when this patriotic offer was made known to them, and some of them thought that he was mad with enthusiasm, and in after years, some strange suspicion crept into the mind of Mr. Hunt, when he reflected on the part which he had taken in the threatened invasion, that he must have been in reality rather mad, not to have seen that the alarm of the invasion was kept up by Pitt to divert the attention of the people from other subjects that were going on at home, and which he never would have been able to carry into effect, had the people had time given them coolly to reflect upon them; nor did the ultra patriotism of his neighbours carry them to be very profuse in their offers of service, for the majority of them contented themselves with offering some a wagon and four horses, some a cart and two horses, some a few quarters of corn, and some wisely considered that it would be high time to make any offer at all, when the Boulogne flotilla had actually anchored on our shores, which some grey-headed sexagenarians presumed to think would never happen at all.

As soon as the meeting was over, not satisfied with writing his name down in the circular, and leaving it to find its way amongst others to head-quarters, Mr. Hunt sat down and wrote a letter, which he sent by his steward to Lord Pembroke, the lord lieutenant of the county, explicitly stating the extent of the offer, and his readiness to carry it into execution. The following answer was received from his lordship:—

" SIR,

Wilton House, August 20, 1801.

" I have been so overwhelmed for some days with business, resulting from the necessity of calling upon a part of this



county to put itself in a state of military preparation, that it has not been in my power to send a more immediate answer to your letter of the 16th. As the part above alluded to, does not extend to your residence, I conceive you will not be called upon to make any movement, except in the event of actual invasion, or of immediate threatening upon the coast, in which case, the offers you make would be of infinite service; in which case also, as you ask my opinion, I think various lines of service might be pointed out in which your personal service, attended by your servants, would be of much greater avail, and far more beneficial to the country than as a volunteer in any regular regiment of cavalry, should those corps be permitted to receive volunteers.

“ I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

“ PEMBROKE.

“ To Henry Hunt, Esq. Chisenbury House, Wilts.”

We must here, for a short time, anticipate the regular course of events, in order to notice a curious coincidence attending the public meeting which was held at Enford, on the 16th of August 1801, and that which was held on the 16th of August 1819, at Manchester. At the former, Mr. Hunt was acting as chairman of a public parish meeting, held at the Swan Inn, in the parish of Enford, in the county of Wilts, assembled in consequence of a circular letter written by the Earl of Pembroke, in order to take into consideration, and to adopt the most effectual means of affording assistance to the government to resist and repel the invasion of a foreign foe. The first time in his life that Mr. Hunt was called upon by his fellow-countrymen to *preside* at a public meeting, was on the 16th of August 1801, and for his zeal and devotion for the welfare and safety of his country on that day, he received the approbation of Lord Pembroke, the lord lieutenant of the county of Wilts. Now mark the contrast. On the 16th of August 1819, after a lapse of eighteen years, he was presiding at as peaceable, as laudable, and as constitutional a meeting held at Manchester, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best and most legal means of obtaining “ a Reform in the Pee-



*ples' or Commons' House of Parliament."* But then, instead of receiving the thanks of the lord lieutenant of the county, he was assaulted by a military force, imprisoned, sentenced to be incarcerated in the worst, the most unwholesome, and the most infamous county jail in the kingdom, *for two years and six months*, while the butchers, who murdered fifteen or sixteen, and maimed upwards of six hundred of their peaceable and unresisting fellow-creatures, received the thanks of the king for their *services*.

It is certainly rather a singular coincidence, that the first and the last public meeting at which, at that time, he had ever presided, should have been on the sixteenth of August, and it is not less worthy of notice, that they should have been attended with such opposite results. Speaking of these two circumstances, Mr. Hunt says—"I am sure, that I was actuated by the very same feeling, the same love of country, the same anxiety for the well-being of my fellow-countrymen, and the same self-devotion at both these meetings; my great leading object being to promote, as far as my humble means would permit, the welfare, the freedom, and happiness of my countrymen.

"It will be seen that I was just the same sort of man on the 16th of August, 1801, as I was on the 16th of August, 1819, and I hope I shall remain that sort of man to the latest period of my life. In the first instance, my country was in danger, she was threatened by the invasion of a foreign foe, that was enough. What was my conduct? I hurried to her assistance, and I made a voluntary tender of all I possessed, together with my own personal services, to perform any duty, however hazardous; I had suffered once for my zeal, I had been insulted by the colonel of the Wilts yeomanry, and for resenting it, I was fined and imprisoned; but this did not extinguish, nor did it even slacken my zeal for what, I conceived, to be the safety and liberty of my country."

At this period, Mr. Hunt was living in what might be called great style, his mansion being generally full of company; but in the midst of this profligate course of life, he was not un-



mindful of the wants and privations of the poor, and he never failed to do every thing in his power to relieve their distresses, and at the same time to protect them from oppression. He never neglected the call of a poor man or a poor woman to attend on his or her behalf at a justice meeting, to advocate their cause, and defend them against the arbitrary and cruel attacks of any little dirty tyrant, who might have premeditated to oppress them. For this conduct, he was branded behind his back, by the quorum, and all the jacks in office under them, as a *busy, meddling, officious fellow*, but this never deterred him from doing that, which he believed to be, and which he had been taught to be, the duty of a good christian, namely, his duty towards his neighbour. If the petty despots of the neighbourhood levelled their sneers at him behind his back, he was more than repaid, he was most amply rewarded for this indignity, by a self-approving conscience, and by the grateful thanks and blessings of the poor, whenever he came in contact with them; they were not only civil and respectful towards him and his family, but they were always ready to fly to do him any act of kindness within their power.

“ This,” says Mr. Hunt, “ was a delightful state of society, each living and labouring for the mutual benefit and happiness of the whole; but,” he continues, putting to himself the question, “ how was it possible that Mr. Hunt, surrounded with so many blessings, and appearing so much to enjoy such a rational delightful occupation, should have been led away, should have been betrayed into the guilt of dissipation ?

“ Ah ! my friends,” says Mr. Hunt, “ how easy is it, in looking back upon past events, upon lost time, how easy is it for us to say, and what a common expression it is in the mouth of every reflecting person, *if my time were to come over again, how very differently would I act*. But this sort of reasoning is very fallacious, it is unworthy of a philosopher. When a person reflects upon particular events of his life, where his objects had failed for want of foresight, or for want of prudence, it may be excusable in him to express a wish, nay, it is almost impossible for any one to suppress an inward wish, that he had



acted with more caution, discretion, and prudence; but even a hankering wish of this sort is a weakness, although it may be an amiable, and an excusable weakness. To wish at all for an impossibility, such as the recalling of time that is irretrievably gone by, must be a weakness; but even if we could recall it, to assert that we would act otherwise than we did, is the weakness of folly, for if we were placed in the very same situation, at the same age, with the same inexperience, and impelled by the same impetuous youthful passions, under similar circumstances, depend upon it, we should commit the self-same errors that we have now to regret. As for myself," says Mr. Hunt, "instead of indulging in this sort of weakness, I look back upon my past errors with a sort of awful reverence for the benignity of the divine Will of my Maker, and when I prostrate myself before God, and offer up a silent, although an ardent thanksgiving for all his goodness to me, an insignificant human being, I never forget to pour out my most grateful and unbounded acknowledgments to him for his having permitted me to pass through life hitherto *so well as I have done*, without *having committed any premeditated or deadly sin\**, such as would bear down and oppress my soul with conscious guilt, and place me in that deplorable situation, which is so beautifully expressed by the sublime author, 'of all mortals, those are the most exquisitely miserable, who groan beneath the pressure of a melancholy mind, or labour under the stings of a guilty conscience; a slave confined to the galleys, or an exile to punishment, is in perfect paradise compared with these.'

"It should be recollected that I am not endeavouring to screen those sins that I know I have committed; as I feel that they will come under the denomination of *venial*, and not *deadly sins*, I shall not shrink from the task which I have imposed upon myself, of recording them as often as they occur at the different periods of my history. I am not insensible of my

\* It must be borne in mind, that these moral reflections of Mr. Hunt were written during his imprisonment in Ilchester jail. We, however, rather suspect that we shall not proceed much further in his memoirs, without convicting him of a *most premeditated and deadly sin*, and that too from his own confession.



errors, faults, and frailties; I know that we are all poor frail mortals; but, as my poor father said upon his death-bed, 'I have not the least shadow of doubt upon my mind, that a wise, just, and beneficent Creator and Father of all, will pardon my errors.' With the same sort of hope, and with a similar impression upon my mind, I pass my numerous hours of solitude here in the most delightful reflections. I live in hope of seeing the enemies of my country, and the persecutors of my suffering countrymen, brought to justice. Though I am a determined and an uncompromising enemy of those, who tyrannise over and oppress any fellow-creatures, yet I feel that I am always ready to forgive any personal injuries, and I am never in better humour with myself, and never have a higher opinion of my own character, than when I find my heart divested of all vindictive feelings against the petty tyrants, by whom I am surrounded. For their cruel persecution of myself and my unoffending family, I will, if I live, and have the power, deliberately and perseveringly bring them to justice; but I will not do it to gratify a vindictive spirit; I will do it for the sake of justice itself, not to gratify my own revenge, but for the protection of those who may come hereafter."

We shall now return to the more immediate affairs of Mr. Hunt's life. On the receipt of Lord Pembroke's letter, Mr. Hunt called a meeting of the neighbouring farmers, at which the letter was read to them, and the account of the attack of Lord Nelson on the Boulogne flotilla, which had arrived the preceding day, contributed, in a great measure, to dissipate the general apprehension, which pervaded the whole country, that an immediate invasion was actually likely to take place. The French government understood this thing well; they knew that it kept the country in a continual state of ferment and apprehension, and therefore they persisted in keeping the army of observation and the flotilla at Boulogne, in order to harrass the British ministry, who, however, contrived to turn this to their own advantage, as it enabled them to frighten the people out of their money, by an enormous levy of taxes, the supplies voted that year being forty-two millions, and the loan which



took place being twenty-five millions. By the sober-minded politicians of the day, the invasion was regarded as a bugbear. The extraordinary individual, who at that time, by the gigantic powers of his own mind, singly ruled the destinies of the French nation, knew well that he should gain nothing by an invasion, but discomfiture and defeat; but he knew that he was compelling the British ministry to increase the taxation of the country, and thereby ultimately bring about its ruin. The French smiled at the roars, which the lion of England sent forth along its shores; they laughed at our volunteers and our yeomanry corps, which were intended rather to crush any ebullition on the part of the people, than to drive an invading enemy into the sea. France gained her end, and the country is to this day groaning under the weight of the taxation, which the heaven-born minister imposed upon it, to further his own ambitious and aristocratical views.

In dilating upon the internal affairs of the country at this time, Mr. Hunt gives an interesting and entertaining account of the rage, which seized all classes of people to become farmers, for he considered the period of 1801, 1802, to have been the zenith of the farmer's glory. If a farm was to be let, scores were riding and driving over each other, ready to break their necks to take it, or to rent it at any price. Not only farmers, but tailors, tinkers, grocers, linen-drappers, and all sorts of tradesmen and shop-keepers, were running helter-skelter to be farmers; men connected with the press, and cunning attorneys were joining in the chase; men of all professions, indeed, were now eager to become gentlemen farmers. Mr. Hunt's father used to class the whole of these, under the general denomination of *apron farmers*, and never was there a more significant and intelligible term applied to any set of men. In every parish, one or two of these apron farmers were now to be seen gentlemen, who knew very well how to handle a yard, so as to make short measure in selling a piece of cloth; men who could acquit themselves well at a pestle and mortar, who could tie up a paper parcel, or "split a fig," who could drive a goose quill, or ogle and simper at the ladies from be-



hind a counter with great affectation and effeminacy, but knew no more about the management of a farm, than they did about algebra, or the most intricate problems of Euclid. Every one who had saved four or five thousand pounds by trade, must now become a farmer. They all knew what profits the farmer was making, and they not only envied him, but they made a desperate plunge to become participators with him in the booty. There was scarcely an attorney in the whole country that did not carry on the double trade of quill-driving and clod-hopping. Most of them purchased land, even if they borrowed money to pay for it, and many of them, after having farmed and farmed, till they had not a shilling in their pockets to support their families, have been compelled to give up their estates to the mortgagee. As an illustration of this fact, Mr. Hunt points numerous instances of this sort of mad folly. I remember, he says, an Irish barrister, who had married a lady of fortune at Bath, came and purchased an estate in Sussex, adjoining one that I occupied, and this, as he expressed himself, he did that he might have the benefit of my experience to assist him in the cultivation of it. He was to take the timber at a valuation; and it is a sufficient proof of his ignorance of these matters, that he really did not know the difference between a hazel bush and an oak tree, for although he was a clever and ingenious man in his way, yet he actually applied to me to know, how they would measure such *small timber*, as that, which he pointed out to me, which was nothing more than a hazel bush. Such was his ignorance of country affairs, that he did not know barley and wheat from grass, nor beans from oats, when growing, and he seriously professed as the best method of hatching young ducks, to set them under the young rooks which had made their nests in the lofty trees that surrounded his house, and yet this gentleman must be a farmer, forsooth! These facts must however, convince every rational mind, that this was such an unnatural state of things as could not exist for any lengthened period. It did, nevertheless, drag on to the end of the war, when all these apron farmers were brushed off their farms, as one would brush from



off one's leg a fly that was stinging it. These gentry, have long since quitted the turmoil and difficulty of agricultural pursuits. Those, that have purchased, have given up the land to the mortgagee, and those that have rented, have had stock sold to pay their creditors, and many of them, cursing the evil hour, when they were induced to become farmers, have crept quietly back to occupy the situation behind the counter as servants; where only a few years before, they had reigned as masters. These were some of the evils naturally attendant upon the bad policy, as well as wretchedness of one nation going to war, to put down and destroy the liberty of another."

We are now entering upon one of the most important and distressing epochs of Mr. Hunt's life, and when the catastrophe is related, it will appear rather a difficult task to acquit Mr. Hunt of *any premeditated or deadly sin*, and one too of a heinous and flagrant character. As Mr. Hunt has left behind him the fullest particulars relative to this unfortunate transaction, which was the means of breaking up for ever his domestic felicity, we will not give a garbled statement of it, but relate it in his own words.

"I was, says Mr. Hunt, as I have more than once stated; gay, thoughtless, and dissipated. I seldom ever spent a retired, quiet evening at home, enjoying the rational amusement of my own domestic fireside. We had always company at home, or I was one of a party abroad; myself and Mrs. Hunt were living a truly fashionable life, and we entered into all its levities and follies. This course of life had drawn us into more fashionable, more accomplished society, and I own, that to me polished manners were a great attraction, and that those, who possessed them, possessed also superior powers to fascinate. Amongst this number, I frequently met a lady, who had been bred up and educated in the highest and most fashionable circles; she was tall, fair, and graceful, and as far as my judgement went, every charm and accomplishment, both corporeal and mental, that could adorn an elegant and beautiful female, appeared to be centred in her. At first sight, I was struck with her superior airs and graceful form, but I soon



began to admire the beauties of her mind more than I had at first sight been captivated by her person. We were, as if by accident, frequently thrown into each others' society, a circumstance, with which I was very much delighted, and as it never occurred to me, that there could, by any possibility, be any harm in admiring and paying respectful attention to a lovely, elegant, and accomplished female, I never concealed in the smallest degree the pleasure, which I felt in her society. Though for upwards of twelve months, which was ever since we had become first acquainted, my attentions had been very marked, yet they had not attracted any particular notice. I thought alas ! and I professed what I thought, that I felt the most pure platonic affection for the lady, and that I was blessed with her friendship in return. My wife had watched the progress of this attachment with anxiety and pain, she mentioned her fears and expostulated in becoming terms against the imprudence of my conduct, which might give occasion to the world for ill-natured remarks, and she represented to me, that although my attentions were open and undisguised ; they were very pointed and visible to every one, and that people would, and did talk about it. I professed to set at defiance the malignant opinion of the envious and the ill-natured, and as I was conscious of the purity and honour of my intentions, I was the last man living, that would be likely to forego any pleasure, merely because the censorious world chose to make their remarks upon it. I saw that my wife had not the slightest suspicion of any thing criminal, neither was there the least reason for any such suspicion, but I saw also that she dreaded the consequence of such incessant—such devoted attention on my part, which, although, it was received with politeness, and the strictest propriety, she nevertheless perceived to be not at all disagreeable. Though the attachment was as pure and disinterested as platonic affection could possibly be, and although I should quite as soon have indulged an improper thought towards my own sister, yet the society of this lady was now become absolutely necessary to my comfort ; we were, therefore, frequently together, and I was miserable, if



three or four days passed without our meeting—a circumstance, which seldom happened, notwithstanding we lived at a distance of ten miles from each other.”

“It will be asked, what said the husband of the lady? for she was a married woman. It would ill become me to say more than is absolutely necessary upon the subject; but unfortunately, he was careless and inattentive, and knew not how to prize the treasure that he possessed, and besides, as he never entertained, *nor ever had any reason to entertain* a shadow of doubt respecting his wife, we were constantly left together. This intimacy had now continued nearly two years, and as the lady was going to stay with her family in a distant county, I was invited (almost of course) to pay her a visit, whilst she was there. I scarcely need say that the invitation was accepted. Instead of staying a week or ten days, I remained a month, during the whole of the time, my attention was incessant. I could not join in any scheme of pleasure or amusement, unless she was one of the party. Unluckily too, there was no one to control us. Her word was a law, which I resolutely carried into effect. At length, the gentleman getting quite tired of my visit, which was never intended or professed by me to be to him, but to the lady, he left us, and went to London. Whenever he was asked by his friends or acquaintance, if I would not make one of a party to walk, to ride, to drive, or any other amusement, he invariably answered “You must ask my wife, by G——; Hunt is no visiter of mine, he is Mrs. —— visiter;” and I without any ceremony admitted this, by saying it was perfectly true, if the lady chose to go, I should accompany her, and if she chose to remain at home, I should remain with her, and this determination, I invariably followed.”

“Business, however, called me home, a few days after the gentleman left us, and I went into Wiltshire about the middle of May, having made a promise to return in July, to attend the races at Brighton. This was the longest and most tedious six weeks of my life. I thought of nothing but my intended visit to Brighton races, and such was the anxiety of my mind,



that it brought on a serious and indeed, alarming fever. In the fits of delirium, I raved for the lady, who was the object of my solicitude, and at one period, the paroxysms were so violent, that Mrs. Hunt actually thought that I should have been bereaved of my senses, and to calm me, she seriously proposed to send an express for the lady. In a few days, the strength of my constitution overcame the disease, and I recovered. But I found my life was quite a blank, my very soul was absorbed in thinking, and longing for the society of one dear object. I took not the least interest in the political occurrences of the day, and for the first time in my life, I grew careless, and totally neglected my business. Peace had been proclaimed; such an event, at any other time, I should have considered a matter of the highest importance, but that event scarcely excited my attention. I now began to feel the fatal effects of indulging such a passion as that of platonic (?) affection. Though there had never been the slightest variation from the strict line of *virtuous friendship*, yet such was its power over me, that I found it irresistible. I struggled to break the spell, but I found it impossible; every effort that I made, only served to wind it more closely round my heart. *I confessed my weakness to Mrs. Hunt*, and indeed, it was already too visible to her to require any confession on my part; at length the time arrived for my departure, and the manner of taking leave between myself and Mrs. Hunt was very different, from what it had ever been before; it was distressing to both, and appeared to be clouded with an ominous aspect.

“Without dwelling any longer upon this painful subject, sufficient to say, that notwithstanding it was the very eve of harvest, I proceeded on my journey. I drove my old friend Clare in my curicle, and our servants followed us on horseback. We arrived in the neighbourhood of Brighton, where we were received with great politeness. *Clare went to visit the gentleman, I, the lady.* We remained a few days before we parted for Brighton, where we had taken lodgings for the race week. Instead of being diminished, my attentions to the



lady increased every day, and as they become more pointed, and excited the notice of every one, the husband remonstrated, and threatened to take the lady home. In fact, he was urged on to do this by some of the lady's family. I expostulated, but never relaxed my assiduities, and he was indecisive. A storm was, however, gathering around us, which threatened to burst every moment, and dreading that separation, which appeared worse than death, at the thoughts of which I was almost frantic; we took the desperate resolution to put it out of the power of any one to part us. *Brighton was a dangerous place for persons in our situation.* There was the Prince of Wales, afterwards the moral and virtuous George the Fourth, living with Mrs. Fitzherbert, in the most open and public manner; this was an example too likely to have a baneful effect upon two persons, *so dotingly fond of each other (platonically, we suppose)* that the very idea of being parted, produced almost a momentary madness—such was the result of *platonic* affection. Without ever having made the slightest approach to any thing criminal, *our attachment was so rivetted* (all platonic) that to cease to exist, would have been ten thousand times preferable to such a separation, as would have finally deprived us of the power of enjoying each other's society. The die was cast—my curricule was brought to the door about one o'clock in the middle of the day, and I prevailed on her to take a seat, which she did almost in a lifeless state, without knowing where I was going to drive her. This did not excite the particular observation of our friends, who were of the party, as I was in the habit of driving her out almost every day. As soon as we were seated, I drove off to Lewes, upon the road we met the Prince, Mrs. Fitzherbert, and Sir John and Lady Lade, in a barouche, returning from the races, and never, we may say, was a four-wheeled vehicle better crammed with vice and profligacy. The moment that we arrived at Lewes, I ordered four horses to a postchaise, and having written a short letter back to my friend Clare, to explain the cause of our absence, we proceeded to London with all possible speed. The friends of the lady followed her the next day, and every offer



was made to induce her to return; but the fatal step being once taken, there was no retreating, and all entreaties were in vain, though every inducement was offered and repeated for six or eight months. I shall only add, that though there can be no justification for such a rash step, yet if there ever was a female that had received cause, which greatly palliated, almost to justification, she was that person. The circumstances were so peculiar and so distressing, that no legal proceedings were taken either against her or myself; but on the contrary, amicable arrangements were made.

“ Perhaps, and no doubt, it will be said by some, that I am an unfeeling, barefaced offender, thus publicly to blazon forth my own errors. But I claim the indulgence of my readers to recollect that I have undertaken to write my own history, and as I have presumed to do it faithfully, no consideration on earth shall induce me to conceal from the public my faults. These, and particularly the reformers, shall, if I live, know my character, such as it is. It is a duty I owe to them as well as myself, and though this is a most painful duty, yet I am determined not to shrink from the task of performing it with a rigid fidelity. Millions of the most amiable and the most virtuous, if they cannot altogether pardon, will know how to make a generous and liberal allowance for the frailties of human nature. I have a much more difficult labour yet to accomplish, in narrating the separation that took place between myself and my wife, in consequence of this fatal step. But I am quite sure that nothing I ever did in my life can make me appear half so bad as I have been represented to be by the venal public press of this country. I shall proceed deliberately and resolutely to disclose the whole.

“ The circumstance of our departure from so public a place as Brighton soon got into the newspapers, and the intelligence had reached my house at Chisenbury long before I got there, whither I was obliged to return, as it was just in the middle of harvest. I had written to a friend to meet me there, and to prepare Mrs. Hunt for the interview. Our meeting I will not



attempt to describe; it was most painful for all parties; I concealed nothing from my wife, and when she knew the extent of the evil, with a becoming spirit, she declared her determination not to share a divided heart. Without going into a detail here, it will be sufficient to say that a separation was mutually agreed upon, and her relations were appointed to meet my attorney, to make the necessary arrangements for carrying it into effect. I disclosed to my attorney my circumstances as to property, and instructed him to accede to the most liberal settlement.

“ How many times, when I have come before the public, have I been taunted by the hireling press, and its still baser agents, that I had turned my wife out of doors to starve. How incessantly was this falsehood bawled out, repeated, and reiterated by the dirty, hireling agents of the contemptible Westminster junta, so properly denominated by Mr. Cobbett, the Rump Committee! How often was this lie vomited forth on the hustings by the paid tools of the opposing candidates of the Bristol and Westminster elections. Whenever I have argued for the right of every Englishman to be free for universal suffrage, or have pleaded the cause of the poor, instead of answering my arguments, or controverting my principles of justice and humanity, the answer has been, “ *you have turned your wife out of doors to starve, Hunt, therefore we will not listen to your doctrine.*” This has been particularly the language of that hypocritical faction, the Whigs, or Burdettites, those pretended sham friends of liberty, who, within the last seven years, have done more to palsy public opinion, than all the Tories that ever lived could have done. The rump, the fag-end of a committee of Westminster election, that was once formed to support the freedom of election in that city, but the members of which have, since the management of it got into their hands, converted the power that they have assumed, into an engine of the basest corruption, and have proved themselves the most tyrannical supporters of public opinion, as well as the most determined brutal destroyers of every thing like fair discussion, who, at all their public meetings, whether held in



Palace Yard, or at the Crown and Anchor, have systematically put down, and forcibly prevented from delivering his sentiments every person that was not of their own gang, who, with coarse, beastly, vulgar hootings and yellings, have driven every honest public man from their bacchanalian carousals at the Crown and Anchor; this set of dirty underlings I have most narrowly watched year after year, during a long period; and as I know all their tricks and shufflings, I will faithfully lay them before the public. The ramifications of the mischief they have done, have spread far and near. They have kept up a correspondence with some of the most patriotic individuals in every provincial town and city in the kingdom, by which means they have frequently exercised the power which they thus acquire, of stifling those sparks of popular fervour, that would have long since kindled into an irrepressible blaze of patriotism, had it not been for the sinister exertions of this foul extinguisher of every particle of generous public liberty, that did not tend to promote their own base and selfish ends, always acting as they have done, under the direction and immediate influence of their Grand Lama, or principal Juggler, Sir Francis Burdett, in whose pay they have most of them been, directly or indirectly, for many years past. Unable to answer my arguments, and dreading the exposure of their hero's trickery, the gang, with a broad-faced impudent individual of the name of Adams, a currier, in Drury Lane, at their head, whenever I offered to address them in public, have been almost foremost in the cry of 'Hunt, you turned your wife out of doors to starve!' and not satisfied with this, these despicable wretches have worn the heels of their shoes off, in running from door to door, and from pot-house to pot-house, to vilify me behind my back, propagating the most barefaced falsehoods, all of their own fabrication."

We are aware that in the foregoing passage we have been anticipating the regular course of the narrative, as the circumstances to which Mr. Hunt alludes, took place several years after the separation from his wife, and form a part of his autobiography as written by him during his confinement in Ilches-



ter Jail. Whatever Mr. Hunt might think himself called upon to advance in extenuation of his conduct towards Mrs. Hunt, in the affair of the adulterous intercourse with Mrs. V——e, yet, with all his attempts to palliate his conduct, it still remains with all its damning spots about it; and in a subsequent part of these memoirs, we shall have to exhibit the extraordinary and most disreputable transaction of a father living in adultery with a particular female, and his own son marrying her daughter.

To return to the narrative of the separation:—"It may be recollected," says Mr. Hunt, "that when I married, I received one thousand pounds as a fortune with my wife, five hundred of which I lent immediately to one of her brothers, without ever taking it out of the house of my wife's father, which five hundred pounds still remained, and continued to remain in his hands, for several years after my being parted from his sister. *I mention this fact here to show in what light her brothers and family considered the separation. They looked upon it as a misfortune, which all lamented; but it is evident from the circumstance, that they did not look upon it in a criminal light, for if they had done so, they would not have continued a moment under such a pecuniary obligation to me, which by them could have been so easily removed, as they were all by this time in very good circumstances, and the brother James, who held this sum, was now in partnership with his elder brother John, the banker, at Marlborough.*"

We have noticed this particular passage to show the shifts and expedients to which Mr. Hunt had recourse to palliate his unjustifiable conduct; for could he be so simple as to believe, that the mere circumstance of his wife's brother not repaying the sum that was due to him, could induce the public to believe that the immediate connections of his wife did not resent his conduct towards her to the utmost of their power. It is at best but paying them a very bad compliment to suppose, that after the treatment which their near relative had received from his hands, they would continue to be upon friendly terms with him, or in the slightest degree to countenance his conduct. If



Mr. Hunt had proved that any member of his wife's family had continued to be upon a friendly or intimate footing with him, or that they in any degree held any personal correspondence with him, then, indeed, he would have been in some degree warranted in affirming, that his conduct was not regarded by his wife's family with that disgust and displeasure which it so richly merited; but to adduce it as a proof of their indulgence towards him, that one of his wife's brothers did not immediately repay him the sum which he owed, is straining hard indeed for a proof that he was not visited with the indignation of his wife's family, or that they were base and mean enough to continue their intimacy towards him, after the heinous sin which he had committed towards their relation.

The fortune of his wife having been one thousand pounds, "the consideration then was," says Mr. Hunt, "what sum I should secure annually to Mrs. Hunt. I had given my attorney authority to consent to, nay, to propose the most liberal allowance, having made him fully acquainted with my property and income, which I authorised him to lay before her brother, who was acting in her behalf. After a conference, my attorney informed me that he had proposed to allow Mrs. Hunt an annuity of two hundred pounds, and secure it as a rent charge upon my freehold and leasehold estates in Wiltshire and Somersetshire, which, he had no doubt, would be accepted, if I approved of it. My answer was, 'although this may be considered a liberal and handsome annuity to my wife, when compared with the fortune which I received from her, and as a fair allowance, when taking all my property and prospects into consideration, yet, as I am the aggressor, I will, as far as I have the power, make at least a pecuniary compensation. I shall not be satisfied with what might be considered as fair, but I will make her a liberal and generous allowance. I have now the means, and while I have the means and the will to do her justice, I will put it out of my power to act otherwise. Go and settle the annuity; draw up the deed, and insert therein three hundred pounds a year, and I will sign it immediately, for fear of any accident.'"



“ This was done as I directed ; and it was also agreed that Mrs. Hunt should have the care of our daughter, and I of our two sons ; but that we should both have free access to them whenever we pleased ; all this, being arranged *amicably*, and in a manner perfectly satisfactory to Mrs. Hunt and her relations, at least as far as pecuniary matters went.”

“ It was proposed that Mrs. Hunt should go and live with her relatives, and, as I thought that three hundred pounds a year were quite sufficient to make her independent of any one, and quite enough to enable her to keep a small and respectable establishment of her own, I recommended that she should take a house, and have her family to herself. She urged that there would be the expense of purchasing furniture, &c., and that she would rather, on that account, take lodgings. I soon contrived to overcome this difficulty. I was living in a large mansion, Chisenbury House, containing four or five sitting-rooms, and ten or twelve bed-rooms, amply, and expensively furnished with plate, linen, china, and every requisite for a large family, keeping a great deal of company. I, therefore, without the least hesitation, *followed up the liberality of the original deed*, by immediately offering up a moiety of my household furniture, plate, linen, china, books, &c., which was more than enough to furnish any moderately sized house. This offer was no sooner made than accepted,”—and here again the indignation of Mr. Hunt bursts forth at the unmannerly question, which the editors of the venal press, and of the hireling tools of “ England’s hope and Westminster’s pride,” (“ oh ! tell it not in Gath, tell it not in the streets of Westminster,”) put to him, which was : “ Well ! and how did you manage to divide these things ?” “ Why,” answers Mr. Hunt, in a manner beyond the comprehension of these political *split-figs*, tailors, glass-cutters, leather-dressers, and curriers of the Westminster rump. “ Instead of doing, as these fellows would have done under such circumstances, instead of sending for a broker or an appraiser, I acted as follows:—I desired her to send for a cabinet-maker and his man, and make them pack up *a half* of everything, which I should leave entirely to her own choice,” (kind and



considerate husband !). “and as I was going from home, *which I did for the purpose of leaving the whole arrangement to herself,*” (most affectionate husband !!) “I left an order for my bailiff to place any number of wagons and horses at her disposal,” (most generous and liberal husband !!) “to convey whatever she might choose to have packed up, (so that she packed herself off,) to her house at Marlborough, and, before I left home, I placed one hundred pounds, exclusive of the annuity, in her hands, adding, that if she did not pack up the best half of everything, it was her own fault.”

After this extraordinary display of generosity by which Mr. Hunt attempts to throw a palliating hue over his conduct, as if the whole of the furniture of Chisenbury House could heal the wounds which he had inflicted upon the heart of his wife, to the total destruction of her terrestrial happiness, he vauntingly exclaims, “Look at this, ye venal calumniating crew, and hide your diminished heads. Ye paltry tools of the Baronet, ye Places, Adamses, Clearys, Brookeses and Richters, belonging to the rump of Westminster. You have dragged the statement forth, you have given me an opportunity of doing justice to myself in this particular.

“I understand,” continues Mr. Hunt, “that there has been a great desire amongst the crew, to see how I should get over this part of my domestic history. The base vermin, some of them, I know, expected that I should follow the example of *higher authority* (alluding, we suppose, to the chaste, moral, and virtuous George the Fourth,) and traduce my wife, as a justification of my own errors and frailties. Gracious Heaven ! traduce my wife ! calumniate the mother of my children ! Rather than have been guilty of such baseness—rather than have done this, even if she had been exactly the reverse of what she is, instead of being all truth, purity, and goodness, if she had been guilty of some errors and indiscretions, even then, I would rather have plucked my tongue from my mouth, and have cast it into the fire, much rather, than have uttered a breath of slander against my wife, or have whispered a calumny against the mother of my children.”



It appears that Mrs. Hunt followed the instructions of her husband, and took unto herself a moiety of the property of Chisenbury House, and the first time that he paid her a visit at her new residence at Marlborough, which was about a month afterwards, he found that she had not only got furniture enough to furnish a comfortable house, but that she had a roomful over what was necessary. Mr. Hunt conjectures that many individuals will stare with surprise when they find him talking of visiting his wife under such circumstances, and after such a formal separation; and we do really think Mr. Hunt's conjectures are really founded on truth; but their surprise must necessarily be considerably increased when they find, according to the statement of Mr. Hunt, that, although he had the misfortune to be divided from his wife, yet, he does not believe that any human being ever heard either of them cast any reflection, or throw out the slightest imputation against each other. He always treated her, and spoke of her, as the amiable mother of his children, and she, *he believed*, has always spoken of him as the *affectionate*, though in a certain respect, the *unfortunate* father of her children.

Mr. Hunt having now passed all due eulogium upon himself for his conduct towards his wife, on the occasion of their separation, he looks around him amongst the various relations of society, and finds, to his satisfaction, and as a salvo to his conscience, that the world abounds in such delinquents as himself, and therefore that every allowance ought to be made for him; and further Mr. Hunt calmly informs the public, that it was *the extreme domestic felicity* which he enjoyed in his new condition, that enabled him to support and survive the great public exertions that he had been constantly making during so many years.

Mr. Hunt first examines the abandoned and slyly-intriguing city dames, who might testify a disposition to rumple their noses at him, and exclaim against the heinous sin which he had committed, and who, as a proof of their own virtue, cast their arms around the irhusband's necks, and talk of everlasting con-



stancy and fidelity. His conclusion is—that *they have no right to throw a stone at him.*

He then calls under his review the profligate, debauched rakes, who sneak home to their wives and families from the bagnios and brothels, and who rail against the profligacy of others with the hope of concealing their own, and as Mr. Hunt makes the discovery that the majority of husbands belong to the foregoing class, *they certainly have no right to throw a stone at him.*

“It is only the truly virtuous,” says Mr. Hunt, “who know how to make a liberal allowance for the failings of others,” and, according to the experience of his father, he always set it down as an invariable rule, that the most abandoned and profligate are always the most unforgiving, unrelenting persecutors of any one of their own sex, who has committed an error, or fallen *into a misfortune*, such as had happened to Mr. Hunt. Then there were certain ladies in the parish of Enford, who railed in an unmerciful manner against Mr. Hunt, but on a close investigation it was discovered, that these same fastidious ladies had, in their youth, been blessed with a few illegitimates, therefore, *they could not justly throw a stone at him.*

Amongst the individuals who had poured out the phial of his indignation and abhorrence of the sin which Mr. Hunt had committed, was a reverend and dignified pillar of the church, who, with a conduct demure as a saint, with uplifted eyes and a sanctified ear, expressed his utmost horror at the breach of conjugal chastity, and the violation of the marriage vow which Mr. Hunt had committed. The right of the dignified clergyman to express his abhorrence was questioned by Mr. Hunt, when, in the course of the investigation, it was discovered, that the better to enable him to perform the clerical duty, which he had been sworn to fulfil, he had taken to himself an antiquated dame for a wife, who made up by the weight of her purse for all deficiency of youth and beauty, which are so delightful to the human eye. The revising bar-



rister, however, who took upon himself the arduous task of determining the claim of the reverend gentleman to fulminate his wrath against Mr. Hunt for his heinous transgression, decided that no such right existed in him; for that one servant girl after the other had left his service, for reasons best known to themselves; therefore Mr. Hunt congratulated himself with the thought, *that the reverend and dignified clergyman had no business to throw a stone at him.*

In further extenuation of his conduct, Mr. Hunt says—  
“ Let me only take half a score of clergymen and half a score of magistrates, of this part of the county of Somerset, and in merely detailing the scenes of debauchery, seduction, and desertion, of which they have been notoriously guilty, I could fill a book, that would excite the horror and detestation of every rational mind. Let it be observed, that I do not by any means class the whole, nor any considerable portion of the magistracy or clergy in this list; God forbid I should, because I believe there are many, and I know there are some very excellent and truly good men amongst them. Well! it may be said, and what of all this? because some justices and parsons are profligate, debauched, and abandoned, would you infer that to be any justification or palliation for your errors? not in the least. I do not wish to assume any such ridiculous proposition; all I mean to say is, it brings me to this conclusion, that as we are by our very nature liable to err, and that it is quite clear, that those, who are the most forward to condemn others, are not always totally free from the frailties of human nature themselves; it therefore behoves us, while we have ‘the beam in our eye,’ not to be too officious in exposing ‘the mote in the eye of another.’ But after all, I will boldly and fearlessly rest my own character upon the following issue: if any one of those who have been railing against me will come forward; if any person, male or female, will come forward, and establish one act of seduction against me, even from the earliest period of my life up to this hour; if they will produce one illegitimate offspring of mine, or prove that there ever has been such, even by common report, I hereby solemnly promise not to write,



nor have published, one more line of the History of my own Life. I make no protestations of being more virtuous than other men, but after challenging my calumniators to produce a single immoral act against me, as far as regards my intercourse with females, they ought for evermore to hold their peace."

This is, at best, but vague and shallow reasoning on the part of Mr. Hunt; for notwithstanding his strenuous endeavours to palliate his conduct towards his wife, on the ground that he could not be convicted of one act of seduction of any female at any previous period of his life, is saying no more, than that the murderer should have a lenient construction put upon his act, because no one can accuse him of having committed an act of theft; in fact, the sum total of Mr. Hunt's argument goes to prove, that because it is the nature of man to err, he should not have a stone thrown at him because he merely acted up to his nature. Whatever Mr. Hunt may have thought proper to advance in extenuation of his adulterous connexion, and the consequent destruction of the earthly happiness of an amiable and virtuous woman, the mother of his children, "to this complexion it must come at last," that it is a deep and damning blot upon his character, not to be varnished over by the sophistry of language, nor extenuated by the absence of any other heinous crime.

An act, such as Mr. Hunt had committed, generally brings along with it a total change of the domestic and social relations in which the parties were standing at the time of its commission, and thus we find, that it effected an alteration in the domestic affairs of Mr. Hunt, as well as in his general course of life. He immediately abolished all the accustomed carousals and feasts, that he had been in the habit of giving at Chisenbury House. He continued the society of a few select friends, but he cast off the busy, fluttering, flattering throng, the fawning cringing crew, that had been used to crowd his table. He took a house in Bath, and spent the following winter in comparative retirement, in which he was blessed with the society of two or three rational and intelligent friends.



During his residence at Bath, a circumstance occurred of some importance to himself and his family. A brewer, of the name of Racey, had borrowed upwards of seven thousand pounds of Mr. Hunt's father, without any other security than his own bond, in which sum he was indebted to him at his death. As he had not paid his interest up regularly, Mr. Hunt was induced to look a little more minutely into his concerns, especially as he found that he was living a very debauched life. His uncle, William Powell, of Nurstead, a quaker, who was left joint trustee and executor with himself to his father's will, and had taken the most active part in the management of his father's affairs, appeared to place full as much reliance in the credit of this said brewer as his father had done, and Mr. Powell had several times resisted Mr. Hunt's importunities to demand, jointly with him, better security for the money than the brewer's own bond. Mr. Hunt argued, that his father had a perfect right to exercise his own judgement, and give what credit he pleased, as it was his own property; but that his uncle and himself, acting as trustees for his brothers and sisters, were not justified in suffering so considerable a sum of money to remain in this man's hands without better security. Mr. Powell, however, still persisted that the brewer had a good stock, and a good trade, that he regularly examined his stock every half-year, and he found that it was in a flourishing state. The answer of Mr. Hunt was, the man lives a very debauched life, and therefore his affairs must be in a precarious state; but the quaker was inflexible, and nothing was done in the matter. The brewer continued his debauched course, and neglected and quarrelled with his family, at the same time that Mr. Powell continued his confidence. At length the old man carried his excesses so far, that he not only quarrelled with his eldest son, but he actually turned him out of doors. The young man was very intimate with Mr. Hunt, with whom he had contracted a sort of schoolboy friendship; he therefore fled immediately to him for protection, when he was driven from his father's house. He laboured with great zeal and perseverance to effect a reconciliation between



the father and the son, but he found the former implacable, and rancorously vindictive against his son, who had been interfering about some of his father's debaucheries, and he was, consequently, not to be forgiven. The young man saw that his father's affairs were going fast to ruin, and knowing the large sum he was indebted to Mr. Hunt and his family, he communicated to the former the real situation of his father, and advised him to take some measures to secure the property that he was indebted to Mr. Hunt and Mr. Powell, as executors to the late Mr. Hunt's will. On receiving this intelligence, Mr. Hunt went once more to Mr. Powell, and represented the matter to him, but he was as obstinate as ever; he answered, that he (Mr. Hunt) had taken a prejudice against the old man, in consequence of his quarrelling with his son, and that he should decline taking any hostile measures against him, and that he had a large stock of good beer, for he had lately examined it. Mr. Hunt informed him that he was much imposed upon, that the old brewer had filled up all his large casks, amounting to between two and three thousand barrels, with *small beer*, in order to deceive him, and make him believe that it was strong beer. At this he put on a very incredulous stare, and said, that he would look into it; but he delayed it so long, that when he did consent to take decisive measures, the whole property sold for about two thousand pounds; so that Mr. Hunt's family sustained a loss of about five thousand pounds, and every shilling of this loss Mr. Hunt attributed to his quaker uncle's obstinacy; a failing, notwithstanding all their good qualities, to which this sect is notoriously subject.

Mr. Hunt had contracted a great predilection for the son, with whom he had been on an intimate footing for some years, and, notwithstanding the loss he had sustained by his father, he prevailed upon Mr. Hunt to join him in a brewing concern at Clifton, near Bristol; as he had not a shilling of his own, Mr. Hunt was to find the cash, and he, the judgement. Mr. Hunt did this mainly to set him up in business, although he was not without his expectations, that it might ultimately become a profitable concern. He therefore engaged to find a



capital of from six to eight thousand pounds, from two or three of which was to be sunk in building a brewery, the erection of which Mr. Hunt was to superintend, and complete the fabric after his own plan. As soon as this was done, Mr. Hunt was only to find the money, and his young friend was to manage and conduct the brewing concern. To all this Mr. Hunt agreed, upon one condition only, which was, that there should not be anything brewed in the brewery, but genuine beer and porter, made of malt and hops alone. After some parley upon this point, it was at length assented to.

The brewery was built upon the site of an old distillery, at the rising of a spring, called Jacob's Well, at the foot of Brandon Hill, and immediately below Bellevue, at Clifton. Mr. Hunt left the concern in the hands of his young friend, and then returned to his farm at Chisenbury, having, as he was taught to believe, laid the foundation of a lucrative concern, from which he expected to derive a liberal interest for the money he had advanced, which was about eight thousand pounds, and at the same time afford a handsome income for his young friend. But such are the uncertainty and precarious state of all speculative concerns of this nature, and such the inconstancy of friendship, that instead of ever receiving one shilling from the concern, he found that it continued to be a drain upon his purse. Bills were becoming due, he was informed, and they must be provided for, or the credit of the firm would be blasted. Duty to a large amount was to be paid every six weeks, and he was regularly called upon to assist in making up the sum. He now began, although much too late, to curse the hour that he became connected with trade; he, however, did not despair, he met all the demands, till having called in a considerable sum of money, which he had lent to a friend, an attorney, upon his note of hand, who gave him first bills, payable at *one, two, and three* months, for the amount. These were all absorbed at the brewery, and paid away in the course of trade for malt, hops, &c., but the first, second, and third, of the said bills, were as regularly dishonoured as they became due. So much for friendly attorneys! and though he



had a sufficient sum in his banker's hands, Tuckey and Co., to meet the deficiency, with some exertion of his own, yet such a ticklish thing is credit, and particularly in the illiberal city of Bristol, that he found his bankers always looked shy at any bills that were carried to them afterwards. His *friend*, the attorney, renewed the bills, with a solemn promise that they should be regularly paid when they became due; but the word and honour of an attorney, at least of this attorney, were good for nothing. Fortunately, he only paid one of them away in trade, for that and the others were as *regularly dishonoured as before*.

To meet and overcome such treachery, Mr. Hunt was obliged to reside a great portion of his time at Clifton, and he soon found, that instead of his receiving regular interest for the money which he had advanced, he was in a fair way of being drained of every shilling he possessed, if he did not make a resolute stand. At this critical juncture, his old friend of the Bench, Mr. Waddington, came to visit him; he was a man of business and of the world, and Mr. Hunt begged of him to look into the books, and give him his advice. He did so, and at the end of a couple of hours he returned, and informed him that he had been egregiously deceived, plundered, and robbed, and that he had not the slightest hesitation in declaring, that his young friend, in whom he had placed such unlimited and implicit confidence, was a *great villain*! Mr. Hunt was thunderstruck, and inquired how Mr. Waddington meant to substantiate his charge; his answer was, invite him to dine with us to-day, and after dinner send for the books, and I will make him confess his villainy before your face. This advice was followed, "the young friend" was invited to dine, and after dinner Mr. Hunt sent for the books, under the pretence of explaining something to Mr. Waddington. The books came, Mr. Waddington turned to a particular account, which he had investigated in the morning, pointed it out to "the young friend," and begged to know how he could account for such and such entries. The young gentleman turned pale, and equivocated. Mr. Waddington turned to another and another;



upon which Mr. Hunt's young protégé stood confessedly before him a most finished hypocrite, and having thrown himself on the mercy of Mr. Hunt, he at once obtained his forgiveness, upon a solemn promise of never being guilty of a similar offence again. Mr. Waddington expressed his astonishment at the forbearance of Mr. Hunt, in not having him committed, and ridiculed his folly in continuing to place any confidence in him, adding, "I hanged one clerk, and transported two more, for much less offences than he has been guilty of, and in which I have clearly detected him."

The young man showed the greatest contrition, and after he had vowed reparation in the most solemn terms, took his leave. The moment his back was turned, Mr. Waddington declared, that he had not the least doubt in his own mind, that, notwithstanding all the protestations which he had heard, the young man was gone away to commit some more desperate act of fraud, and to convince Mr. Hunt of the correctness of his judgement, he got up at four o'clock on the following morning, and stole down to the brewery, and there he detected him in the fact of practising upon him a fraud, similar to that of which he had been previously convicted by his own confession. Mr. Waddington came back to breakfast, and informed Mr. Hunt of the fact, and urged him to take immediate criminal proceedings against the offender. In his kindness, however, Mr. Hunt preferred giving him an opportunity to escape, and he therefore called at the brewery to say, that he was going to Chisenbury for a few days. He then inquired, "*Pray, sir, what day shall we have the pleasure of seeing you back again?*" Mr. Hunt replied, that it would be in about a week. These were the last words he ever heard from him. When he returned, he found, as he expected, that he had sailed for America, bag and baggage, two days after Mr. Hunt had left Bristol.

Mr. Hunt now discovered that the concern was in a most wretched state; the debts had been collected to a shilling, where they were good for anything; the cellars were filled



with bad beer, although "the young friend" had had the unlimited control of the best malt and hops. Mr. Hunt had sent his own best barley down from Chisenbury, and had made fifty quarters of malt a-week, for two whole seasons, for which no return was made, and the amount of his losses in this concern was incalculable. When "the young friend" first began brewing, Mr. Hunt made him make oath before the mayor of Bristol, that he would use only malt and hops in the brewing of the beer and porter at the Jacob's Well Brewery. Some time after this, he had some ground of suspicion that the brewer purchased some small quantity of copperas to assist his faults in brewing; he therefore ever afterwards made the brewer, as well as his master, take the oath before the mayor, that they would not use anything but malt and hops in the brewing.

When the act was passed, making it a penalty of two hundred pounds to use any *drug, ingredient, or material*, except malt and hops in the brewing of beer, Alderman Wood obtained a patent for making of colouring, to heighten the colour of porter; this colouring was made of scorched or burnt malt, and it was mashed, the same as common malt, which produced a colouring of the consistency of treacle, and having nearly its appearance. As this patent was very much approved of, almost every porter brewer in England used it in the colouring of their porter, and amongst that number, Mr. Hunt was not only a customer of the worthy alderman for colouring, but he was also a considerable purchaser of hops from the firm of Wood, Wiggan, and Co., in Falcon-square. He had just got down a fresh cask of this colouring, and it was standing at the entrance door of the brewery, where it had been rolled off the dray, when intelligence was sent to Mr. Hunt that the excise-man had seized the cask of colouring, and had taken it down to the Excise-office. He immediately wrote to Wood, Wiggan, and Co., to inform them of the circumstance; upon which they immediately applied to the Board of Excise, in London, and by return of post a letter was received from Messrs. Wood to say, that an order was gone off by the same post, to direct the



officers of excise in Bristol to restore the cask of colouring without delay, and almost as soon as this letter had come to hand, one of the excisemen came quite out of breath to say, that an order had arrived from the Board of Excise in London to restore the cask of colouring, and it was quite at Mr. Hunt's service, whenever he pleased to send for it. Mr. Hunt, however, wrote back a letter by the fellow to say, that as the exciseman had carried away from his brewery a cask of colouring, which was allowed by the Board of Excise to be perfectly legal to use, as it was made of malt and hops only, unless, within two hours of that time, they caused it to be restored to the very spot, from whence it was illegally removed, he would direct an action to be commenced against them. In less than an hour the cask of colouring was returned, and the same exciseman, who had seized it, came to make an apology for his error. His pardon was at once granted; and so ended this mighty affair; nor should we have deemed it of sufficient importance to give it a place in these memoirs, had it not been that it was made the groundwork of one of the charges which were brought against Mr. Hunt by the editor of the "New Times," then known by the name of "Dr. Slop," and moreover, the malignant account of it was sent forth to the public while Mr. Hunt was in solitary confinement in the New Bailey at Manchester. This was the time, as Mr. Hunt expresses himself, which was chosen by the cowardly scoundrel, the editor of the "New Times," to state, "that I had formerly been a brewer at Bristol, and that I had made oath that my beer was genuine, and brewed solely from malt and hops; but that, on turning to the excise books, they found that at such a period (mentioning the time) Henry Hunt was exchequered for using deleterious drugs in the making the said genuine beer." "This," continues Mr. Hunt, "this was the time chosen to propagate this infamous, this cowardly, this bare-faced falsehood; the very time when I was locked up in solitary confinement in a dungeon, under a charge of high treason; and this is the hypocrite, who pretends never to attack private character. This fellow, Slop, I never yet saw to know



him, but I hope I shall live to look the coward scoundrel in the face\*.”

Mr. Hunt now appears again in the character of a soldier, for, in 1803, war had recommenced between England and France. The English proceeded to seize all the French ships they could find at sea, making the people on board prisoners of war. In retaliation for this act of aggression, Buonaparte seized upon the persons of all the English in France, and treated them as prisoners. This was blazoned forth as a tyrannical act of injustice in all the public newspapers, the venal editors of which contrived to keep out of sight the provocation which France had received, and that she only seized the English, and made them prisoners, in retaliation. Doctor Ad-dington's peace was now, indeed, proved to be, what Mr. Fox had anticipated in his speech upon the occasion in parliament, “a hollow truce;” for it was the minister's own expression, he had entered into the treaty of Amiens, *merely as an experiment*. A bill, called “the Defence Bill” was passed; an army of reserve was raised; volunteer corps were again established all over the country; and every measure was used to repel the threatened invasion of the enemy. This Defence Bill compelled every parish or district to raise a certain number of men, as volunteers, or pay a fine, if it failed to do so. Having endeavoured in vain to raise their quota, many parishes paid the fine, which, by the bye, was not unacceptable to the government.

Amongst the number of defaulters on this occasion was the parish of Enford; the farmers of which had used every means to raise the men, being, in the first place, loth to part with their money, and in the next, not relishing the disgrace of not having influence enough with their labourers to induce them to volunteer. They had already held two meetings, at which officers were appointed, but no men appeared to put down

\* This satisfaction, however, Mr. Hunt never enjoyed, for Dr. Stodart, alias Dr. Slop, having strenuously supported the then ministry, as the editor of the “New Times,” was rewarded by them with an excellent situation at the Cape of Good Hope, to the amount of 700*l.* a-year.



their names, although they were earnestly exhorted to do so by the vicar of the parish, the Reverend John Prince, who was generally esteemed by his parishioners.

The egoistical disposition of Mr. Hunt has been already partially alluded to, and perhaps, in several instances, it is more apparent than in any of the autobiographers who are now extant, we, therefore, shall not strip a feather from his cap, in his own description of becoming a CAPTAIN, a title which, if once acquired, we believe, is considered to be permanent, although not exactly in the case of Mr. Hunt. His promotion, therefore, from a private in the Wiltshire yeomanry cavalry to that of a captain of Enford volunteers, shall be related in his own words.

“ One of my servants, my bailiff, I believe, wrote to me at Clifton, to inform me of the state of the politics of the parish, which was, that the men were willing enough, but they did not like their officers, and that they wished *me* as an officer. My bailiff added, that if I would come to the meeting on the following Sunday, which was the last intended to be held, and give in *my* name as their captain, the number, which was to be sixty, would be volunteered in an hour. Agreeably to this suggestion, I drove to Enford on the following Sunday, and, as I was late, I drove up to the church door in my curricule. I was welcomed, as usual, by the kind and friendly salutations of my old neighbours, but when I came to the churchyard, all was solemn silence, and as still as death itself; not one of the parishioners appeared as usual upon such occasions. I supposed that the meeting was over, and was about to return, when one of the farmers came out of the church, and invited me into the vestry, where all the heads of the parish were assembled, as he informed me, with the vicar in the chair. I followed him into the vestry-room, where I found them all in solemn sober deliberation, brooding over the disappointment, in not having obtained the names of any of the labourers of the parish. One of them shortly addressed me, inveighing against this disloyalty and disaffection, and he informed me, that they had just come to a unanimous resolution to pay the



fine, and not trouble themselves any farther about it, unless I could suggest some plan to avoid the disgrace and the expense to the parish. I submitted the propriety of making a proper appeal to those whom they wished to come forward. They replied by producing a hand-bill, to which, they said, they had added their personal entreaties; but all in vain, as not one man had come forward, although three persons had volunteered as officers. I hinted, that was beginning at the wrong end, that the men should have been first enrolled, and then allowed to choose their own officers.

“ At this moment the sexton came in to say, that the church-yard was full of men, women, and children, that the whole parish had assembled when they saw Mr. Hunt drive up to the church, and that the men all said, ‘ if Squire Hunt would be their captain, they would enroll their names, and *would follow him to any part of the world.*’ It was proposed that we should go out to them, and hear what they had got to say. As soon as we reached the door, the cry was raised of, ‘ CAPTAIN HUNT FOR EVER!’ accompanied with three cheers; this was a most gratifying spectacle *to me*: I was surrounded by all those with whom I had been bred up, those amongst whom I had been born, and with whom, and under whose eyes, I had passed my whole life, with the exception of the time which I had spent at school. I could do no less than address them; accordingly I mounted on a tombstone (an excellent rostrum), I spoke to them in a language that they well understood, the language of truth, and not of flattery. I kindly thanked them for the honour they intended me, and the unqualified confidence they appeared disposed to place in me; I recalled to their recollections the happy days that we had spent together, in the alternate and rational enjoyment of useful labour and cheerful recreation; we had worked, we had toiled together in the field; we had mingled together in the innocent gay delights of the country wake; I had been present, and had never failed to patronise their manly sports at the annual festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide; I had contended with them, while yet a boy, in the foot race, at the cricket match, or at the fives-court;



I had entered the ring with the more athletic, struggled foot to foot for the fall, and I had borne off many a wrestling prize for the day, which I had never failed to give to some less powerful, or less fortunate candidate for the honour; I had always mingled with, and encouraged their innocent sports, but I had never countenanced any drunken revelry. In fact, I was so well known amongst the young and old, that they all, with one accord, exclaimed, if Mr. Hunt will be our captain, we will follow where he leads, if it be to the farthest part of the earth. At the same time, that I thanked them for, and was highly delighted with this predilection, I endeavoured to prevail upon them to accept those, who had offered themselves as officers, and I pointed out to them the distance at which I should be from them, and the inconvenience it would be to me to instruct them in their duty. But all would not do, not one man would put his name to the paper, not one female urged her relation on to volunteer. I must own that I felt a conscious pride in their partiality, and particularly upon this occasion, because a few envious persons had hinted, that my family misfortunes, and my separation from my wife, had in a great measure weaned the affections of some of my neighbours from me.

“ At length, having tried their sincerity fairly, and found it invincible, I yielded to their wishes, and, in an impassioned tone, I announced that I would be their captain; this I did amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the whole assembled multitude, men, women, and children; every man pressing forward to sign his name as a volunteer. But having obtained silence, I seriously admonished them as follows:—

“ My kind-hearted, generous, zealous neighbours and friends, recollect what you are about to do, and pause a little before you sign your names; for I solemnly declare, before God and my country, that I have no other object in becoming your captain, but a sincere desire to serve my country, and as I should be ashamed to become a volunteer, if I were not ready to lay down my life in defending her shores against the invasion of a foreign enemy, I shall, therefore, not tender my services, nor



accept of yours, upon any other terms than these: that we volunteer our services to government to be ready, at a moment's notice, to march to any part of the United Kingdom, whenever we may be called upon, and wherever we may be wanted. Upon these terms, and these alone, I consent to become your captain.

“ This was again answered by three more cheers, and a general cry of, ‘ wherever you, our captain, choose to lead, we will be ready to follow.’ The first men, who pressed forward and placed their names at the head of the list, were those very men, whom a few years before, I had caused to be prosecuted for a riot and rescue at Netheravon. I never witnessed a more gratifying flattering scene than the village churchyard of Enford exhibited. Old women were encouraging their sons, others their husbands, young maidens were smiling their willing assent to their sweethearts and brothers, and, though there was not a single instance, where the men required any of these to urge them on to do their duty, in the defence of their country, yet the approbation and smiles of the females gave such a zest to the act, and stamped such a sanction upon the whole undertaking, that one and all burned with the most lively enthusiasm to become willing agents to stem the threatened irruption of the invader, and to repel his aggressions, even at the risk of their life's dearest blood. With the exception of two individuals, who had taken some pique, every man in the parish, capable of bearing arms, enrolled himself on that day, or the following morning; upon the completion of which, I wrote the following letter to Earl Pembroke, the lord-lieutenant of the county.

“ MY LORD,

*Chisenbury House, Aug. 15, 1803.*

“ Having observed, with infinite regret, in the public newspapers, that when a general meeting of the various parishes in this neighbourhood took place, the inhabitants exhibited great apathy with regard to the situation of the country, and that only a small portion of the inhabitants of the parish of Enford had signed their names, to act as volunteers in defence of their



country in case of an invasion, I was induced yesterday, from a sense of public duty, to come amongst them, and, at their particular and unanimous request, I accepted the offer to command them, agreeably to the provisions of the late Act of Parliament. I have the pleasure now to inform you, that all the men in the parish, capable of bearing arms, with the exception of two, have voluntarily enrolled their names to act as a company of volunteers, to be at the command of the government, to march at a moment's notice to any part of the United Kingdom, where our services may be required. I also beg leave, in addition to the foregoing, to renew the offer, which I made to your lordship two years back, of my life and fortune, without any reservation, to oppose the daring views of our enterprising enemy. Sir John Poore, your deputy-lieutenant, has expressed himself much pleased with the zeal and alacrity with which the people of Enford have come forward, and I have to solicit your lordship's early attention to this corps, in case our services should be accepted, as I feel particularly anxious to render those services available as speedily as possible.

“ I am, my lord,

“ Your lordship's obedient servant,

“ *To the Earl of Pembroke.*

H. HUNT.”

Mr. Hunt having despatched his servant with this letter, enclosing a list of the names of the volunteers, he appointed to meet them, at his house at Chisenbury, on the following Sunday, by which time, he expected, he should be able to lay before them the answer of the lord-lieutenant; and in the meantime he returned to look after his brewing concern at Clifton. In a few days after, he received the following palavering letter from Lord Pembroke.

“ SIR,

*Lower Brook-street, Aug. 18, 1803.*

“ I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th, enclosing a list of persons, who have volunteered in the parish of Enford. The offer is most liberal and handsome on your part, as well as on the part of those who have joined you, in



tendering such unlimited service; which, although it far exceeds the limits of the Defence Bill, yet I shall feel it my duty to lay it before the Secretary of State, that it may receive that attention, which your patriotic offer merits. There will be a meeting of deputy-lieutenants in a few days, when your offer shall be taken into consideration, and receive my early attention.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ *To Henry Hunt, Esq.*  
*Chisenbury House.*”

PEMBROKE.

Mr. Hunt easily perceived that this was a shuffling letter, and he anticipated that his services were much too zealous and disinterested to meet with the sanction of his lordship; and so it proved, for when he reached Chisenbury House, on the following Sunday, he found a letter, written by Lord Pembroke to Sir John Poore, left for his perusal, as underneath.

“ SIR,

*Margate, Aug. 1803.*

“ I find that it will not be in my power to forward the offer from Enford in your division, which was communicated to me by Mr. Hunt, of Chisenbury House. I must beg that you will state to him, for the information of the members of the proposed company, that I am sorry they cannot be included in the county quota, in consequence of their having been a sufficient number already volunteered from that district; but that, in justice to their marked zeal and loyalty, I shall think it my duty to state the offer that they have made to the Secretary of State, and I shall point it out as an instance of great devotion to the service, to the notice of his majesty's ministers, &c. &c. &c.

“ I am, sir,

“ Your very obedient servant,

“ *Sir J. M. Poore, Bart.*

PEMBROKE.”

When he drove into the front court of Chisenbury House, Mr. Hunt saw his brave and zealous fellows drawn up in line,



but as soon as he had read the letter which had been forwarded by Sir John Poore from the lord-lieutenant, he did not keep them a moment in suspense. He formed them into a hollow-square, and having briefly addressed them, he next proceeded to read the letter aloud, which appeared to excite mingled feelings of regret and indignation; every one seemed to feel that zeal and devotedness were not the qualities that were sought for by the lord-lieutenant. They had, however, the great consolation of knowing, that their promptitude and patriotism, not only saved the parish of Enford from the fine which had been threatened, but also saved the whole district from the fines that would, no doubt, have been levied to a shilling, for the lord-lieutenant having said that he declined to forward their offer in consequence of a sufficient number of men in their district having already volunteered their services, they could not after that, with common decency, fine any parish in their district for not offering to volunteer.

Some time after this, Mr. Hunt was informed of a very curious circumstance relating to this affair. As soon as he had sent in his offer to the lord-lieutenant, the latter called a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants, and laid it before them, pointing out the unlimited and extensive nature of the tender of their services, and expressing a doubt, whether he should be justified in accepting it, under the provisions of the Defence Bill, without some reduction of the numbers and modification as to the extension of the service tendered. This, it was understood, caused a very long discussion, all of them disapproving of the example set by offering such extensive service, none of the other corps having volunteered to go farther than their military district, Wilts, Hants, and Dorset. One of these wiseacres exclaimed, in very boisterous language, against accepting the offer, and for this sapient reason, "because," as he said, "two hundred men, out of one parish, had volunteered to march to any part of the kingdom, to hazard their lives in the defence of their country, provided they were commanded by an officer of their own choice; *ergo*, it was



highly improper to trust arms in the hands of such a body of men."

Though this was very properly laughed at by some of the more rational members of this divan, yet they came to a unanimous resolution to exempt the whole parish of Enford from their quotas, rather than run such a desperate risk. "Well," said Mr. Hunt, "I had all the credit of the offer, without any of the trouble and expense of putting it into execution. I have detailed these facts as another proof of my enthusiasm. I never acted from any cold, calculating motives of self-interest. If I thought it right to perform an act of public or private duty, having once made up my mind, I never suffered any selfish consideration to interfere to prevent my carrying it into effect."

After all, the troops of Napoleon never landed, and consequently the mighty heroes of the volunteer corps escaped with whole skins. Buonaparte, nevertheless, persisted in playing off the bugbear of the French flotilla at Boulogne, by which John Bull was kept in a complete state of agitation and ferment. Addington's majorities fell off every day in the House of Commons, and by the intrigues and management of Pitt, he was at length left in a minority; and as it was considered much too disgraceful a thing, even by Addington, to hold his place after he had been left in the minority, he resigned, and William Pitt once more wielded the destinies of England, he being appointed prime minister on the 12th of May, 1804.

Mr. Cobbett, who had now become celebrated for his political works, particularly his "Weekly Register," had about this time began to write very freely in the cause of liberty. Being a most powerful writer, he had attacked with great success, the tyrannical measures of the Irish government, and he was therefore prosecuted for a libel upon the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Justice Osbourn, and Mr. Marsden. The trial came on before Lord Ellenborough and a Middlesex special jury, and, *of course*, he was found guilty. He had also an action for damages brought against him by Mr. Plunkett, solicitor-general for Ireland, and this action



being also tried by a Middlesex special jury, he had, *of course*, a verdict against him, with 500*l.* damages.\*

At this period Mr. Hunt was living at Clifton, and during the summer he visited Cheltenham, *with his family*. At the latter place he frequently met Mr. Fox, who was then drinking the waters for his health, which had become greatly impaired, in consequence of his incessant attendance to his parliamentary duties. He was accompanied by Mrs. Armstead, the lady whom he afterwards married, and to which lady the people of England have had the honour and the pleasure of paying twelve hundred pounds a-year ever since the death of Mr. Fox. Were Mrs. Fox, however, the only pensioner on the list, who possesses no other claim whatever to a do*it* from the public purse, than having been for a time the concubine of some needy statesman, or of the blessed and virtuous progeny of royalty, the country would not perhaps repine; but when the enormous list of state pensioners is examined, and the character of the claimants tried by the test of virtue, it will be found, that in proportion as they departed from that test, their pensions rose in amount, as if an individual connected with royalty or nobility, had only to show himself or herself an adept in the vilest infamy, to enrol themselves in the list of state paupers, as one of the bloated incubi on the energies and prosperity of the country.

Mrs. Armstead appeared to Mr. Hunt to be a very delightful woman, with whom this great statesman, a senator, lived in a state of the most perfect domestic harmony. They were almost always together, seldom, if ever, were seen separate—at the pump-room in the evening, at the library and reading-room at noon when the papers came in, at the theatre, or at private parties in the evening, Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armstead were always to be seen together.

There is an old Latin adage, that says, “*non magna, componere parva*,” which we will translate, although, perhaps, not

\* For a full account of these proceedings, see ~~the~~ *Memoirs of William Cobbett, Esq.*, written by the author of this work and published by Saunders, 25, Newgate-street.



literally, "that great things should not be compared with small." Mr. Fox, in relation to his country was a great and important personage; his character in private life was by no means respectable. His association with that prince of libertines, George, Prince of Wales, and the dissolute clique of Carlton House, had rendered him notorious in the annals of gallantry and debauchery, and there are circumstances connected with his *liason* with Mrs. Armstead, which throw a deep shade over his private character\*. We should not, however, have entered into any detail of the connexion subsisting between Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armstead, had we not been called upon to do it by a comparison, which Mr. Hunt himself institutes between himself and Mr. Fox. Mr. Hunt was at the time a man of no notoriety whatever; it is true he had rendered himself conspicuous, as far as he was personally known, in the affair of Lord Bruce and the yeomanry corps, and a few other incidental circumstances, by which the life of the commonest man might be distinguished. Mr. Fox was associating at Cheltenham with the Duke of Bedford, and some of the highest personages of the realm; Mr. Hunt was, in fact, only known as an individual having a brewery at Clifton, near Bath, and associating with very few individuals, and those in the middle station of life. One degree of comparison would certainly hold good between Mr. Fox and Mr. Hunt, which was, that they were both living in an adulterous intercourse with married women; but although Mr. Fox's connexion with Mrs. Armstead was a matter of public notoriety, yet vain, indeed, was Mr. Hunt to suppose that there were a dozen persons in Cheltenham who knew whether the lady, with whom he was seen in public, was or was not his wife; and yet we read in his memoirs, that it was frequently made a subject of remark, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Hunt appeared to enjoy *more real happiness*, more domestic felicity, than any of the married persons at

\* In the Life of George the Fourth, written by the author of this work, will be found some interesting particulars respecting Mr. Fox and Mrs. Armstead, and especially the manner in which George, Prince of Wales, formally assigned her over to Fox, having himself no further use for her.



Cheltenham, with the exception of the Duke and Duchess of Bedford, who lived a retired, domestic life, having been but very shortly married. Now Mr. Hunt was drawing very largely upon the credulity of his readers, when he supposed that he could put himself on a par with Mr. Fox, and that his actions were the topic of conversation, equally with those of a man on whom all Europe, at that time, had fixed its attention. In no part of Mr. Hunt's autobiography do we find, that during the time of his living with his wife, he had any reason to complain of a want of domestic felicity, we therefore do deem it rather ungracious in him, not to call it by a severer epithet, to seize every occasion of boasting of the excess of domestic felicity which he enjoyed in his immoral connexion, and even comparing it, to the evident advantage of the latter, with that which he enjoyed in the married state; at all events, it must have been highly complimentary to the married people of Cheltenham, natives and visitors, to have had the discovery made, that the highest degree of domestic felicity was to be found amongst the individuals, who had repudiated their own wives, and living in adultery with the wife of another.



## CHAPTER XI.

WE are now approaching the period when Mr. Hunt appears on the theatre of politics as a public character, and this was on the occasion of the impeachment of Lord Melville. It was in March, 1805, that the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was laid before the House of Commons, which report implicated Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter in the crime of defrauding the public of the monies entrusted to them, intended to discharge those accounts as connected with the office of Treasurer of the Navy, an office held by my Lord Melville. Trotter, Lord Melville's deputy, who had a salary of no more than 800*l.* per annum, was found to have increased his funded property, since 1791, a period of fourteen years, to *eleven thousand three hundred and eight pounds, one shilling, per annum.* The circumstances which came out upon this inquiry before the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry at this time, absorbed the whole of the public attention, and caused a universal sensation throughout the country. This same Lord Viscount Melville was that identical Henry Dundas, Esq., who was formerly a lawyer in Edinburgh; became Lord Advocate of Scotland during the American war, and a strong supporter of Lord North's administration; was then made Treasurer of the Navy, at the same epoch that Mr. Pitt first became Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Lord Shelburne's administration; again became Treasurer of the Navy in the administration of Mr. Pitt, in 1784, then became President of the Board of Control for India Affairs, and after Secretary of State for the War Department, retaining all the three offices in his own person till the year 1800, when he gave up the treasurership of the navy, still keeping fast hold of the other two offices till he resigned, together with Mr. Pitt, and the rest of the ministers, in the month of March, 1801. This same Henry



Dundas, who was again brought into place by Mr. Pitt, and put into greater power than ever, was, on the 8th of April, 1805, degraded by a censure of the House of Commons, inflicted by a solemn vote, on the motion of Mr. Whitbread, who brought the affair before them with great manliness, ability, and perseverance. The eleventh resolution, moved by Mr. Whitbread, and carried by a majority of the House against all the influence and exertions of Mr. Pitt, was as follows:—"That the right honourable Lord Viscount Melville, having been privy to and connived at the withdrawing from the Bank of England, for purposes of private interest and emolument, sums issued to him, as Treasurer of the Navy, and placed to his account in the Bank, according to the provisions of the 25th Geo. III. cap. 31, has been guilty of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty."

Public meetings were on this occasion held all over the kingdom, calling for a rigid inquiry into the conduct of Lord Melville, and, amongst the rest, a county meeting was called for Wilts at Devizes. Mr. Hunt had himself written to the old Marquis of Lansdowne, proposing to sign a requisition to the sheriffs, with which his lordship immediately complied; but their high sheriff, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, took that opportunity to take a trip into Wales, or some part of the West, without leaving any orders at home where his public or private letters were to be forwarded to him. In consequence of this circumstance, the county meeting was delayed three weeks or a month, and before it could be held, articles of impeachment were exhibited and agreed to by the House of Commons against Lord Melville. The meeting, however, having been at length advertised by the high-sheriff, to be holden at the Town Hall in Devizes, a great number of freeholders assembled, and amongst that number were Lord Folkstone, Mr. Hussey, the two members for Salisbury, Mr. Hunt, &c. In consequence of the decision of the House of Commons to impeach Lord Melville, Mr. Hussey and Lord Folkstone recommended that there should not be any petition sent up from the county of Wilts, because it would be prejudging the question



before the House. Finding that no petition was to be submitted to the meeting, Mr. Hunt sat down and drew up some resolutions, expressive of the indignation of the freeholders at the conduct of Lord Melville, and their approval of that of Mr. Whitbread. Amongst the number of those resolutions was a censure upon the high-sheriff, for his delay in calling the meeting, and his gross negligence in being absent from the county at such an important period. It was here, for the first time, that Mr. Hunt addressed his brother freeholders at a county meeting. Mr. Callons, of Salisbury, seconded his resolutions, and they were carried by acclamation; but in consequence of the earnest entreaties of the venerable Mr. Hussey, who was the father of the House of Commons at that time, backed by those of his colleague, Mr. Hunt, being young in politics, was prevailed upon to withdraw his vote of censure upon the conduct of the sheriff, after having heard from him an explanation and an apology.

This was the first public entry of Mr. Hunt into political life, and, in the true spirit of egotism, he says, that he was very successful in his maiden speech, if it might be so called, and for which he was highly complimented by Mr. Hussey and Lord Folkstone; but Mr. Hunt saw not the aim which they had in view, for by compliments and by flattery, they wheedled him out of the main set of his resolutions. The fact was, that they were too sweeping, as they cut at the Whigs as well as the ministers, containing a general condemnation of all peculations and speculators, and Mr. Hussey, as well as Lord Folkstone, who was then a very young man, and a very poor orator at that time, were neither more nor less than Whigs.

On the 13th of June, 1805, a resolution was passed by the House of Commons, for ordering the Attorney-general to commence, in the court of King's Bench, a criminal prosecution against Lord Melville, for having used the public money for private purposes. The examination of Mr. Pitt before the committee excited universal interest, and nothing else was talked of, or thought of, in the political world. His shuffling, equivocating testimony, was the laughing stock of the com-



mittee, and afterwards of the whole nation; for it must be recollected that Mr. Pitt was a man who, whenever it suited his purpose, did, with a surprising power of memory, revert to all the arguments and opinions of his adversaries, for a space of time, comprising his whole political life, not with *doubt, hesitation*, or embarrassment, but with the most direct, unqualified, and positive assertion.

The examination of Mr. Pitt has been anatomised as follows:—

Answers.	Times.	Answers.	Times.
He <i>thinks</i> , &c.	6	He had <i>no recollection</i>	4
He <i>rather thinks</i>	2	Did <i>not know from his own</i>	
He <i>thinks to that effect</i>	1	<i>knowledge</i>	3
He <i>thinks he understood</i>	1	Did <i>not know that it oc-</i>	
He <i>conceives</i>	7	<i>curred to him</i>	2
He <i>believes</i>	8	Was not in his <i>contempla-</i>	
He <i>rather believes</i>	1	<i>tion</i>	1
He <i>believes he heard</i>	1	Did not <i>occur to his mind</i>	1
He <i>understood</i>	3	No <i>impression was left on</i>	
He <i>understood it generally</i>	2	<i>his mind</i>	1
He was satisfied	1	He could <i>not say</i>	2
He <i>was not able to ascer-</i>		He could not <i>undertake to</i>	
<i>tain</i>	1	<i>say</i>	2
He can only state the sub-		He could not <i>speak with cer-</i>	
stance	1	<i>tainty</i>	1
He did not recollect (non		He could not <i>speak posi-</i>	
mi ricordo)	14	<i>tively</i>	1
He really did not recollect	1	He could not state <i>the sub-</i>	
He had no recollection	1	<i>stance very generally</i>	1
He could <i>not recollect at</i>		He did not <i>at present recol-</i>	
<i>this distance of time</i>	1	<i>lect</i>	2
He could <i>not recollect with</i>		He could not <i>recollect with</i>	
<i>certainty</i>	1	<i>precision</i>	2
His <i>recollection did not en-</i>		He <i>did not know</i>	2
<i>able him</i>	1	Not <i>that he knew of</i>	2
To <i>the best of his recollec-</i>		He had no means of forming a	
<i>tion</i>	4	<i>judgement</i>	1



Answers.	Times.	Answers.	Times.
<i>As well as he could recollect</i>	2	<i>He did not think</i>	1
<i>Could not pretend to recollect</i>	1	<i>He had no knowledge</i>	2
<i>Not able to recollect at this distance of time</i>	1	<i>He could not judge</i>	1
<i>He had a general recollection</i>	4	<i>Probably</i>	1
<i>He could not state with accuracy</i>	3	<i>He was led to suppose</i>	1
<i>He could not state precisely</i>	3	<i>He was led to believe</i>	1
<i>He could assign no specific reason</i>	1	<i>He was persuaded</i>	1
		<i>He learnt</i>	1
		<i>He heard surmises to that effect</i>	1

## ABSTRACT.

<i>He thinks, rather thinks, or thinks he understood</i>	-	10
<i>He conceives</i>	-	7
<i>He believes, rather believes, &amp;c.</i>	-	10
<i>He understood, was satisfied, &amp;c.</i>	-	6
<i>Not able to ascertain, could only state the substance</i>	-	2
<i>Did not recollect, to the best of his recollection, &amp;c.</i>	-	36
<i>He could not say, or speak with certainty, &amp;c.</i>	-	8
<i>Did not occur to his mind, &amp;c.</i>	-	7
<i>He could not state with accuracy, precision, &amp;c.</i>	-	7
<i>He had no knowledge, not led to believe, to suppose, &amp;c.</i>	-	16
<i>I am perfectly convinced</i>	-	1
<i>No, I believe it impossible</i>	-	1

---

 111

Now it is almost impossible to imagine, that a witness could have given such answers to 111 questions, unless he deliberately and pertinaciously meant to conceal and withhold the truth by equivocation.

On the 26th of June an impeachment was ordered by a vote of the House, instead of a criminal prosecution. Mr. Cobbett took up the discussion of these proceedings with his accustomed zeal and ability, and his "Weekly Political Register" was universally read, not only in the metropolis, but all over



the kingdom. His clear, perspicuous, and forcible reasoning upon this transaction, convinced every one who read the Register; he proved to demonstration, that Mr. Pitt had been privy to, and connived at his friend, Lord Melville's delinquency, and it was made evident to the meanest understanding, that the public money had been constantly used for private purposes, and to aggrandize the minister's tools and dependents.

Mr. Hunt was now about to be introduced to Mr. Cobbett; and their first interview is so strictly in keeping with the character of Cobbett, that we shall give the description of it in Mr. Hunt's own words.

"There was no man," says Mr. Hunt, "who contributed more than any other individual to bring the nefarious transaction of Lord Melville before the public eye, than Mr. Cobbett. As I had taken a conspicuous part at the Wiltshire county meeting, I called on Mr. Cobbett the first time that I went to London after it had occurred, as I was desirous to obtain a personal interview with a man, who had afforded me so much pleasure by his writings, and who had weekly given me so much useful information as to politics and political economy. He lived in Duke-street, Westminster, where, on my arrival, I sent in my name. I was shown into a room *unfurnished*, and, as far as I can recollect, without a chair in it. After waiting some time, the great political writer appeared; a tall, robust man, with a florid face, his hair cut quite close to his head, and himself dressed in a blue coat and scarlet cloth waistcoat, and as it was then very hot weather, in the middle of summer, his apparel had to me a very singular appearance. I introduced myself as a gentleman from Wiltshire, who had taken the lead at the county meeting, the particulars of which I had forwarded to him. He addressed me very *briefly* and very *bluntly*, saying, 'that we must persevere, and that we should bring all the scoundrels to justice.' He never asked *me to sit down*;" but we do not see how he could, for Mr. Hunt has previously informed us, that there was not a chair in the room, and therefore had Mr. Hunt been invited to seat himself, it must have



been on the floor, and they must have carried on their conference *à la* Musselman.

"I departed," continues Mr. Hunt, not at all pleased with the interview, "I had made up my mind for a very different sort of man, and to tell the truth, I was very much disappointed by his appearance and manners, and mortified at the cool reception which he gave me. As I walked up Parliament Street, I mused upon the sort of being I had just left, and I own that my calculations did not, in the slightest degree, lead me to suppose that we should ever be upon such friendly terms, and indeed upon such an intimate footing, as we assuredly were for a number of years afterwards. It appeared to me, that at our first meeting, we were mutually disgusted with each other, and I left his house with a determination, in my own mind, never to seek a second interview with him. I thought that of all the men I ever saw, he was the least likely for me to become enamoured of his society. The result was nevertheless quite the reverse; we lived and acted for many years with the most perfect cordiality, and I believe that two men never lived that more sincerely, honestly, and zealously advocated public liberty than we did, hand-in-hand, for eight or ten years. Although it would be perhaps impossible to point out two men more different in many respects than we are to each other, yet in pursuing public duty for so many years together, there never were two men, who went on so well together, and with such trifling difference of opinion as occurred between Mr. Cobbett and myself. It was, however, some years after this before we became intimate. I constantly read his 'Political Register' with unabated admiration and delight, for even at this time, he far surpassed, in my opinion, any other political writer.

"I was, as I have already said, a constant reader of Cobbett's Register, and although I had been rather disgusted with the man at my first interview with him, yet I was quite enraptured with the beautiful productions of his pen, dictated by his powerful mind. I was become a professed politician—I had imbibed the sentiments of Lord Bolingbroke, 'that the constitution of England is the business of every Englishman.'



I therefore made politics my study, and I looked for Cobbett's Register with as much anxiety as I had heretofore looked for the day and hour that the fox-hounds were to meet, and if by any accident the post did not bring the Weekly Register, I was just as much disappointed, and felt as much mortified, as I had previously felt at being disappointed or deprived of a good fox-chase. I beg it to be understood, however, that I by no means had given up the sports of the field, which I enjoyed with as great a zest as ever I did, but when I returned from the pleasures of the chase, or retired from the field with my dogs and my gun, instead of spending the remainder of my time in routs, balls, and plays, in drinking or carousing with bacchanalian parties, I devoted my leisure hours to reading and studying the history of my country, and the characters of its former heroes and legislators, as compared with those of that day."

Mr. Hunt now enters into another exuberant description of the extraordinary degree of domestic happiness that he enjoyed, which, however, we purposely omit, and had Mr. Hunt omitted it altogether, his character would have been considerably exalted in the estimation of his friends.

Mr. Hunt had now become a political character, and therefore the principles by which his political conduct was guided, require particular notice. Like Cobbett, he began his political career in the spirit of ultra loyalty, but by degrees, his enthusiastic love of royalty subsided, and he found, that although the monarchy formed a part of the constitution of the country, it was so choked up with abuses, that it had ceased to be a benefit to the nation, but a direct dead weight upon its prosperity. It may be rather anticipating the course of the narrative, but during his confinement in Ilchester Jail, he thus speaks of the ebullition of loyalty on the occasion of the coronation of his majesty King George the Fourth:—"I hear," says he, "about thirty of the half-starved populace of Northover giving three cheers in honour of his majesty's coronation, or rather in honour of a dinner and some beer, which, I understand, is given to them by Mr. Tuson, the attorney of the



place. The system that has made him *rich* has made his neighbours *poor*, and he very properly shows his generosity and his loyalty by giving his poor neighbours a dinner on this occasion. *Poor deluded, base wretches!* I envy not your feelings; a few months since you were amongst the first voluntarily to address the queen upon her escape from the fangs of her persecutors, and you voluntarily illuminated your houses on the occasion. But now, your pinching wants, the cravings of your half-starved carcasses give a sort of involuntary action to your lungs, and in spite of yourselves, your betters cry God save King George the Fourth, and the sound issues from your mouths in hopes of having the space which the wind occupies in your stomach replaced with beef, pudding, and beer. But this is one of the dog days, and beasts run mad in them. *God save King George the Fourth* they cry, huzza! again, again, and again! All that I choose to say is, that it is two years ago, the 21st of next month, that Lord Sidmouth addressed a letter to the Manchester magistrates, which expressed, by command of his majesty, **THE GREAT SATISFACTION HIS MAJESTY received from the prompt, decisive, and efficient measures** for the preservation of the public tranquillity. God preserve his majesty, I say, from ever having occasion to thank the magistrates again *for the perpetration of such horrid crimes.*"

The following opinion which Mr. Hunt gave of the House of Commons, as it was constituted at the period of 1806, carries with it its value, as it may be said to be the very one which ultimately led to the Reform Act, and for which he, as well as several others, had strenuously exerted themselves to bring about, during, it may be said, the greater portion of their lives.

Mr. Pitt, "the heaven-born minister," died, on the 21st January, at Putney. This man had, for nearly a quarter of a century, reigned triumphant over the people of England, with the most despotic and arbitrary sway, by the means of a corrupt majority of a set of boroughmongers, who called themselves and their agents, the House of Commons, thus pretending to be the representatives of the people of England, while,



in fact, they might as well have been said to represent the people of Algiers as the people of England, a majority of them being returned *by one hundred and fifty-four* individuals. Mr. Hunt, therefore, conceives that he may venture to give his opinion of the House of Commons, such as it was constituted in the days and reign of Pitt. The Banishment Act would, of course, preclude him from speaking of any subsequent House of Commons with the same sincerity and freedom.

On the death of Mr. Pitt, the then House of Commons immediately voted that his debts should be paid by John Bull, and that he should have a public funeral at John's expense. This was all perfectly in character, for it was voted before the *talents* or whigs came into power and place.

Previously, however, to entering upon the formation of the new ministry, which, in some respects, called forth the power and energies which had been slumbering in the character of Mr. Hunt, we will enter upon a slight sketch of the situation of the country as brought upon it by the wayward policy of Pitt, and thence trace its effects to the present period.

The reign of George the Third may be considered as the most bloody in the annals of this country. The destructive war which was commenced by Pitt, and carried on by him, with a frantic violence, incompatible with the best interests of the country, will ever be deplored by the industrious classes of England, on account of the enormous sacrifices made by the country to obtain money, in order to carry on that ill-fated crusade in support of divine right, or in other words, the supremacy of kings. Every means was adopted to render it popular; the wily minister knew the weak side of the people of England, and he ingloriously and shamefully took advantage of it. The loyalty of the people was called into action by the most forced and expensive means; patriotic songs were encouraged; the divine right of kings was echoed from the shores of Cornwall to the heath-covered mountains of Scotia; the press was bribed to relate the most horrible accounts of the barbarity of the French; and to sink the French character, if possible, beneath that of the savages of the Gambia or the



Niger; the unexampled and brilliant victories of the Howes, the Vincents, the Duncans, and the Nelsons, resounded from shore to shore; the whole nation was drunk with joy; death to the French monsters quivered on every lip and tongue; the infant lisped it from its patriotic mother.

The national hatred grew up, and became, in a manner, identified with us. It was the favourite theme of our public assemblies and converzationes.

At length, the country became gradually drained of its population; every inducement was held out for the purpose of encouraging our brave youths to join the standard of their country and fill up the ranks of the fallen brave: namely, extravagant bounties, and the prospect of rapid preferment; a generous country amply providing for her maimed sons, even their widows and orphans were not neglected. Industry at home, victories abroad. Enthusiasm was at its height; every able-bodied man in the empire was certain of finding employment.

An immense capital was afloat, and the circulating medium of a spurious nature, and nearly, if not quite, useless in foreign countries.

In the midst of this bubble of wealth, all idea of futurity was forgotten. No attention was paid to the increasing accumulation of debt, as the only sufferers, at the time, were the poor clergy and small annuitants.

Taxes were cheerfully paid, new loans granted, and we had, at least, the advantage that the enormous fortunes of the aristocracy were spent in the country, for the best of all reasons, that Buonaparte would not allow them to spend them elsewhere.

Talent was sought after; the fine arts triumphed; the price of provisions and labour rose to an unprecedented height, which induced the agriculturist to cultivate the most dreary wastes; the annual income of the landholder became doubled, and in some instances tripled; the profits of the farmer, who was so fortunate as to have a long lease, were scarcely credible; but instead of accumulating, they launched out into a course of luxury hardly exceeded by the landholder.



Men and things underwent a total revolution; a universal mania pervaded all classes for emulating the expensive habits of their superiors in wealth and station. A jealousy and hatred were thereby generated in the breasts of the poor towards the rich.

The patriarchal meal of the good old times of our fathers, when the farmer placed himself at the head of the table, surrounded by his happy family and contented servants, was exchanged for a show of mock gentility and the parlour. The murder of the French language, the thumping on a piano-forte, and the lascivious evolutions of the waltz, occupied the time of the young masters and misses of domestic establishments. *Madame*, in the elegance and affectation of her rusticity, could no longer endure the cushioned cart of her fathers, and to be seen upon a pillion on which our good old wives of yore were wont to visit the markets, was a degradation too serious to be borne. Formerly, one horse conveyed the worthy couple to church, the good wife with one arm encircling the body of her husband, comfortably jogging on the pillion; now another horse was to be procured, for *madame* had, in order to follow the example of her superiors, determined upon the use of the side-saddle, and the warm, comfortable quilted petticoat was thrown aside, to make way for the more fashionable and expensive riding-habit.

How often are we the architects of our own misfortunes; unhappily these habits of misplaced attempts at refinement and fashion still exist, and until each separate class be content to remain within their own sphere, and an amalgamation of interests takes place, no remedy can be devised, that will take effect. Besides, the attempt to assume habits and manners foreign to their birth and education, only provokes ridicule, like the jackdaw in the fable, who thought to excite admiration by decking himself in the plumes of the peacock.

At length the dreadful contest was decided in favour of Great Britain; her arms were triumphant by land and sea; Europe lay at her feet, and the cause of legitimacy was established.



The nation became drunk with joy; the *tory ministry was hailed as the saviours of Europe*; their measures became the theme of universal admiration.

The eyes of all Europe were turned towards England, *great virtuous, and liberal*. The nations looked up to her with the anxious hope, that the boon of national liberty, guaranteed by her promises, would be secured to them.

But alas! their destiny was confided to the hands of a man, vain, selfish, and callous, whose very name will remain a by-word to the latest generations. What a moment for a patriot! Castlereagh, at the head of the holy alliance, disposed of kingdoms with the stroke of his pen; established frontiers, contrary to nature, without reference to language, customs, and manners, thereby generating a feeling of hatred against England and Englishmen. *Liberalism was bound neck and heels, and given up to the chains of despotism*.

But how hast thou been requited, O my glorious country? unexampled in thy bravery, indefatigable and unwearied in thy exertions, unequalled in thy patriotism, the prop of falling Europe, the sanctuary of the liberties of mankind. Thy subsidies and loans were converted into gifts, or if paid, thou rankedst as a creditor on a bankrupt's estate, taking, as in the case of Austria, a dividend of ten shillings in the pound, on the thousands, which the pauper emperor had borrowed, and which, being considered as a *godsend*, was scandalously squandered by George the Fourth, in the purchase of gewgaws and fripperies for his seraglio at Windsor. The whole debt of Europe was saddled upon thee; every demand of the holy alliance was acceded to; legitimacy was to be supported amongst the crowned despots of Europe by the profusion of English gold; emperors and kings, and all such things of divine right would have been, but for thy exertions, puppets of a despot, the boundaries of whose territories would have been blotted out from among the nations of Europe.

The ministers, to whom a generous unsuspecting people confided the national interest, instead of securing a monopoly for our manufactures, or at least commercial alliances, based



upon the principle of reciprocal interests, allowed the wily chief of the holy alliance to prohibit many articles altogether, and to impose on others such high protecting duties, that were it not for the almost superhuman exertions of our manufacturers, aided by machinery, competition would have been impossible.

Why did it not occur to our ministers, that to secure to national industry a recompense certain and sufficient, would be the most effectual preservative of public tranquillity, that could be devised? why did they not remember, that it was industry alone, whose energy and enterprise created the wealth, which, combined with our national bravery, formed the invincible bulwark, that defied every effort of combined Europe to destroy?

Because they were defeated by the machinations and artifices of foreign diplomacy, because they were imposed upon by the protestations of those, who jealous of the influence of England, and hating her liberal institutions, were secretly determined to assail her on that point, where she was most vulnerable.

The holy alliance was established; the temple of Janus closed; fermentation subsided; men's minds became tranquil; too late we perceived the error our ministers had committed; the undue preponderance of power which, we believed, we had crushed, was only transferred, and all attempts of each succeeding minister to repair that unhappy error, have been hitherto ineffectual.

What has been the result of the nations' misplaced confidence? An immense debt, which, vampire-like, gnaws our very vitals; excessive taxation to pay the interest of it, and to meet the other infamous demands of royal rangers, royal illegitimates, hoary profligates, and shrivelled demireps. Add to which, the consequences of such taxation, namely, discontent, pauperism, incendiarism, and a general feeling of insubordination. These, O England, have been the rewards of thy victories, and of the expenditure of thy blood and treasure; while those who caused our sufferings, the bloated and pampered crew, styling themselves conservatives, those



champions of divine right, have borne but an inconsiderable share of the burdens they have imposed; holding the reins of government in their own hands, every situation of trust and emolument was in their gift, with which they provided for their friends and relatives, assisted by that abominable record of wanton extravagance, the pension list, which was increased to an extent unexampled in the history of nations.

On the death of Pitt, a new ministry was made up of heterogeneous materials, consisting of men differing as widely from each other, as any of the rival factions could differ; *Fox and Grenville* in coalition, and to crown the whole, the imbecile Lord Sidmouth made one of the cabinet. Mr. Fox, who had been the determined opponent, the violent contemner of all the measures of Mr. Pitt, formed a union with Lord Grenville, who had been the constant supporter of the very worst measures of Mr. Pitt. As for Lord Sidmouth, all the Addingtons appeared determined to have "a finger in the pie;" let who would be in office, the Addingtons appeared determined to have a share of the plunder, by joining them. Such opposite characters, such vinegar and oil politicians, were not likely to amalgamate so as to produce any good for the people; they might, indeed, combine to share the profits of the place, but they were sure never to agree on any measure, that was likely to promote the freedom and happiness of the people. This, however, was called a whig administration, or facetiously and ironically "All the Talents," who were called to office on the death of Pitt, a man of the most brilliant talents and irresistible eloquence, but a man, who turned those great gifts of the Supreme Being to the destruction of human liberty, and who directed his powerful genius, and the great facilities that were given him by his having the direction of the resources of this laborious and enterprising nation at his command, to the very worst of purposes, to the annihilation of the rights and liberties of his countrymen. Mr. Pitt, in his younger days, before his ambition got the better of his principles, had been a reformer; but when he once got into place and power, he became the greatest apostate that ever lived, and then apostate-like, he



endeavoured to hang his former associates and companions in that cause, which he had so basely abandoned and betrayed. If there ever lived one man more deserving the execration of the whole human race than another, *Mr. Pitt was that man*. He corrupted the very source of justice, by bribing and packing the pretended representatives of the people; but it required the whigs to put a stamp upon the system which Pitt created, to make it a perpetual bar, and an everlasting curse to the nation.

The whigs were, at this time, become popular with the nation at large, and possessed the confidence of the thinking portion of the people. The friends of rational liberty looked to them, with what was believed to be a well-grounded hope, for some relief, some relaxation from the horrors of that accursed system which Mr. Fox and his friends had so ably and zealously opposed for nearly twenty years; that system, which they had invariably condemned and exposed, as the greatest curse that could befall a nation, and for having persisted in such an infamous, impolitic, and ruinous course so long, they had predicted the downfall of the country.

Mr. Hunt confesses that he was one of Mr. Fox's most enthusiastic admirers; he was, however, too young and experienced a politician to doubt, for a moment, the sincerity of his professions. He had, for many years, watched his ardent and eloquent opposition to the measures of Mr. Pitt, and his whole heart and soul had gone hand-in-hand with him; indeed he now indulged the most confident hope that Mr. Fox would realize all his former professions. Now that he was in place, and had a large majority of those, who called themselves the representatives of the people, at his command; now that he had the power to do good, Mr. Hunt, for one, expected that he would tread in the stern path of duty, and set about restoring those rights and liberties of the people, the loss of which he had so pathetically, and for so many years, expatiated on and deplored. But alas! his fond hopes were now blasted, the expectations of the whole nation were soon disappointed.

The very first act of the whig ministry was a death-blow to the



fondly cherished hopes of every patriotic mind in the kingdom. Lord Grenville at that time held the sinecure office of auditor of the exchequer, with a salary of four thousand pounds a-year, but being appointed first lord of the treasury, with a salary of six thousand a-year, it was expected, of course, on every account, that he would resign his former office of auditor of the exchequer, it appearing too great a farce to give a man four thousand pounds a-year to audit his *own accounts*, and besides the barefaced absurdity of the thing, it was evidently illegal. In spite, however, of these valid objections, these new ministers, dead to every feeling of shame, brought in a bill, and it was passed into a law, solely for the purpose of enabling Lord Grenville to hold, at one and the same time, these two offices, which were so palpably incompatible with each other, namely *first lord of the treasury and auditor of the exchequer*. This shook the faith of every honest man in the country. Mr. Hunt confesses that he was thunderstruck, particularly as Mr. Fox himself brought the bill into the House of Commons, and maintained it with his usual ability, and appeared quite as much in earnest, and as eloquent in a *bad cause*, as he had heretofore been in a *good one*. Another vote disposed the house to erect, at the public expense, a monument to the memory of Mr. Pitt, upon the score of his public services, and this vote was passed, it must be recollected, by the very men who had declared, for the last twenty years, that the measures of Mr. Pitt were destructive to the nation, burdensome and oppressive to the people, and subversive of their dearest rights and privileges.

The friends of Mr. Fox now began to doubt his sincerity, and recalled to their recollection the former professions of Mr. Pitt. In a speech, delivered in his place in the House of Commons, on the 26th May 1797, Mr. Fox had, in the following words, reminded Mr. Pitt of his former professions :—  
“ My opinion,” said Mr. Fox, “ is, that the best plan of representation is that which shall bring into activity the greatest number of independent voters ; that government alone is strong that has the hearts of the people, and will any man con-



tend that we should not be more likely to add strength to the state, if we were to extend the basis of popular representation? In 1785, Mr. Pitt pronounced the awful prophecy, '*Without a parliamentary reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a parliamentary reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you.*' Such was his prediction, and the country saw it fulfilled to the very letter of it. Good God! what a fate is that of the right honourable gentlemen, and in what a state of whimsical contradiction does he now stand." This was the sarcastical language of Mr. Fox in 1797, when speaking of the apostacy of Mr. Pitt, and which might have been very fairly retorted upon himself in 1806.

The tergiversation of the whig ministry met with the severe condemnation of Mr. Hunt, and was, in a great measure, the cause of infusing into his mind, those principles of radicalism which afterwards rendered him so notorious in the country. He had narrowly watched the conduct of the tories when in power, and he saw that there was no prospect, resulting from their course of administration, which had, for a length of time, clogged the machinery of the state, and rendered nugatory any attempt which a few patriotic and spirited individuals might desire for a reformation in every department of the government, and particularly in the representation of the Commons House of Parliament. The cause, which led Pitt and the other despots of Europe into the sanguinary war with France, may be traced to the discussions which, at that time, were held in several parts of the kingdom, upon the injustice and folly of allowing autocrats, emperors, kings, and such like things of divine right; and bishops, priests, nobles, and their satellites of human right, to have the power of plundering the industrious classes of society, for the support of their ambition, their rapacious avarice, and rage for ostentatious parade. Their fears were also greatly aggravated from the increasing interest experienced by the people in reading the able political publications constantly pouring from the press upon the nature of the people's rights, the best mode of obtaining them. and the use-



lessness of titled and privileged orders; the folly and wickedness of their selfish measures, and the stupidity and cowardice of the people, in suffering a few worthless, pampered, and idle drones, to oppress and plunder them of the honest fruits of industry and toil. This is the great secret, why England was plunged in a war, more disastrously expensive than any that her former knaves had ever engaged in; the men then in power, and the whole mass of useless beings throughout these islands, through all the alphabet of the peerage and the baronetage, dreaded the promulgation of truths, calculated to give a stimulus to the people to rouse themselves from the torpid political slumber into which they had sunk, and to induce them no longer to interest themselves in the squabbles of parties and partisans; but to consult how they themselves could best obtain their rights, how to be left free to enjoy the fruits of industry, and how to avoid paying imposts to support the luxury and splendour of their oppressors.

The motives, then, which urged on the ruthless war, commenced by the borough factions, were the dread of their system, their darling privileged system, being exploded, and all their oppressive institutions and vanities being scattered far away by the powerful blast of *truth and reason*, and during the interesting scenes of that destructive war; the new interests which arose; the *temporary* increase of a forced commerce, supported by an arbitrary blockade of all the sea-ports of the world; the monopoly of the corn trade from the storehouses of Europe, Poland, Prussia, Russia, and Germany; the success of agricultural speculations, arising out of the circumstances of a wasteful war, and supported by a fictitious paper currency, and the employment of hosts of men in the military and naval department, drawn from every family in the United Kingdom, and whose existence depended on a war of aggression; the minds of the people were, but too successful, drawn off from examining into the wrongs practised upon them; the slavery they were falling into by the enactments of laws, which were gradually depriving them of their ancient rights, and contravening and rendering nugatory the bulwark charters of their



liberties; and although many valuable men foresaw the consequences that must follow the desperate game the tyrants were playing, the arguments they used to stem the mania of the people, the consequence of being the dupes of their own avarice, and the criminal disregard of their future interests evinced by their rulers; we repeat it, that the arguments used by wise and honest men at that period, were overloaded with the immense quantity of sophistry and fulsome nonsense which issued from the hireling press, and the fallacious writings of corrupted apostates; their voices were drowned amongst the idiot shouts of the church and king mob; artfully stimulated to roar out against the evidence of approaching ruin, into which they were now woefully involved; but as new life is engendered in the putrid carcasses of carrion, so will the mal-practices and corruptions of our oppressors, tainted with the foulest principles which ever actuated the conduct of the worst of tyrants, engender a lively spirit amongst the suffering people, to avenge their wrongs, and from the political golgotha, raise up a host of patriots, determined to establish a system of government founded upon the laws of pure justice and the rights of man.

The hopes of the nation were raised to the highest pitch by the accession of the whigs in 1806; but the ministry soon began to act so decided a part, that the country was not long kept in suspense, as to what course it was their intention to pursue. They not only trod in Mr. Pitt's steps, by adopting all his measures, but they greatly outdid him in insulting the feelings of the people. As the THIRD act they appointed Lord Ellenborough, the chief justice of the King's Bench (a political judge) "one of the Cabinet." This was a most unconstitutional measure, and calculated to render the ministry justly unpopular. The FOURTH step they took was to raise the income tax, from six and a quarter, to ten per cent. The FIFTH thing they did was to exempt all the *king's funded property* from the operation of that tax, while they left that of the widow and orphan, even down to the miserable pittance of fifty pounds a-year, subject to all its inquisitorial powers. The SIXTH measure was to raise the incomes of all the younger



branches of the royal family, from twelve to eighteen thousand a-year. The SEVENTH measure was, to bring a bill into the House to make *all private breweries liable to the excise laws*, thus meditating the violation of an Englishman's boast, "*that his house is his castle*." But most fortunately for the country, the whig ministry were, in this one instance, left in a disgraceful minority by their own tools, the mock representatives of the people. Their EIGHTH measure was to continue the French war, expressly for Hanover; Mr. Fox unblushingly declaring that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire, although the Act of Parliament expressly declares it to be a breach of the compact between the king and the people, to go to war on account of any of the king's foreign possessions. Their NINTH measure was, to draw up a bill, which they left in office, making it, in Ireland, transportation for any person or persons to be seen out of their houses, in any of the proscribed districts, between sunset in the evening and sunrise in the morning; and this was to be carried into effect without the sanction of a jury and merely by the fiat of two magistrates. TENTH and lastly, they abandoned the cause of the Catholics, in order to save and keep their places, when they found that the king made that abandonment a *sine qua non*. They had always, for many, many years, when in opposition, supported the Catholic claims for emancipation, and had pledged themselves, that whenever they had the power, they would carry that measure into effect; and as soon as they thought that they were firmly seated in the saddle of state, and their feet well fixed in the stirrups, they brought this measure forward in parliament, having first gained the sanction of every independent man in the United Kingdom, for having acted in the way which has been described.

The ten preceding acts of the whig ministry of "All the Talents," as they impudently called themselves, had rendered them sufficiently odious throughout the whole country, and it only required this last act of theirs to render them as despicable, as they were detested. As soon as they gave notice of their intention to bring forward the Catholic claims, *the old leaven,*



the refuse of the Pitt faction, who had only wanted a plausible opportunity, began to bellow aloud for the safety of mother church, and the protestant ascendancy; declaring that the church, the established religion were in danger. They had always their intriguers about the person of the weak, bigotted King George the Third, who immediately took the alarm, or rather took the opportunity of getting rid of a ministry that he never liked, and with whom he had never acted cordially, although they had, in the most subservient manner, complied with all his whims and prejudices. Now was the time then for the remains of the Pitt faction to make an effort to dislodge their enemies from the stronghold of place and power. Alas! alas! the despicable whigs now began to cry for help from the people, from that people whom they had so infamously deceived. They, however, called in vain for the protecting hand of that people whom they had so basely betrayed; they called in vain for the helping hand of that people whom they had insulted and oppressed, and whose voice they had treated with contempt and derision, when basking in the sunshine of power. The people had been enlightened; they had read Cobbett, and they were no longer to be deluded, and made the tools of a despicable, a hypocritical, and a tyrannical faction, such as the whigs had proved themselves during their administration. The king was well advised of this by the Pitt creatures; he therefore treated the whig ministry with very little ceremony, he made a very serious affair of their intention to make him violate his coronation oath; the Duke of York left the gambling table and his mistress to record his declaration to stand or fall by the established religion of the country, and the poor king, at last frightened to death by the bombardment of the bishops, and the cannonading of the clergy, demanded that the ministers should either abandon the Catholics, or he would abandon them, which, in other language, was telling them that they were to abandon their places. The place-loving whigs, however, made no parley even with the king, but instantly, and unconditionally, agreed to comply with his demand; thus deserting the Catholics and their own principles together, to save their places.



The king was astonished and disappointed ; he was not aware that he had such a set of pliant tools, and my Lords Liverpool, Eldon, and Castlereagh, were foiled for a moment, in their attempt to dislodge them ; but their best allies were the hatred and indignation which the people evinced towards the whigs. Taking advantage of this, the tories urged the king on to insult his then ministers, by demanding a written pledge from them, that they would never bring forward the measure any more in parliament, thus openly evincing that his majesty would not take their words. The paltry whigs did all they could to save their places ; they bore kicking with wonderful patience ; they were as subservient as spaniels ; they promised every thing, and they *prayed* lustily, but the king was determined, and persisted in demanding a *written pledge*. This was such a premeditated barefaced insult, that they could not submit to it. They would bear kicking privately, but it was too much to be kicked and cuffed so publicly, and to be asked to sign their names to their own condemnation ; this was too much for the most degraded of them to bear with any degree of temper. They now remonstrated, but their remonstrances were in vain ; the king despised them for their meanness, as much as he had before detested them for their insolence, and without any farther ceremony, he gave them one more kick, and kicked them headlong out of place and power.

Thus fell the base whig faction, never to rise more, deservedly execrated by all honest men, lamented by none but those who profited by their being in office, by their hangers-on, and according to the statement of Mr. Hunt himself, by such men as Mr. Waithman, the only patriot, who was looking out for a place with as much eagerness and anxiety as a cat would watch to pounce upon a mouse. A few such men as these were mortified and hurt at the fall of those to whom they were looking up for situations of profit, and for pensions, which were to be extorted from the pockets of the people, but the nation at large rejoiced at the downfall of these upstart hypocritical pretenders to patriotism. The people knew that they should not get anything by the change—they knew that the Pittites,



now called the conservatives, were open and avowed enemies to the liberties of the people, and therefore they did not expect any good from them ; but the whigs had professed every thing, and performed nothing ; they had grossly deceived the people, and, in revenge for their treachery, every one rejoiced at their fall.

On the 13th September, Mr. Fox died at Chiswick. O ! what an injury has the character of human nature sustained by his not having died one year before. If he had been taken from this world at the time when Mr. Pitt died, his name would have been immortalized, and he would have been handed down to posterity, as one of the brightest and fairest instances of political patriotism ; but alas ! he unfortunately lived to make one of the whig ministry, one of the Talents in 1806, and his deeds are recorded in the ten acts of the whigs, which have been already enumerated.

The whigs being dismissed from office, the parliament was dissolved, and a general election took place in November 1806. One of the members for Wiltshire, Ambrose Goddard, of Swindon, being old and superannuated, resigned, and one of an old family, Richard Long, of Roodashton, was to be foisted upon the county by an arrangement made between two clubs, without consulting the wishes of the freeholders. Consistently with the egotism of Mr. Hunt, Mr. Goddard's resignation had taken place entirely in consequence of some questions which Mr. Hunt had put to him at a former election, as to neglect of duty, which neglect, he confessed, arose from ill health and inability to attend in his place, in consequence of his age, and this rendered it too ridiculous for him to offer himself again.

At a former election for the county, Mr. Hunt attended on the day of nomination, at the town-hall of Devizes, and after Ambrose Goddard and Henry Penruddock Wyndham, had, in the usual form, been proposed and seconded, when the sheriff was about to put it to the vote, Mr. Hunt stepped forward and desired that, before the show of hands was taken, he might ask a question or two of the candidates, who were the late members. This produced a murmur amongst the old electioneering



stagers of the county, and Mr. Salmon, an attorney, who, from his overbearing disposition in the borough of Devizes, had acquired the name of "king salmon," cried *order ! order !* and begged that the sheriff would proceed to the regular business of the day. Mr. Hunt was, at that time, young and bashful, but in so good a cause, he was not to be put down so easily, although he had never attended at an election meeting before, he therefore respectfully, but firmly addressed the High Sheriff, and demanded to exercise his right as a freeholder, by asking some questions of the candidates as to their former conduct in parliament, of which questions he expected a specific answer, before he gave them his suffrage again. He was once more called to order by some of the ministerial sycophants, but he added, that unless he was permitted to put these questions, he should feel it his duty to propose some other candidate.

The High Sheriff, Hungerford Penruddock, Esq., who by the bye, had an eye himself to the future representation of the county, now interposed, saying that, as a respectable freeholder of Wilts, Mr. Hunt had an undoubted right to put any questions which he might think proper to the candidates, before he proceeded to take a show of hands. Poor old Mr. Goddard, so styled by Mr. Hunt, mumbled out that he had represented the county for forty years, and had never before any questions put to him. A profound silence now pervaded the hall, and Mr. Hunt proceeded as follows:—"Mr. Goddard, I wish to ascertain how you gave your vote in the House of Commons, when the Bill was brought in imposing a duty of two shillings per bushel upon malt? Wiltshire is a considerable barley county, and many of your constituents are large barley growers, whose interests are seriously affected by this measure, which will take a very great sum of money, annually, out of their pockets. How did you give your vote on that occasion?" Mr. Goddard hesitated, and stammered out in a very feeble voice, "*I have been incapacitated, by old age and ill-health, from attending my duty in parliament for the last two years. I have never been in the house during that time, and I fear I shall never be able to attend again.*"



Mr. Hunt next turned round and addressed Mr. Wyndham, the other candidate, as follows:—"Well, Mr. Wyndham, as your colleague was *incapacitated* by old age, from attending at all in the house, how did you vote upon this important measure, which so materially affects the interests of your constituents?" Mr. Wyndham, placing his finger upon his right temple, as if to recollect himself, partly and affectedly replied, "*'Pon my honour, Mr. Hunt, I cannot charge my memory whether I was in the house or not on that occasion.*" Upon this Mr. Hunt addressed him at considerable length, shewing how many acres of barley were grown in the County of Wilts, and what an enormous sum of money would be taken out of the pockets of his constituents; and he proved that this was a tax that affected them a great deal more than the income tax, about which there had, very properly, been so much said. He urged that the members for all the other barley counties in the kingdom, Norfolk, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Sussex, Hampshire, &c. had opposed the measure with all their power and influence; therefore, he wished to know what measures he, Mr. Wyndham, had taken to oppose and resist the passing of it? But all the answer that he could get from this worthy and efficient member of parliament, was, "'pon honour, he could not recollect—could not charge his memory whether he was in the house or not, when this measure was discussed and passed."

Mr. Hunt's efforts on this occasion were, however, in vain; he had no one to second his exertions and enquiries, and the independent electors of Wiltshire proceeded to the business of the day, and once more returned the above two worthy, capable, and efficient representatives, to watch over the rights and liberties, to be the guardians and trustees of their property, and assist in making those laws, which had brought the country to its present state. He began to warn them thus early, and he continued to warn them against such apathy, as long as he continued amongst them in that county. His having dared to ask a question, and to expose the two venerable representatives of the county in such a public manner, was an offence not to be forgiven, and accordingly he was set down as a leveller and



a jacobin, and was looked upon with an evil eye by the cunning supporters of the system, the parsons, lawyers, and attorneys. He received the thanks of many of the freeholders *privately*, but the poor sycophants did not dare to shew their approbation *publicly*.

On the dissolution of the parliament in 1806, Mr. Hunt made one more effort to rouse his brother electors of the county, into a sense of their political rights. In order to stimulate them to the exercise of those rights, he called upon them, in a public address, which he sent to be inserted in the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, and taking care that there should be no pretence for refusing it, he sent the money to pay for it as an advertisement, but the time-serving proprietors of that journal refused to insert it in the columns of their paper. He, therefore, had it printed and published in numerous hand-bills, which he caused to be pretty generally circulated. It also obtained admission into one of the Bath newspapers, and Mr. Cobbett, to whom he sent one of the bills, gave it a place in his Political Register. Mr. Hunt sent forth several printed documents to warn his fellow countrymen of their danger, and to exhort them to stand up to maintain and defend their rights and liberties; but we will insert his first printed address, and it will, in some measure, tend to show that he has always been consistent in his political conduct, and always maintained the same independent principles through every period of his life.

“ MR. HUNT'S ADDRESS TO THE INDEPENDENT FREEHOLDERS  
OF THE COUNTY OF WILTS

“ Gentlemen,—I flatter myself, that a few lines addressed to you by a brother freeholder, one who has ever lived amongst you, and has ever been most sincerely devoted to the liberty and independence of the county, will not, at this period, be deemed obtrusive, nor wholly unworthy of your consideration.

“ Considering, with many of the best disposed characters of the kingdom, that the fate of the country will be, in a great measure, decided by the approaching election, I think it



highly important that every freeholder should be exhorted to act and think for himself on that occasion. Let every man remember, that by bartering his liberty at this awful period, he may speedily endanger the very existence of his country. If you duly reflect on the present situation of the Prussians, and every other power on the Continent that are opposed to our powerful enemy, I think you will agree with me that this moment is the most awful in the history of Europe. Old England, our country, is not yet subdued, let us hope that she never will; but it is by every thinking man confessed to be in a very perilous situation, in such a situation that it cannot possibly, much longer, support its independence without the extraordinary sacrifices and exertions of the people. Therefore, it behoves you, my brother freeholders of this county, at this moment in particular, and let me conjure you, as the greatest boon, you can bestow on your country, diligently and impartially to enquire, whether all the evils we endure, and all the dangers that threaten us, are not to be ascribed to the folly and the baseness of those who have so shamefully abused their privileges of choosing members of parliament. The dangers I allude to, will, I fear, be increased by every post we receive from the continent; the evils are a system of taxation, which must be felt by us all, to say the least of it, to have trebled the paupers of this country within the last twenty years. No country is willing to attribute its ruin to its own baseness, but if you tamely submit to have a man thrust down your throats, to be a representative for this county, by the Beckhampton or Deptford clubs, or any other party of them whatever, without your considering whether he be a proper independent character, and capable of executing such an important trust at this eventful period; if you basely and tamely submit to this worst of degradation; whether it be from indolence, or whether it be from the worst of all human dependence, the fear of offending Mr. Long or Mr. Short, you will be a disgrace to your country, and be curst by your posterity for your pusillanimous surrender of those liberties and just rights that were so gloriously secured to you by your forefathers. I beseech you,



let no man deceive himself; if he act in this manner, I am persuaded that he may live to be convinced that he has, by losing this opportunity, been, in a great degree, instrumental in his country's ruin. Is there a man among you so insensible, as not to feel the weight of the present taxes, and yet so hardened as to go to the hustings and give his vote to a mere cypher; to a man from whom he has not the least reason to expect anything, but a tame acquiescence in the measures of any one, who happens to be the minister of the day. The man, who is now looked out to be our new representative, his very best friends do not speak of any qualification that he possesses, to make him worthy of that honourable situation. They only tell us of his uncle's long purse, therefore, in good truth, we may as well be represented by his uncle's old three-cornered hat; and as for the other member, even in his youthful days, he was no better, in the House of Commons, than an old woman. Is there no honourable and independent man to be found in the County of Wilts, capable of containing such a charge? I myself have no doubt, but there are many, but it is that cursed long purse, and an idea that the freeholders of this county will never exert themselves for their independence, that deter many from stepping forward, that would do honour to the trust reposed in them. There are numbers of freeholders in this county that are independent, if they would, for a moment, think themselves so. Then, let us say we will have a man of our own choosing, as free of expense to himself, as we would wish him to be honest and true to the confidence reposed in him. But if you let this present opportunity slip, I for one will never despair; I shall look upon you with feelings of contempt and indignation. I shall wait patiently for the day when we shall be enabled to exert ourselves effectually for the preservation of those just rights and liberties that are the bulwarks of our glorious and blessed constitution.

“ I am, gentlemen,

*Chisenbury House,*

Oct. 30, 1806.

“ Your obedient humble servant,

“ H. HUNT.”



This appeal to the freeholders of Wilts gave great umbrage to the numerous friends of Mr. Long, or rather to the whole of the friends of the Pitt system, which evidently included Whigs as well as Tories, but it produced no beneficial effect upon the senseless and inanimate freeholders of the County of Wilts. Mr. Hunt was considered a very impudent fellow for his pains, though the almost universal whisper amongst the freeholders was, "What Mr. Hunt says is true enough, but what use is it?"

In the spring of 1807, "All the Talents" were discarded. Lord Eldon took the Seals of Office; and to the astonishment of the whole nation, Mr. Percival was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the whole gang of Pitt's underlings came into place, without an iota of his genius to render them worthy of it. The ministry was consequently composed of Castlereagh, Canning, the Roses and Longs, while to crown the whole, Sir Vicary Gibbs was appointed Attorney General. As soon as the new ministry were firmly seated, they caused the parliament to be dissolved.

Mr. Hunt was, at this time, residing at Bellevue, at Clifton, winding up the brewing concern in which he had unfortunately embarked. He had returned home out of Wiltshire, late at night, when, on the following morning, he was informed that an opposition was anticipated for the election of the City of Bristol, as a new candidate had offered. The new candidate was Sir John Jarvis, an Irishman, who was the commander of the Bristol rifle corps of volunteers. Mr. Hunt knew something of the politics of Bristol, but he could not fathom the drift of the opposition, as he could not make out what claim Sir John Jarvis had to be a more popular character than the late members, Colonel Baillie, and Mr. Bragge Bathurst. The latter was, it is true, a ministerial man, a brother-in-law of the Addingtons, and therefore very unpopular; but as Sir John Jarvis was also a ministerial man, there appeared something mysterious in the business. Mr. Hunt, however, received the information, that the populace were drawing Sir John round the city in his carriage, and that he was evidently the popular candidate. On



hearing this intelligence, Mr. Hunt proceeded towards Bristol, determined to be an eye-witness of the proceedings of the election. When he arrived at the exchange, all was confusion; Sir John Jarvis was addressing the people in an incoherent, unintelligible speech, in which, however, he professed great patriotism and vowed that he would oppose Mr. Bathurst to the last moment, and keep the poll open as long as there was a freeman unpolled. He then alighted from his carriage and retired into the large room in the Bush Tavern, where he was followed by a great number of the electors and others, and amongst the latter, Mr. Hunt made one. He was attended by a noisy blustering person, whom Mr. Hunt discovered to be an attorney of the name of Cornish, who was also professing what he would do, and how he would support his friend, Sir John Jarvis. Hundreds of freemen pressed forwards, and offered their copies of their freedom, as an earnest that they would voluntarily give him their votes, but it struck Mr. Hunt that all was talk, and no one appeared to take any efficient steps to promote or secure the election of Sir John Jarvis, who, himself, appeared to be all bluster, and to be acting without the least system or arrangement, calculated to secure even the first requisites to commence an election.

Mr. Hunt now took the liberty to ask the candidate whether he was prepared with any one to propose and second his nomination, to which he gave a vague and unmeaning answer, apparently as if he did not understand what was meant by a person to propose and second him. Mr. Hunt then appealed to Mr. Cornish, the worthy attorney, who gave his answer in a similar manner, and he evidently appeared not to be more in the secret than was Mr. Hunt himself; who now addressed the multitude to enquire which of them was prepared to propose Sir John Jarvis, and which to second the proposition? All said they were ready to *powl* for Sir John, but none was engaged to perform the necessary part of the ceremony to which Mr. Hunt had alluded, and it likewise seemed very plain that neither Sir John nor his attorney had taken any pains to secure any one to do it. At this critical moment, intimation was



given that the Sheriffs were proceeding with the other candidates to the Guildhall to commence the election. Sir John and his agent were about to move very deliberately towards the scene of action, when Mr. Hunt addressed him as follows : “ I see that you are either unaware of the forms to be observed, or you are unprepared, Sir John. If, however, when it comes to the proper time, no one else proposes you, I will, though I am no freeman of Bristol, yet I will undertake to do this, and as it will give your friends an opportunity to come forward, and it will prevent the Sheriffs from hastily closing the election, which they are very likely to do, if you be not prepared with some friends to propose and second your nomination.” Sir John and Mr. Hunt therefore proceeded to the hustings together. The two former members were proposed and seconded, and the Sheriffs were about to proclaim them duly elected, and still stood Sir John, looking as wild as a newly taken Irishman, fresh from the bogs of his native land, and there stood also the electors bawling *Sir John Jarvis for ever !* at the same time that the Sheriff was very deliberately proceeding to declare the proposed candidates elected. As Mr. Hunt had narrowly watched their motions, he now stepped forward and addressed the electors in at least an animated speech, in which he proposed Sir John Jarvis as the *most eligible* person to represent them in parliament.

Previously to entering further into the detail of this election, we may be allowed to touch slightly upon the conduct of Mr. Hunt in this affair, betraying, as it does, a degree of inconsistency and a spirit of undue interference in promoting the return of an individual to parliament, of whose qualifications he was, in a great degree ignorant, and whose claims to the representation of the City of Bristol, he had already declared himself unable to discover. Mr. Hunt knew Sir John Jarvis to be a ministerial man, how then could the cause of the liberties of the people be promoted by the election of an individual, whose political principles in no manner differed from those of the candidates, to whom he objected, on the ground of their adherence to the ministry, and who were well known to be staunch



tories. There is also something at variance with all credibility to suppose that Sir John Jarvis and the electors of Bristol who were favourable to his cause, should be so lamentably ignorant of the common forms of an election, as not to know that a candidate, before he could demand a poll, must be proposed and seconded by two electors, nor can it be for a moment supposed, that Sir John Jarvis would have presented himself on the hustings to be accidentally proposed by an individual, who was not only an utter stranger to him, but who was, in no manner, connected with the local politics of the city. As it is, however, impossible to do justice to the relation of the Bristol election when given in the third person, we will allow Mr. Hunt to tell it in his own egoistical manner, premising, at the same time, that the electors of Bristol must have felt some shame within themselves, when not one head could be found amongst them, from which a single word could emanate in favour of the forlorn candidate, who, if he cut no better figure at the head of rifle corps than he did on the hustings, richly deserved to be characterised as one of the most insignificant creatures of his time.

Minuteness in all matters of history is extremely desirable, and therefore Mr. Hunt informs us, that on the morning of the election, he rose from his bed, after which, the first thing he did, was to put on his clothes, an act, we are led to opine, by no means uncommon, and the second thing he did, was to take his breakfast, and thus fortified, he proceeded to the hustings, where he was soon taught the salutary lesson, that it is a very indecent act in any man to interfere in matters of business which do not personally concern him, and in which he was most likely to come off with the same treatment, as if he had interposed his interference to adjust the squabbles of a married couple.

“ I,” says Mr. Hunt, “ stepped forward, and proposed Sir John Jarvis, and during the time that I was addressing the populace, the most dinning uproar arose. I was loudly and enthusiastically applauded by the multitude, and the great body of the electors, and as loudly and earnestly opposed and hooted



by the well-dressed rabble upon the hustings and its vicinity; consisting of the whole of the corporation, the clergy, the attorneys, and their myrmidons; but I persisted, and delivered some wholesome truths, as to the state of thralldom in which the electors had hitherto been bound, and held by the two factions of whigs and tories, who had always in Bristol, divided the representation and the loaves and fishes between them, leaving the electors nothing, but the empty name of freemen. The people were in an ecstasy of joy to hear the language which so completely corresponded with their feelings, being so very different from that which they had been accustomed to hear from the candidates of the contending factions, and which language of truth also enraged the agents of these factions almost to a state of madness. The violence and threats of those despicable agents were open and undisguised, and exceeded all bounds, nay some of them actually proceeded to personal violence, and began to lay hands upon me, to pull me down. As, however, I was no chicken, I easily repelled those who ventured too near, and threatened them, if they did not keep at a distance, that I would call in the aid of those who would soon make a clearance of the hustings, if they were disposed to try their hands at an experiment of that sort. The people immediately took the hint, and rushed forward to support me, and to punish those who had assailed me, but I told them there was then no occasion for their interference, as the gentry were peaceable.

“ I proceeded with my harangue, and those who were not actually in the secret began to be alarmed for fear there should be a contested election, which they had by no means expected. I eulogised Sir John Jarvis and his patriotic virtues, up to the skies, and descanted upon his talent, his resolution, and invincible love of religious and civil liberty. I saw that those around me were astonished at my language, and what was rather surprising to me, I perceived that Sir John looked as much astonished as any of my hearers, and the reader will also be astonished when I inform him, that I had never seen Sir John Jarvis in my life to speak to him, and, in fact, that I knew



nothing about him. I only spoke of him that, which my imagination suggested to me an honest candidate ought to be, and what is more extraordinary, as I was a stranger in Bristol, so the people were strangers to me, for I saw scarcely a single person amongst the whole assembly whom I could call by name. I recollect there was an old alderman of the name of Bengough, who was almost frantic during my speech, and some of his friends were obliged to hold him down by mere force. The cry was, Who is he? What is his name? Is he a freeman or a freeholder of the county? At the intervals, when the multitude gained silence for me, by overwhelming and drowning the clamour of my opponents with their shouts of, "hear him!" he shall be heard!! Bravo, bravo!! &c., I went on with my speech. The Right Hon. Bragge Bathurst, the White Lion, or ministerial candidate, stood near me in great agony, which I did not fail to heighten, by giving him a well merited castigation for his time-serving devotion to the ministers, his never failing vote for war, and for every tax which was proposed to be laid upon the people. I urged the absolute necessity of the electors of Bristol returning a member, the exact reverse of Mr. Bathurst, which I described Sir John to be; but these compliments to the popular candidate appeared to be received by no one less graciously than by Sir John himself; and instead of his giving me, by nods or gestures of assent, any encouragement to pursue my theme, when I met his eye, which, at first, I frequently sought, I received the most chilling frowns, and discouraging shakes of the head. Though I had no doubt now, that I had *mistaken my man*, I nevertheless concluded, by proposing him as a candidate to represent the City of Bristol in the ensuing parliament, which proposition was received by nine distinct and tremendous cheers.

"Silence being restored, the sheriff demanded, in a very respectful tone, 'if I was either a freeman or a freeholder;' I replied that I was a stranger in Bristol, I was neither as yet, but that I hoped soon to become both. This caused immense clamour, and Alderman Bengough and his supporters, some of the well dressed rabble of the City of Bristol, roared out



lustily, 'turn him out, turn him out.' My friends, however, or rather supporters, who were, as to numbers and physical strength, more than twenty to one, reiterated, 'touch him if you dare.' I concluded that it was not necessary for a candidate to be proposed either by a freeman or freeholder; that Sir John was entitled to offer himself without any such formality, and that if one man polled for him, that made him a legal candidate;\* and I urged him to do so, but he stood mute, and shuffled from the point. Now, for the first time, I began to discover, that it was all a hoax, and the patriotic Irishman was nothing more nor less than a scape-goat, or mere tool in the hands of the White Lion Club, or ministerial faction; a mere scare-crow, whom they had set up to deter any other person from offering himself, or rather to prevent the freemen from seeking another candidate, and it must be confessed their plan succeeded to a miracle. In the midst of this squabbling, the sheriffs very coolly declared Colonel Baillie and the Right Hon. Bragge Bathurst were duly elected, without any opposition, and the return was made accordingly.

"I was, at that time, a complete novice in electioneering matters, neither had I the least idea of offering myself, or indeed any ambition to be a member of parliament. I was, however, so completely disgusted with the conduct of the sheriff, the factions, and their tool, Sir John Jarvis, that I addressed the enraged multitude, who felt that they had been cheated and tricked out of an election, and I promised them that whenever there was another vacancy, or a dissolution of parliament, I would pledge myself to come forward as a candidate, or bring some independent person, who would stand a contest for the representation of this City. The people were excessively indignant at the treatment which they had received, and they hooted, halloed, and even pelted Mr. Bathurst and his partizan out of

\* Mr. Hunt here expressly contradicts himself. He previously states, and states truly, that Sir John Jarvis was in a dilemma, having no one to propose or second him, and therefore he offers his services upon the occasion. Mr. Hunt subsequently tells us, that there was no occasion for the formality of the proposition and the seconding. In the latter, however, he is in error.



the hall, and with considerable difficulty the latter reached the White Lion, where a gaudy gilded car was provided, as usual, in which the members were to be chaired. I left the scene in disgust, and returned to my house at Clifton. I had, however, scarcely entered my house when a messenger arrived, either a mayor's or sheriff's officer, to inform me that the populace had hurled Mr. Bragge Bathurst out of his car, and that he had escaped with great difficulty, into a house, which the mob was pulling down, and had nearly demolished, and that Mr. Bathurst's life would certainly be sacrificed, if I did not come down to Bristol and save, by interfering with the populace, to spare him."

On this subject we will simply ask, what were the authorities of Bristol doing all the while? Was there no police, no constabulary force, no magistrate to read the Riot Act, and put an end to such riotous proceedings by an energetic mode of acting, but that the mayor or sheriff must despatch a messenger to an individual, a perfect stranger, and that he on a sudden should be so invested with such an extraordinary influence over a mob, or to be able to quell the riot, by the mere power of his eloquence? The authorities of Bristol committed themselves most egregiously; indeed, it speaks but little for the respect in which they were held by their townsmen, that they were themselves unable to curb the licentiousness of the people, but that the auxiliary aid of a stranger should be invited to overawe them, of whom but a few hours before they had never heard, nor even knew his place of residence; and further, it must have been very humiliating to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol, one of whom Mr. Hunt represents as having been driven almost to agony by the tone and temper of the speech which he made on the hustings, to be obliged to call in the aid of the very man whom, but a few hours before, they had visited with the full weight of their anger and resentment. We shall, however, give the sequel of this extraordinary occurrence in Mr. Hunt's own words:—

“The event which occasioned me to be called back to Bristol was not wholly unexpected, for when I left the Guildhall, I



had overheard some of those, who appeared to take the lead, and *have an influence over the populace*, solemnly declare their determination to have an election, even if it were at the expense of the life of Mr. Bathurst, against whom they vowed vengeance, in such a tone and manner, that I thought it proper to warn his friends, and accordingly, before I left the town, *I penetrated, on horseback, through the crowd in Broad Street*, and with considerable pains and risk, gained access to the White Lion, amidst the conflicts of the populace and the constables, or more correctly speaking, bludgeon men, employed by the White Lion Club. The blood was streaming from their broken pates, and amongst the number of the wounded Mr. Peter Clishold, the attorney, stood conspicuous, with his head laid open, his skull bare, and the blood flowing in streams down upon the pavement, as he stood under the archway of the White Lion gate. *I desired to see some of the committee, who came to me immediately.* I communicated to them what I had overheard, and I strongly recommended, on the score of policy, that they should not attempt to chair their friend, Mr. Bathurst, for if they did, it was my decided opinion, that some serious mischief would happen. They, however, informed me that they had determined, at all hazards, to have Mr. Bathurst chaired immediately, and I shall never forget the insulting manner in which Mr. Clishold (a man with his head laid open and his skull bare, we should suppose was a fitter object for a hospital than attending an election committee) declared that they had five hundred bludgeon men, sworn in as constables, and as they would act in concert and in a body, they were more than a match for five thousand of the mob. I replied that I had done my duty in communicating that which came accidentally to my knowledge, and if they had not prudence enough to benefit by the information, it was their business and not mine. I then retired through the immense multitude, *the populace making way, and cheering me as I passed.*"

Mr. Hunt again informs us that he was at dinner when the messenger at Bristol arrived, requesting his interference with the populace, and "had I," continues Mr. Hunt, "done by



them, as I know they would have done by me, I should have taken my dinner very quietly, and left the fury of the multitude to be quelled by those who had created it, but actuated by the sublime precept ("no other by my faith, Hall") do as you would that others should do unto you, I ordered my horse to be instantly re-saddled and brought to the door, and having mounted him, I was in High Street, the scene of action, in a few minutes. There I found the people assembled in immense numbers. Having broken in the windows and window-frames of the house in which the hapless member, Mr. Bathurst, had concealed himself, they only waited for a cessation of throwing brickbats and stones to rush into the house, which if they had once done, his forfeited life would have been the inevitable price of the temerity of his friends.

*"The moment I galloped up there was a partial suspension of hostilities, and the multitude received me with three cheers. No time was to be lost, one moment's indecision would have been the death signal of the Right Hon. Bragge Bathurst. I did not hesitate an instant, but taking off my hat, I addressed them in a tone of expostulation, condemning their folly, and I then declared that I had a measure of much greater importance to communicate to them, than that of wreaking their vengeance upon Mr. Bathurst, and if they would follow me, I would instantly, upon reaching Brandon Hill, communicate it to them. This was said by me, with so much confidence, that they instantly assented to my proposition by three cheers. 'Come follow me then, my lads,' I firmly rejoined, as I wheeled my horse round, and the whole crowd, consisting of many thousands, instantly began to move after me up High Street, down Close Street, over the draw-bridge, through College Green, and upon Brandon Hill, over the high gate of which I leaped my horse. As soon as I got upon the centre of the gravel walk that leads across the hill, I halted, and began to address them. My only object was to draw them from the victim of their intended vengeance. But having, by a bold and decisive effort, effected this purpose, I had now a painful and rather a dangerous duty to perform, that of satisfying the enraged mul-*



titude that I had not duped them. I therefore boldly censured their indiscreet and hasty conduct, in proceeding to such a violent measure as that of seeking the life of one who was merely the agent of a corrupt system. This was received with partial murmurs, but I nevertheless continued successfully to combat the headstrong violence of the most sanguine, and I soon found that by dint of reason and argument, I had prevailed upon the great majority to agree with me. I then took occasion to dilate upon the consequences that must have followed the taking the life of a fellow-creature, without the intervention of judge or jury. I was instantly answered, that their opponents had taken the lives of a great many without judge or jury some years before, when the Herefordshire Militia, with Lord Bateman as their Colonel, had fired upon the inhabitants during the disturbances on Bristol Bridge. I was obliged to admit the truth of this, and urged the folly of following so bad and murderous an example. *I then informed them who I was !!* and told them that I would pledge myself to come forward on the very next election, and give those, who had votes, an opportunity of exercising their franchise for a candidate who would not betray and desert them as Sir John Jarvis had that day done. This proposition was received with cheers. I also told them I would immediately form some plan to enable the freemen to take up their freedom, by means of a voluntary weekly subscription amongst themselves, which plan should be carried into execution without delay ; and as they had done me the kindness of patiently listening to and acting upon my recommendation to give up the desperate project which they had formed, *I begged to offer them a drink of my genuine beer, not as a bribe, but as an earnest of my intention to carry my promise into execution.*

“ Pointing now to my Brewery, at Jacob’s Well, at the bottom of the hill, I said once more with confidence, ‘ Follow me, my lads !’ *Till this time I was not even known by name to one in twenty of the multitude.* The proposition was received with applause, and they (that is, several thousands !!) followed me to the door of my Brewery, when I ordered THREE hogs-



heads of strong beer to be rolled out and divided amongst them; (three hogsheads amongst several thousand people! Quere. how much would fall to the share of each man?) This, together with my promise of future attention to their rights of election, restored them to good humour, and upon my addressing them again, they promised to return to their homes, *as soon as they had finished their beer*, which they did almost to a man, without even the slightest disturbance taking place afterwards that night.

“ I had no sooner drawn the people from the house in which Mr. Bathurst was concealed, than he took the opportunity of escaping out of the city, *in a return post chaise* to Bath. Thus did I save the life of a man, whose partizans would have put me to death without the slightest remorse, if they had had it in their power. Many liberal-minded persons of all parties applauded my conduct and presence of mind, but I was informed that one of the leaders of the White Lion Club, said, when he was told of the means that I had used to draw the people from their premeditated victim, that he only wished the mob had broken into my cellar, and turned into the streets all my beer, amounting at that time to nearly three thousand barrels, and this was the only thanks I ever received from any of the faction from that day to this. As for Mr. Bathurst, he never had the manliness nor the candour to acknowledge the service in any way. But the right honourable gentleman may perhaps have thought of the circumstance, when he was acting as one of the Privy Council, who advised the thanks that were given in the name of the King to the Manchester Yomanry and magistrates. What must have been the feelings of the right honourable Privy Councillor, when as one of that immaculate body, he advised the prosecution against me for attending the Manchester meeting, and advised it, that a sort of blind might be obtained for the deeds that had been committed by the military braves on that day. What must have been the feelings of this gentleman, if the recollection that I had saved his life, came across his mind, at the time, when in all probability he was one of the same cabinet, who advised the length



of the imprisonment that the judges of the Court of King's Bench, should impose upon me. Ah ! Mr. Bragge Bathurst what will be your feelings, when you read this ? When your life was in jeopardy, the power of saving that life was accidentally placed in my hands, I hesitated not to save that life, at the imminent risk of my own, and how grateful has been the return ! But Mr. Bathurst I am a million times happier man in my dungeon, than you are in a palace.\* It was reserved for Mr. Bragge Bathurst, as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to reward Parson Hay for his deeds on the 16th of August 1819, at Manchester, to reward him with the living of Rochdale, with, it is said, *two thousand five hundred pounds a year* ! But I am a much happier man in my dungeon than Parson Hay, or his relation, Bragge Bathurst ; though one is the Rector of Rochdale, and the other Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with all its revenue and patronage."

The news soon after reached Bristol that Sir Francis Burdett had been returned at the head of the poll for Westminster by a large majority. This gave new life and spirit to the friends of liberty all over the kingdom, and none participated more warmly than Mr. Hunt did in the general joy which this news created, for at that time he was one of the baronet's most enthusiastic admirers. He immediately proposed a public dinner at Bristol to celebrate the joyful event, but he could not get any one to join him. There were several, who said that if the dinner took place they would attend it, but they would not take upon themselves any of the responsibility of ordering such a dinner, nor of the risk and expence attending the getting of it up. There was for one, a Mr. Lee, a surgeon, who was very ready to join in the dinner to commemorate the Westminster victory, but he shrunk from bearing any part of the onus of setting it on foot, either in purse or in person. But having once proposed a measure, Mr. Hunt was not to be foiled in that way; he, therefore, after some considerable difficulty in finding any one to take the order for a dinner for

\* It must be recollected that this is written by Mr. Hunt, during his confinement in Ilchester Jail.



such a purpose, took the whole expence and responsibility upon himself, by ordering dinner for a hundred persons, at the large room in the Trout Tavern, Stokes Croft.

The dinner was advertised and placarded, Mr. Hunt to be in the chair. In the mean time, every effort was made to run down the dinner, and to intimidate persons from attending it, and on the morning of the day that was appointed for the meeting, the walls of the city were placarded with the following *notice* from authority, "DANGER to be apprehended from the proposed dinner to be held this day at the Trout Tavern, &c. &c." the word DANGER was printed in letters six inches long. The soldiers were ordered to be upon duty, and every species of threat and intimidation was resorted to, in order to deter people from attending the much dreaded dinner. Nevertheless in spite of all this, a hundred persons set down together, not ten of whom had ever seen each others faces before. Mr. Hunt took the head of the principal table, and Mr. Lee that of the other. A most gratifying day was spent, in the greatest harmony, and parted with the same good humour, every one being pleased with his entertainment, which proved "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." The authorities used every laudable endeavour to make a disturbance and create that danger, which they pretended to apprehend, and the time-serving despicable editors of the Bristol newspapers joined in the cry. Nay, some of them bellowed aloud, and declared that this dinner meeting, to celebrate the triumph of the electors of Westminster, over the two corrupt factions, the Whigs and the Tories, was the forerunner of a revolution, and they insinuated that Mr. Hunt, who was the promoter of this dinner, was the instigator of the riots which had occurred on the day of election, and that the fellows, who met to dine, were the very same who assembled and threatened the life of their amiable and patriotic member, Mr. Bragge Bathurst.

These falsehoods, however, did not either prevent or disturb the dinner. The infamous hand bill did indeed produce what the manufacturers call a mob, for the people assembled in the



street opposite the Trout Tavern, in great numbers; but on their being addressed by Mr. Hunt, and cautioned not to suffer themselves to be caught in the trap laid for them by their enemies, but to retire peaceably to their homes, they gave three cheers and dispersed immediately. It was very fortunate they did so, for it was ascertained that the tender-hearted authorities were so excessively anxious to preserve the peace, which they had sworn to keep, that they had called out the military in order to disperse, at the point of the bayonet, that multitude, which they had themselves collected by their ridiculous and evil-disposed hand-bill of "Danger," &c. The timely advice and admonition of Mr. Hunt, however, had deprived them of their prey, and thus the sacrifice of human blood was prevented, for when the troops marched by, with bayonets fixed, there were not more persons than usual in the streets.\* This was a great disappointment to those who had got up the precious hand bill of "Danger to be apprehended," and because Mr. Hunt had the prudence to foresee and to frustrate this brutal and sanguinary scheme of the authorities, he was set down as a most dangerous fellow, and an enemy to the government.

\* We give this statement upon the authority of Mr. Hunt himself, but on referring to the Bristol papers of that period, no mention whatever is made of the interference of the military, and it must be well known to those in the least degree acquainted with the character of an English mob, that it is only cavalry that they fear, and that two or three companies of foot, even with their bayonets fixed, would, with a determined mob, not have a musket in their hands in five minutes. We never yet knew an instance in which a riot was quelled by the interference of foot-soldiers only.



## CHAPTER XII.

MR. HUNT may now be considered to have fairly entered the field of politics, for he was completely identified with the meeting and dinner at Bristol, at which several spirited resolutions were passed, approving the conduct of the electors of Westminster, and strongly urging the freemen of Bristol to follow their example. Copies of their proceedings were sent to Mr. Cobbett, who at that time lived at Botley, expressing a wish, if he approved of them, that he would insert them in his Political Register; he, however, never inserted them, nor gave Mr. Hunt any answer, but as it afterwards appeared, he wrote the famous letter to his friend Wright,\* who was a sort of hanger-on at the Westminster committee, which letter, at the general election for Westminster, was read upon the hustings by one Cleary, an attorney's clerk, or rather a pettyfogging writer to an attorney in Dublin, who had left his native country for the same cause that had prompted many others of his countrymen to leave it before him. This person was hired by the committee of Sir Francis Burdett to do the dirty office, to shew that Mr. Cobbett entertained a different opinion of Mr. Hunt in the year 1808, before he knew him, from that which he entertained of him in the year 1818, after he had known Mr. Hunt, and had acted with him for so many years.

“What induced Mr. Cobbett,” says Mr. Hunt, “to write this letter, or what were his motives are best known to himself. But the contents of the letter were as false, as the style and language were gross, and the statements it contained, illiberal and unmanly. Mr. Cobbett had at that time spoken to me

\* This letter will be found in the Memoirs of Cobbett, now publishing by Saunders, No. 25, Newgate Street.



but once, and as I was never in the habit of flattering any one, or disguising my opinions, I can easily conceive that he had, from the first interview, formed personally as unfavourable an opinion of me, as I had of him. But he knew nothing of me nor of my connections; all that he could have known of me was, that I was a zealous advocate of that cause, which he then professed to espouse. Therefore, what were his motives for writing the letter, must remain with himself. However, Mr. Jennings and the gentlemen, who then composed the Westminster committee, treated his advice with that contempt which such a malignant and unmanly act deserved, for they opened a communication with me immediately. As to the letter, however, it was of such a nature, that they thought it advisable to lay it by, to be produced upon some future occasion, and that occasion was the one which I have named. Now I must entreat the reader to give me credit when I say, that I never suffered the production of this letter to operate upon me, so as to shake the private friendship I had with Mr. Cobbett. Whatever he wrote of me, or whatever opinion he entertained of me ten years back, and previously to his knowing any thing of me, however unjust that opinion might have been, however coarsely or illiberally that opinion might have been expressed, and however basely that circumstance might, after a lapse of ten or eleven years, have been used by a contemptible hired agent of Sir Francis Burdett, upon the public hustings at an election, I never suffered it for once to have the slightest influence upon my public or private conduct towards Mr. Cobbett. But what I was grieved and hurt at was, that Mr. Cobbett should have made me his dupe, by writing home to me from America, to assure me that the letter read by Cleary upon the hustings at Westminster was a *forgery*. and not only sending me a copy of the New York paper wherein he had declared the letter to be a forgery, but authorising ME, nay, urging ME to pronounce it to be a forgery, *which upon the faith of his word*, I did at a meeting at the Crown and Anchor, *where Cleary produced the letter*. At this treatment I was hurt, I had good reason to be offended, but I never com-



plained of it. The shyness and the dispute which have arisen between Mr. Cobbett and myself must be traced to a very different cause. But for my own part, I am happy that the shyness did not happen while Mr. Cobbett was in prison, but while Henry Hunt was incarcerated in his dungeon. Although I cannot accuse myself of having ever done any thing to merit this conduct from Mr. Cobbett, yet I shall never cease to lament it, as an injury to that cause, in which we had so long drawn together. But as is generally the case in such differences between friends, there may be faults on both sides, and I am not so presumptuous as to believe that I am exempt from error. It is a lamentable truth, however, that the strongest mind is not always proof against the insinuations of *false friends, of go-betweens, and the eternal workings, and worryings, and sly malignant hints of the low pride and cunning of those, who are always at a person's elbow.*"

The accusation which Mr. Hunt here brings forward against Cobbett is of a very serious nature, and with the conviction on our own minds that the former has truly and explicitly given the affair as it really stood, it will prove a difficult matter to purge the character of the latter, from the stigma which is thus thrown upon it. That the letter was not a forgery, but that it was written by Cobbett himself, in his coarse and unpolished manner, is now generally admitted, it was therefore an aggravation of the injury already inflicted, to turn round upon the individual, and to denounce the letter as a forgery, at the same time, that he must have been aware that there were people in existence, who could disprove the statement altogether. With all the faults which Mr. Hunt possessed, (and let him, who is without them throw a stone at him,) there was an open, straight forward manliness of character about him, which was in a certain degree foreign to that of Cobbett, and there was an innate pride, a noble sense of honour about him, which would not let him stoop to a mean or pitiful action. Cobbett, on the other hand, cared not to what length he went, so that he could humble the individual, who had by any means rendered himself obnoxious to him. Mr. Hunt was rising fast in import-



ance in the political world, and as there is no occasion for two suns in Heaven, so Cobbett thought there was no occasion for the existence of the Gemini in the Zodiac of politics, he himself, according to his own opinion, being all sufficient to direct the minds of the English people, and to urge them on to the attainment of those measures, which the great political leaders of the day had in view. Cobbett saw in Hunt a formidable rival in acquiring that influence over the people, which it was his wish to engross to himself, and although in vigour of mind, the former surpassed the latter, yet, perhaps no man has existed in England, who knew how to work upon the feelings of a mob with greater success than Hunt. In this respect, he was far the superior of Cobbett, although as a writer, he never could compete with him. Cobbett sought to accomplish his object by downright main force, he dealt his arguments around him with the power of the sledge hammer, whereas Hunt adopted a freer or more conciliating tone, and he won his way to the hearts of his audience, by the most apt illustrations and a display of wit and humour, which Cobbett would not condescend to use, or which more properly speaking, he did not know the use of. Even when Mr. Hunt was in the House of Commons, he had few equals in point of ready wit. In this respect he stood alone. All parties in the House, even the most ultra radicals themselves, laboured hard to cough him down, whenever he attempted to speak. It was on these occasions, that he generally gave the most striking proofs of his wit. Nothing could disconcert him, the greater the uproar his rising to speak caused in the House, the more he seemed to enjoy it. That was to him a luxury of the most exquisite kind. The fact was, that he had been formed for scenes of confusion, and had all his life long been accustomed to them at the meetings of his radical disciples; hence they came to him quite naturally. In many of the repartees, there was great point. One honourable member on a certain occasion, when Mr. Hunt was speaking, was unusually persevering in his efforts to cough him down. Mr. Hunt cured the honourable gentleman of his cough by one short sentence, which, delivered as it was



with infinite dramatic effect, created universal laughter. Mr. Hunt put his hand into his pantaloon pocket, and after fumbling about for a few seconds, said with the utmost imaginable coolness, that he was extremely sorry to find that he had not a few lozenges in his pocket for the benefit of the honourable member, who seemed to be so distressed with cough, but he could assure him, he would provide some for him by the next night. Never did doctor prescribe more effectually; not only did Mr. Hunt's tormentor get rid of his cough, but it never returned, at least when Mr. Hunt was speaking.

To return from this digression. The infamous conduct of the authorities at Bristol did not deter Mr. Hunt from keeping his promise, which he had made to the people on the day of election. He immediately formed a society and arranged a plan of weekly subscriptions, to enable those, who were entitled to their freedom, to pay their fee to the Chamberlain of the City, without being, as they had always hitherto been, dependent on the bounty of the candidates, when the election was about to begin. Each entitled freeman, who enrolled his name, and paid a subscription of three-pence per week, had in his turn, his freedom taken up, and his fees, amounting to about 2*l.* 8*s.*, paid out of the fund.

It would have been reasonable to suppose that this would have been considered a most legitimate and praise-worthy association. What could be more proper than a subscription weekly amongst the entitled freemen, to raise a sum to take up their freedoms, to accumulate that sum by a weekly subscription, which they could not at once command out of their own pockets, and the want of which had heretofore placed them in the power of those, who would only advance the money for them to obtain a promise of their votes at the election. To assist in accomplishing so desirable an object as this, any one, who did not understand the principles upon which those elections are carried on by corporations, would have thought a most praiseworthy act. But, in Bristol it was esteemed a great crime, and all sorts of threats and intimidations were offered



to those who stood forward as the friends of constitutional liberty, and who attempted to aid the young freemen in procuring their copies to become entitled to exercise their franchise at the elections. The society which Mr. Hunt established was denounced as seditious, revolutionary, and treasonable, by the corrupt newspaper-mongers of the city, at the head of whom stood a man of the name of Gutch, who was the editor of the paper called Felix Farley's Bristol Journal. This was as corrupt and time-serving a political knave as ever lived.

At this time, a gentleman of the name of Lee, a surgeon, and a very clever fellow, lashed the cheats of both the whig and tory factions by frequent cheap publications, which as Mr. Hunt expresses himself, "made the rogues twist and writhe as snails and grubs do, when quick lime is sprinkled upon them." With this Mr. Lee, Mr. Hunt of course became acquainted, from the time of the Trout Tavern dinner. For some time they went on very well together, but, by and bye, they quarrelled and came to an open rupture. The quarrel was excited and fomented by tale-bearers and go-betweens, and at length Mr. Lee commenced a paper war, directing all his talent against the views and objects of Mr. Hunt. The latter replied, and a most vindictive political warfare raged for a time, in which they were both magnanimously bespattered with the filth of their own creating. Mr. Hunt was very young at the time, and what he failed in argument, he of course made up for it in abuse. In reality there was very little argument, and in default of it, downright abuse was resorted to, to the great amusement of the two contending factions. Mr. Hunt, however, stood his ground, and continued to support and cultivate a union, by subscribing to and attending the meetings at the house known by the sign of "The Lamb and Lark," in fact, Mr. Hunt took a lease of that house for the purpose; several publicans having been threatened with the loss of their licences if they gave the Union the accommodation of a room once a week, in the way of their business.

— We particularly recommend the following statement to the



perusal of two characters of men, namely, porter makers and porter drinkers. Mr. Hunt says, "I now resided at Clifton, in lodgings, during the winter, and attended to the collecting of the scattered remains of my wreck of a brewery. It may be easily conceived that if I had been disposed to carry on the concern, I should have had very little chance at Bristol, amongst a set of the most illiberal and selfish tradesmen and merchants in the universe. But the truth was this, *I brewed my beer from malt and hops only*. I had fairly tried the experiment, and the result was, that no one could brew with malt and hops only *for sale without being a loser*, and as I was determined not to use any drugs or substitute, I made up my mind to get out of the concern as soon as possible. No man could have had a fairer opportunity of trying the experiment than I had; I grew my own barley, which was of the very best sample, I made my own malt, and I bought my hops at the best hand for ready money. If any man could have brewed beer from malt and hops, to have made a profit from it, I could have done it. I brewed excellent beer, *but lost money by every brewing*. I therefore take leave to caution my friends against being poisoned by genuine beer brewers, the worst sort of quacks and impostors. Mark what I say, a brewer may brew, and sell genuine beer, made from malt and hops, but if he does not become a bankrupt in three years, or if he contrives to sell *genuine beer* and grows rich, or pretends to grow rich, let me advise you not to drink any of his genuine beer. No! no! my friends, if you must drink beer and porter, drink that brewed by the common brewer, who does not profess to be any honester than his neighbour. Drink the porter of Messrs. Barclay or of Messrs. Truman, and take your chance with the common herd of beer and porter drinkers. When I see and advertisement of any gentleman "Bung" having made an affidavit before the Lord Mayor, that his beer is only brewed with malt and hops, I look regularly for his name in the Gazette, and if I do not soon find it there, or hear that he has cut and run, I set him down for a successful impostor."

Mr. Hunt now enjoyed the society of a few *select friends*,



who visited his family when he was living at Chisenbury House or at Clifton, and he had nearly got rid of all his old pot companions, or perhaps the case was reversed, *owing to particular circumstances*, they had got rid of him. Those, who now visited him did, so *circumstances*, for the purposes of friendship and rational society, as he had now put an end to all drinking carousals in his family, neither did he mix with them in others. When he was in the country, he used to enjoy the pleasures of the field, both as a fox-hunter and an expert shot. In regard to the latter, he fancied himself at that time a match for any man in the kingdom, having challenged to shoot with any gentleman sportsman in the united kingdom five mornings at game, for fifty guineas a morning, which challenge he sent to the Sporting Magazine, *but whether it was published or not, he did not recollect*. When Sancho Panza took possession of the island of Barataria, he also issued a challenge to all the knights of Christendom to contend with them in the open lists. Sancho thought himself a most redoubtable fellow, because his challenge was not accepted, for the best of all reasons, that like Mr. Hunt's challenge sent to the Sporting Magazine, those to whom it was addressed, never received it.

On the 10th of July, 1807, a numerous and respectable meeting of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Bristol, was held in the large room at the Lamb and Lark, for the express purpose of enquiring into the state of the elective franchise. Mr. Hunt was in the chair. The following resolutions were agreed to, and as they were drawn up by Mr. Hunt, they may serve as a guide to the political principles which he then espoused, and to which he adhered for the remainder of his life.

**FIRST RESOLUTION.**—That the elective franchise is of the highest importance, as it is the basis of our laws and liberties. That in the free and unbiassed exercise of this great and yet undisputed privilege depends, our best interests and dearest rights, as free born Englishmen.

**SECOND RESOLUTION.**—That if any club or party of men whatever arrogate to themselves the power of returning a re-



presentative for this city, whether designated by the title of the White Lion Club, or the Loyal and Constitutional Club; if they threaten, persecute, and oppress a voter for the free exercise of his judgment in the disposal of his suffrage, they are enemies to their country, by acting in direct opposition to the sound principles of the British constitution.

**THIRD RESOLUTION.**—That we view with painful anxiety the contracted and enthralled state of the elective rights of this city, and we are fully convinced of the existence of such unconstitutional clubs, as are mentioned in the foregoing resolution, that their evil effects have reduced this great city to a level with the rottenest of rotten boroughs; therefore we are determined by every legal exertion in our power to interpose, and adopt such constitutional and effective measures as may appear most conducive to the recovery and firm establishment of the freedom of election in this city.

**FOURTH RESOLUTION.**—That the following declaration of the Westminster committee contain the great constitutional principles, on which we ought to act, namely, that as to our principles, they are those of the constitution of England; and none other; that it is declared by the Bill of Rights that one of the crimes of the tyrant James, was that of interfering by his ministers in the election of members of parliament; that by the same great standard of our liberties, it is declared that the election of members of parliament ought to be free. That by the act, which transferred the crown of this kingdom from the heads of the house of Stuart, to the heads of the house of Brunswick, it is provided, that for the better securing the liberties of the subject, no person holding a place or pension under the crown, shall be a member of the House of Commons;\* that these are constitutional principles, and as we are

\* There is not perhaps a greater tom-foolery enacted in the House of Commons, than the pretended adherence to the constitutional principle, that no one holding a place or pension under the crown, shall be a member of the House of Commons. A person, for instance, having a seat in the House is appointed to an office under the crown, he therefore vacates his seat, as being, by virtue of the office conferred upon him, disabled from having a seat in the house. He, however, applies to the same constituents to re-elect him; he is returned, and he again takes his seat in the



convinced that all the notorious speculations, that all the prodigal waste of public money, that all the intolerable burdens and vexations therefrom arising, that all the oppressions from within, and all the danger from without, proceed from a total abandonment of those great constitutional principles; we hold it to be our bounden duty to use all the legal means in our power to restore those principles to practice. That, though we are fully convinced that as the natural consequences of the measures, pursued for the last sixteen years, our country is threatened with imminent danger from the foe, which Englishmen once despised, and though we trust there is not a man of us, who would not freely lay down his life to preserve the independence of his country, and to protect it from a merciless and sanguinary invader, yet, we hesitate not to declare, that the danger, we should consider of the next importance, the scourge next to be dreaded, would be a packed and corrupt House of Commons, whose votes, not less merciless, and more insulting than a conqueror's edict, would bereave us of all that renders country dear, and life worthy of preserving, and that, too, under the names and forms of Law and Justice: under those very names and those very forms, which yielded security to the persons and property of our forefathers.

FIFTHLY.—That in following the glorious example of the citizens of Westminster by choosing men of corresponding sentiments and undeviating public virtue, we shall, as far as

same house, in which by the constitution of the country, he has been declared unable to sit, on account of the office, which he holds. Sir John Campbell, on his appointment to the Attorney Generalship, vacated his seat as being deemed incompetent to sit in the house, as holding an office under the crown. After offering himself to two or three constituencies, and being rejected, he hurries off to Edinburgh, and he is returned as one of the members of that city. He therefore again takes his seat as an individual, holding an office under the crown, on the appointment to which he was constitutionally bound to resign his seat, and he is therefore now as incompetent to represent the people of Edinburgh, as he was his former constituents, when he was appointed to the office of Attorney General. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston are both in the same predicament. They vacated their seats on appointment to office, and as the holders of office, they still sit in the House of Commons.



rests with us, restore the blessings of our constitution, and the just rights and liberties of the people.

SIXTHLY.—That the freeholders, freemen, and entitled freemen of this city, who have united themselves for the laudable purpose of supporting each other in the free and unbiassed exercise of their judgment in the choice of their representatives, merit the approbation and applause of all their fellow citizens, and that we do now form ourselves into a body, to be called the Bristol Patriotic and Constitutional Association, to co-operate with them, in counteracting the unwarrantable influence, manœuvre, and deception, which have reduced the electors of this city to mere political cyphers, to passive spectators of the general wreck; freemen with no other appendage of freedom, but the empty name; we therefore pledge ourselves individually and collectively to assist and protect them in the recovery of our just and constitutional liberties.

That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and that they be published,

(Signed) HENRY HUNT, *Chairman.*

There resolutions were published in Cobbett's Political Register, the 8th of August, 1807, and they are here inserted for a twofold purpose, first of shewing that Mr. Hunt never shifted his ground, and that he never deviated from the straight path of publicly and boldly advocating the rights and liberties of the people against the corrupt influence of all factions; and secondly, as Mr. Hunt expresses himself, "to prove that Mr. Cobbett was so well pleased with my exertions, and so well satisfied that those exertions were calculated to serve the cause of public liberty, that he voluntarily gave them a place in his Register, and thus early held me up to notice, as worthy of public confidence and public support; and this he did, be it recollected, although I was not personally known to him, and had never seen him, with the exception of the slight call, which I made on him in Duke Street, which I have already mentioned."

Mr. Hunt was now rising rapidly into notoriety, his con-



duct in the city of Bristol, and his boldly avowing the principles acted upon by the Westminster committee, and professed by Sir Francis Burdett, met with the approbation and sanction of both, and a correspondence was commenced between the two parties. The latter professed to be highly delighted with what Mr. Hunt had done, and urged him to persevere in so laudable an undertaking as that of putting himself at the head of the independent electors of Bristol, to prepare them for following the example so nobly set by the electors of Westminster.

Mr. Hunt in his own memoirs is at this time particularly severe against Sir Francis Burdett, against whom he insinuates certain transactions not exactly consistent with the station of life to which the Baronet belonged. "I will not," says Mr. Hunt, "follow his example by basely exposing a *private letter*, even, should he again hire James Mills to propagate a report, which he, Burdett, as well as his agent, knew to be a falsehood, totally without foundation, namely, that I had a government protection in my pocket, when I attended the great public meeting at Manchester, on the 16th of August, 1819. Even if the Baronet should hire a fellow to propagate another such a cowardly, and infamous fabrication, as that, yet I will not publish any of his private letters to me about ——."

"But I beg the reader not to misunderstand me, most of the baronet's letters to me were of a *public nature*, and those that were private, were not about my business, but his own. *Thank God! he has no letters from me about money transactions,\** for I hereby most distinctly state, that the only money transaction we ever had, the only money that ever passed between us, was that I, at his request, once purchased for him a galloway, for twenty-five pounds, which money he paid me; and I bought of him a horse for forty-five guineas, which I paid him for at the time. The horse turned out not worth forty-five shillings. I believe the Baronet knew that he was good for nothing when he favoured me with him, but he never

\* This alludes to a disclosure made by Sir Francis Burdett, relative to some private transactions of a pecuniary nature between him and Mr. Cobbett.



offered to make me any allowance, neither did I ever expect it, or apply for it. I never blamed him for this, it was not his fault, it was my own; he had the horse to sell, and I purchased it and paid for it, and when I found him out, I disposed of him as well as I could to a horse-dealer. I certainly did not oblige a friend with him. After all, the Baronet may have thought him a very good horse; he may have been deceived, or have been a bad judge of horses, *I* was the fool for believing that he wished to part with a *very good* horse."

In the course of the year 1808, Mr. Hunt had mingled considerably with politics and public affairs. He had quitted the large farm, which he occupied at Chisenbury, and had built himself a sporting cottage upon his own estate at Littlecot, which he called, although perhaps not very appropriately, *Sans souci* cottage, from its situation resembling the description given of *Sans souci*, the retreat of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia. Here he devoted his summer and autumn to the sports of the field, particularly shooting, of which he was passionately fond, and which that particular part of the country afforded in the greatest perfection. Having a house at Bath, which was occupied, he furnished it from the house which he had quitted at Clifton, and he spent the winter months at Bath. From the turn, however, that his politics had taken, his old officers of the Wiltshire regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry were determined to *put him down* and accordingly, his quondam Captain, Astley of Everley, was the first to commence operations, by bringing an action of trespass against him, in the name of one of his tenants. This was in truth the second trick of the kind, but Mr. Hunt defended the action, and pleaded in justification *a licence*, on which the attorney was so silly as to take it into court under the idea that the action was justified upon the ground of having taken out a game licence. The fact was that this was a quibbling plea suggested by Mr. Hunt's attorney, and it succeeded, the bait took. The trespass was proved, but Mr. Hunt also proved that he had not only leave from the tenant, but he had actually been invited by him. Upon this Astley was nonsuited; but the second



action that he brought, his attorney was more upon his guard, and brought it in the name of one of the Squire's mere vassals, a farmer of the name of Simkins, who at that time was obliged to say or do any thing, and every thing that he was ordered. On this action Mr. Hunt suffered judgment to go by default, and a writ of inquiry was executed at Warminster, to assess the damages, on which occasion Mr. Hunt attended in person; and this was done in consequence of a discovery that he made that a conspiracy was formed against him by the neighbouring Aristocrats, who had made a common stock purse in order to defray whatever expenses might be incurred in carrying on actions or prosecutions against him. Mr. Hunt became acquainted with this fact in a very curious way. This junto of individuals against the quiet and fortune of an individual, had given a general retainer to Mr. Burrough, the counsel, afterwards elected to the Bench, who had *over the bottle*, to an acquaintance of Mr. Hunt, who had been dining with him, intimated that his clients were so rich, that they were sure to ruin Mr. Hunt with expenses, even if he gained the two or three causes which were pending against him.

Mr. Hunt's acquaintance having communicated this detestable plot to him, he made a solemn resolution to become his own advocate, let whatever actions might be brought against him. And now for the first time in his life, he began to cross-examine a witness. That witness was Simpkin's shepherd, the only witness called by Astley's attorney. Upon Mr. Hunt asking him what damage he had committed upon his master's land, the fellow grinned, and replied, "Damage, Sir, why none at all, to be sure." Being still further examined, he said that Mr. Hunt had not done sixpennyworth of damage, that he had not done a farthing's worth, nor the thousandth part of a farthing's worth of damages, for it was impossible to do any damage, if he had walked there for a month. This the fellow stuck to on his re-examination; and he being the only witness, and that witness called by the plaintiff, it struck Mr. Hunt that it would be impossible for



honest jurymen to give any damage, they being bound upon their oaths to assess the damages agreeably to the evidence. The under sheriff, however, before whom the inquest was held, did every thing that man could do to prevail upon the jury to return a verdict of a farthing damages, contending that they must return a verdict of *some* damage. The jury, however, retired for half an hour, and returned with a special verdict of "*No damages.*"

A motion, however, was made in the Court of King's Bench, for a rule to shew cause why the verdict should not be set aside, and a new writ of inquiry held to assess the damages. The rule was instantly granted by Lord Ellenborough. Upon Mr. Hunt receiving notice to shew cause, as it was a mere point of law to be argued, he gave instructions to his attorney to employ his friend, Henry Clifford, to oppose the rule. The motion came on in the Court, and Mr. Clifford argued that unless they had violated their oath, the jurors could not possibly have come to any other conclusion. It was contended on the other side, that Mr. Hunt had admitted the trespass by suffering judgment to go by default, and therefore the jury were bound to give some damage. In this wise and just doctrine, Lord Ellenborough and his brethren upon the Bench, fully and unequivocally concurred, and the Court consequently ruled that a new writ of inquiry should issue to assess the damages.

Mr. Hunt was accordingly served with the notice, that the writ would be executed at Devizes at seven o'clock in the evening, on the third day of the sessions. Mr. Hunt merely said to the attorney, who served him with the notice, "Well, if the Court of King's Bench has so ruled it, so it must be." The sessions arrived—the third day came; and as Mr. Hunt had not made his appearance in the town, it was generally understood amongst the barristers and attorneys, that there would be no sport, as Mr. Hunt would make no attempt to obtain another verdict, in opposition to the Court of King's Bench.

The magistrates, counsel, and attorneys had all taken their



dinner, and were sitting very comfortably over their wine, when the under-sheriff, with an attorney of the name of Tinney, of Salisbury, whom he had employed to preside for him, retired to the Court to hold the inquiry, intimating at the same time to their guzzling companions, whom they left enjoying their good cheer, that they should very soon rejoin them, as they should despatch the affair in about half an hour. They sent word to Mr. Casberd, their counsel, that they would send for him as soon as their jury were sworn, Mr. Tinney informing him that his attendance would be required only for a few minutes, as it would be a matter of form merely to prove the fact, and direct the jury to give a shilling, nominal damages.

This was the Michaelmas Sessions of 1807. Mr. Hunt was then residing at Bath; but in order to come unexpectedly upon the lawyers at Devizes, he did not leave his residence until four o'clock, and drove direct up to the Town Hall. The sheriff's deputy deputy, Mr. Tinney, had just taken his seat upon the Bench, the jury were in the box, and the last man was just about to kiss the book, when Mr. Hunt suddenly burst upon them, and begged the officer to repeat the oath once more, deliberately once more, before the juryman was sworn. He did so as follows—"You shall well and truly try, &c. &c., and a true verdict give *according to the evidence*."

Instead of the usual course being followed, by the counsel for the plaintiff opening his case, the jury and the Court were favoured with an address from the chair by Mr. Tinney, who acted as sheriff. In the most unfair and unjustifiable manner he informed them, that the same writ of inquiry had been executed once before, and that the defendant had prevailed upon the jury to give a verdict which was not warranted by law; that the Court of King's Bench had set that verdict aside; that as the defendant had suffered judgment to go by default, he had admitted the trespass, and therefore the jury were bound to give some damage.

Mr. Hunt listened to this pretty prelude with great un-



concern, and without offering the least interruption to the speaker. Mr. Casberd now addressed them, and very properly said that the sheriff had left him very *little* to do, and at this period, Mr. Hunt strongly suspected that he should have no defence to make; that they had been advised not to call any witnesses; that they meant to rely upon his having suffered judgment to go by default, and on that ground to call upon the jury to give merely nominal damages. His suspicions were however soon removed by the learned counsel saying, that he should call one witness, merely to prove the fact of the trespass, and that he should then claim a verdict of some damages from their hands; as it had been ruled by the Court above, that the jury must give some damages, the defendant having suffered judgment to go by default, and by so doing admitted the trespass.

Mr. Hunt's old friend, the shepherd, was now called, and having deposed to the fact, that he saw the defendant on such a day of the month, six yards upon the down of his master, Mr. Simkins, he was told that he might withdraw. This he was hastily doing, when Mr. Hunt hailed him, and desired him to honour them with his company a little longer, as he just wished to ask him a question or two. Mr. Tinney said that he should protect the witness from answering any improper questions. In reply to this very acute remark, Mr. Hunt observed, that it would be quite in good time to do that, when any improper question was put.

After a great deal of squabbling with the wily Judge upon the occasion, he got the worthy witness, although he had been well drilled, to admit that he had sworn at Warminster, that there was not the thousandth part of a farthing damage done by Mr. Hunt walking six yards over his master's down. This, he at length, admitted to be the fact, and that no damage whatever was done.

Mr. Hunt now addressed the jury in a speech, which took up about an hour, in which he urged them to give them a conscientious verdict, agreeably to the oath which they had



taken, and to assess the damages, according to the evidence which they had heard.

The jury turned round, and were about to consider their verdict, but Mr. Deputy's deputy peremptorily ordered them to withdraw to consider their verdict. Mr. Hunt expostulated against this, and while the discussion was going on, the foreman of the jury said, they were unanimous in their verdict, which was that of NO DAMAGES. This enraged Mr. Deputy to such a degree, that he exposed himself to the ridicule of the whole Court; he insisted upon their withdrawing to reconsider their verdict, said, that he would not except of any such verdict, neither would he record it, and he peremptorily ordered the officer to take them out, that they might reconsider it. Several of the jury had got out of the door, and all of them were removing, but one old gentleman, who sat very firmly on the front seat, and never offered to rise. The officer with his white wand tapped him several times upon the shoulder, and desired him to withdraw. The old man, whose name was David Wadworth, a baker of the town of Devizes, answered each tap with "I shan't." Mr. Deputy's deputy now rose and with an affected solemnity, ordered the old man to withdraw, and reconsider his verdict. He replied, I shan't reconsider my verdict, I have given one verdict, and I shan't give any other. You have given, said the deputy, a verdict of no damages, which is contrary to law, and which I shall not receive, therefore go and reconsider your verdict, for I insist upon your giving some damage. Mr. Hunt here exclaimed, For shame! what a mockery of justice! Mr. Deputy threatened, Mr. Hunt smiled a look of contempt and defiance. Mr. Deputy turned round to the officer, and peremptorily ordered him to turn the old man out, and he began to follow his instructions, by taking him by the collar. The old gentleman, however, was not to be trifled with, for with his elbow he sent the officer to the further end of the jury box, and exclaimed, I won't go out, I won't reconsider my verdict. I will, said the deputy, have some damage, be it ever so small. "I won't give any damages," said the old man. "Why did not the shepherd swear there



wa'nt a mite of grass for a sheep to gnaw? Then how could there be any damage? To'ther 'em may do what they like, but I won't stir a peg, nor alter my verdict. I won't break my oath for you, nor Squire Astley, nor all the Squires in the kingdom."

This speech caused a burst of laughter and universal approbation, Mr. Deputy's deputy now ordered him into custody, and said he would commit him. Against this, Mr. Hunt loudly protested, declaring it false and arbitrary imprisonment. "False imprisonment!" resounded through the court, and great confusion arose. The candles were put out by the audience, and so great was the indignation that was levelled at the mock judge, this Jack in Office, that Mr. Deputy and his companions took the prudent course of making a precipitate retreat, proving to a demonstration that a light pair of heels upon such an emergency, is a very valuable appendage, even to a deputy's deputy. Mr. Hunt returned immediately to Bath, not a little satisfied with the day's proceedings.

The clamour of the party had not, however, yet subsided, for on the first day of the following Term, the 6th day of November, Mr. Casberd after stating a most pitiful case to the Court of King's Bench, moved for a rule to shew cause why the second verdict of no damages should not be set aside, and a new writ executed. The rule was instantly granted, but the plaintiff was ordered to pay the costs of the inquiry held at Devizes, and of the present motion, as a punishment, Mr. Hunt supposed, for not having managed matters better.

As soon as Mr. Hunt received this notice, he repaired to London to consult Mr. Clifford upon opposing the motion, and as he thought with additional grounds of success. But upon hearing the case, Mr. Clifford absolutely refused to shew cause against the rule, declaring that it was useless, and that he would not a second time encounter upon the same subject, the sarcasms of Lord Ellenborough. Well then, said Mr. Hunt, I will myself attend, and shew cause against the rule. Mr. Hunt declares that he could never forget the look of as-



tonishment, which Mr. Clifford put on. He seemed to be absolutely struck speechless. After a considerable pause, however, he exclaimed, What! will you go into the Court of King's Bench to argue a point of law with the four judges, against their own decision? Yes, answered Mr. Hunt, I will, even should there be four hundred judges, and I will state that I have done so, in consequence of your refusing to do it. By G—d, said Mr. Clifford, if you do so, they will commit you. Mr. Hunt smiled, and told him, he thought he knew him better than to suppose that he should be deterred from doing what he conceived to be his duty, by the dread of being committed, or of having any other punishment inflicted upon him. Well, said Mr. Clifford, you may do as you please, but by G—d, Lord Ellenborough will surely commit you. Mr. Hunt replied, that he supposed his lordship would not eat him, and even if he thought he would attempt it, he would go and see, if he would not choke himself. Clifford then asked Mr. Hunt, if he had studied the law upon the subject, upon which he begged him to turn to some Act of Parliament to shew that a jury were bound to give a verdict directly in the teeth of evidence. Clifford admitted there was no law upon the point, but he argued in the language of Lord Ellenborough, that it was a Rule of Court, and that the judges would not listen to him for a moment.

The day, however, arrived, and Mr. Hunt attended the court. At length it came to Mr. Casberd's turn to say, whether he had any motion to make. My Lord, I move for the rule to be made absolute, which I obtained the other day in the case of Simpkins and Hunt, and I call upon the defendant's counsel, my learned friend, Mr. Clifford, to shew cause why the second verdict of "No damages," should not be set aside, and why a fresh writ of inquiry should not be executed before a judge at the Assizes for the county of Wilts.

Mr. Clifford now got up, and said, that he had no instructions, but that the defendant himself was in Court, and as he understood, meant personally to offer something for their lordships consideration. When Mr. Clifford had concluded, Mr.



Hunt rose, immediately Lord Ellenborough and his brothers upon the bench darted their eyes upon him, as if they meant at once to abash and deter him from saying any thing. However, he was not to be put down in this manner, and he began in his homely strain to address them, but before five words were out of his mouth, Lord Ellenborough interrupted him, and in one of his stern tones, demanded if he came there to argue a point of law, upon which they had already decided? Mr. Hunt answered firmly, "I am summoned here to shew cause why a second verdict given in my favour in the cause of Simpkins against Hunt, should not be set aside, and why a third writ of inquiry in the same cause, should not be executed, and if your lordships choose to hear me, I will do so to the best of my ability. Well then! go on, was the answer, in a very rough uncouth voice, and with a frown and a roll upon the bench, which set all the learned friends in a titter.

Mr. Hunt was proceeding to say something, and as he supposed, in rather an awkward and confused manner; when with a sneer in his face, the unmannerly judge bellowed out, "Mr. Casberd told us that the jury at Devizes were influenced by your *persuasive eloquence*, I see nothing of it here." This insult roused Mr. Hunt, and he began now to speak as loud as his lordship, and demanded to be heard without interruption. The amiable judge next inquired, whether he had any affidavits in answer to those filed against him on the part of the plaintiff. Mr. Hunt answered yes, he had many, but he wished to proceed in his own way. This, however, was refused to him. The judge demanded to see the affidavits, and Mr. Hunt consequently produced one made by himself, as well as one from nearly every one of the jurors, who had sitten upon the two former writs of inquiry. These affidavits one and all declared, that the jurymen had given a verdict agreeable to the oath which they had taken, and to the only evidence produced by the plaintiff, and they added that they could not conscientiously give any other verdict. The jurors who sat upon both the inquiries, hearing of the rule that was obtained



to set aside the second verdict, had voluntarily sent up these affidavits in the most handsome manner. Mr. Hunt had, however, no sooner read one of them half through, than Lord Ellenborough, who had been whispering with one of his learned brethren, endeavoured to stop Mr. Hunt, notwithstanding which, he proceeded, till his Lordship jumped up in a violent passion, and in a stentorian voice declared that he should not read those affidavits, that they were not admissible, and that he would not hear them. Mr. Hunt began coolly to argue the point with his Lordship, and contended that they were not only applicable, but material to the justice of the case; and without the Court would hear them, it would be deciding in the dark. The affidavits, Mr. Hunt said, were couched in respectful, and even humble language, and he maintained that the Court was bound in justice to listen to them. Mr. Hunt had by this time overcome the awkward feeling which he at first experienced at being placed in such a situation as that on the floor of the King's Bench, which is, as it were, between a cross fire of gowns and wigs. Stung by his coolness and perseverance, his Lordship jumped up once more, and with the most furious language and gestures, began to browbeat him; actually foaming with rage, some of his spittle literally falling on Masters Lushington and another, who sat under him. Mr. Hunt could scarcely forbear laughing in his face to see a Judge, a Chief Justice in such a ridiculous passion. In a broad, north-country accent, he exclaimed, "Sir! are you come here to teach us our duty?" He was about to proceed, when Mr. Hunt stopped him short, and in a tone of voice a note or too higher than his own, he replied, "No, my Lord! I am not come here with any such purpose or hope; but as an Englishman, I come here into the King's Court to claim justice of his Judges, and I *demand* a hearing; therefore sit down, my Lord, and shew me that you understand your duty, by giving me your patient attention." Mr. Hunt said this in such a determined way, that he instantly sat down, and folding his arms, threw himself back on his seat, where for a considerable time he sat sulkily



listening to what Mr. Hunt had to say; in fact, till he had almost finished.

Mr. Hunt now went on to argue that there was no law to compel a jury to give a verdict contrary to evidence, and he dared them to find twelve honest men in the county of Wilts who would do so. "Nay," said he, "if there be but one honest man upon the jury, I will pledge my life that that jury will give a similar verdict. Your Lordship may decide what the verdict shall be, and what damages I ought to pay, but you will never get a jury, if there be but only one honest man upon it, who will give any damages. If you have hampered yourselves by a ridiculous rule of your own Court, the sooner you do away with such a rule, the better for the character of the Court. I will abide by any decision that you will please to give, but for God's sake, never grant a rule, never make a rule absolute, expressly for the purpose of trying the experiment, whether you cannot compel twelve honest men to perjure themselves, merely to comply with an absurd rule of Court."

The Chief Justice had been biting his lips during the whole of Mr. Hunt's address. But this was too much; it was the truth in plain language, and accordingly he rose up once more, and having recovered himself, he, in rather a dignified tone, called upon Mr. Hunt to forbear, and not insult the Court, or he should be obliged to stop him, which he was unwilling to do, he being anxious to promote the ends of justice, and to hear what Mr. Hunt had to say. Thus after having for nearly an hour done every thing in his power to browbeat him, to put him down, and to prevent his being heard at all, *now* forsooth, *now* that his Lordship found that he was not to be intimidated, he was anxious to promote the cause of justice, and to hear what he had to say.

After going over the tender ground again and again, Mr. Hunt declared, in conclusion, that if they did make the rule absolute, and send it before a Judge and another jury, that he should feel it incumbent upon him to attend and exhort that jury to do their duty, and not to perjure themselves. They



might, he told them, send it down to the assizes, but as they could not have a special jury, he would pledge his life, that they could not pick out twelve common jurymen in the whole county who would give a verdict, which would in effect say, that the twenty-four of their countrymen, who composed the two former juries, had been guilty of perjury. He implored the judges to settle the verdict themselves, in which case, he would abide by it, but not to try the experiment upon another jury, who would be sure to give a similar verdict of "*no damages*."

Lord Ellenborough now made a long palavering speech, urging the necessity of not departing from their former practice; and he expressed his opinion that the rule ought to be made absolute, in which, as a matter of course, his three brethren upon the bench agreed. The rule was therefore made absolute, and a new writ of inquiry ordered to be executed before the judge of assize for the county of Wilts.

The arguments of Mr. Hunt, and the decision of the court were published in all the newspapers, and created a considerable sensation throughout the county amongst the practitioners of the law, and although there was a variety of opinions held as to the legality of the verdict, it was the universal opinion of the county of Wilts, that if Mr. Hunt had attended, and had taken the same ground, as he had done on the two former occasions, another jury would give the same verdict. An attempt was now made to prevent Mr. Hunt being present when the writ was to be executed, and he was aware that several schemes were in agitation to carry that purpose into effect, he, however, treated them with contempt; nevertheless, he was ultimately defeated by means of a most infamous conspiracy.

He was riding out one morning, shooting with a friend, and as he was passing along a lane, he suddenly felt a smart blow on the side, and at the same moment, some one seized him by the flap of his shooting jacket, and nearly pulled him off his horse. When he had recovered himself, his friend, the late Mr. John Oakes of Bath, who had seen the attack made upon him, was demanding of a ruffian the reason for such outrageous



conduct. This man was a person of the name of Stone, a noted bruiser, and who afterwards confessed, that he was specially hired to make this attack upon Mr. Hunt. Fortunately, however, Mr. Hunt was a match for him, for the first blow, which Mr. Hunt struck him, laid him prostrate, and he afterwards followed up his blows so rapidly, that the fellow was completely defeated before he had time given him to make any attempt at retaliation. This, however, was just, what the enemies of Mr. Hunt wanted, for the fellow was immediately advised to prefer at the sessions a bill of indictment against Mr. Hunt for the assault. If he could procure any witness to confirm his story, so much the better, but as no other person was present but Mr. Hunt and his friend, this was no easy matter to be accomplished. The bill was, however, found at the quarter sessions, and the indictment was renewed by *certiorari* into the court of King's Bench, to be tried at the assizes.

At this time, Mr. Hunt had another action brought against him by M. H. Beach Esq., one of the members for Cirencester, for a trespass, so that with this, and the writ of inquiry in the case of Simpkins against Hunt, his hands were pretty full of law business.

The case of the charges brought against the Duke of York by colonel Wardle, now engrossed the whole attention of the country, but they would scarcely deserve any notice in this work, had not a meeting convened at Winchester, for the purpose of expressing the thanks of the people to colonel Wardle, for his patriotic, firm, and candid conduct, been the means of bringing Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett into the presence of each other, as the chief supporters of the measure. Before the meeting commenced, the latter made an unsuccessful effort to unite with the Whigs, that their proceedings might be carried unanimously; but neither Lord Northesk nor Mr. Poulett, would agree to support his resolutions.

Mr. Hunt was then residing at Bath, but being anxious to become better acquainted with the celebrated Mr. Cobbett, who was to be the hero of the day, he repaired to Winches-



ter, but not having at that time any property in the county of Hants, he did not go upon the hustings, but formed one of the crowd in the front of the grand jury room, out of the windows of which, the speakers addressed the multitude. Mr. Poulett addressed the assembly, and proposed a string of resolutions, which were seconded by the Honourable William Herbert, brother of Lord Caernarvon. Mr. Cobbett then came forward, and, in a speech at once clear, argumentative, and eloquent, which was received with raptures of applause, and appeared to carry conviction to the breast of every one present, with the exception of two or three persons who were in the crowd, and who sometimes expressed a sort of disapprobation by talking and endeavouring to interrupt the business of the day, moved a series of resolutions as an amendment to those proposed by Mr. Poulett. These resolutions were seconded by Mr. Chamberlayn of Weston and supported by Mr. Jones of Sway, and while the speeches were making, the three persons continued their interruptions at intervals, and one of them, a little short squat fellow, in boots and leather breeches, made himself particularly obnoxious by his noise. A division was called for, in which, those who were in favour of Mr. Cobbett's amendment were to hold up their hats, the three black-coated gentry were the only persons, who kept their hats on in that part of the meeting, where Mr. Hunt was standing. The thought now struck him, that he would punish the little chattering hero, and he therefore whipped off the little parson's hat, and continued to hold it so high, that with all his efforts he could not reach it, to pull it down. Mr. Cobbett's amendment was carried almost unanimously, two thousand hats nearly being held up in favour of it, and not twenty against it.

The meeting being over, Mr. Hunt had some private conversation with Mr. Cobbett, during which, the latter was informed, that it was the intention of Mr. Hunt to get a requisition signed for a public meeting in the county of Wilts, and Mr. Cobbett was requested to attend it, or to assist in arranging the proceedings. He approved very much of the meeting being



convened, but he declined giving his attendance, or even his interference, giving it as a reason that he was neither a freeholder nor a resident in the county. He concluded by saying, "I will publish your proceedings, and if I were a freeholder, I would cheerfully come forward, but as I am not, you must not expect me."

Mr. Hunt had now obtained the signature of above a hundred persons to a requisition to Sir Charles Malet, the high sheriff for the county of Wilts to convene a meeting, and the city of Salisbury was fixed upon as the most convenient place. Mr. Hunt was now determined to surmount the obstacles which Mr. Cobbett had represented as standing in the way of his attending the meeting, and accordingly he sent for his attorney, and instructed him to prepare a conveyance, a deed of gift of a freehold tenement and garden, which he wished to be delivered immediately to Mr. Cobbett. Mr. Hunt also wrote to Mr. Cobbett, requesting him to meet him and his attorney at Salisbury, begging him at the same time to accept of a freehold in the county of Wilts, that he might no longer have the same excuse for not attending the county meeting, as he had given to him when they met at Winchester. An answer was received from Mr. Cobbett, promising his attendance, and the freehold estate, although a small one, was formally made over to him, thus making him a freeholder of the county, and entitling him not only to be present at the county meetings, but also to vote for the members of the county.

The meeting was held accordingly at Salisbury, and it was the first that was ever held in that county for any other purpose than that of an election, and being called by a requisition of the yeomanry of the county, without the names or influence of either of the factions of whigs and tories. The proceedings were carried on with great spirit and decorum, and from this period, Mr. Hunt may date the commencement of his political intimacy with Mr. Cobbett, who in his Register of the following week, spoke in very exulting terms of the respectability and good order of the meeting. Mr. Hunt had long been a staunch advocate for a reform in the representation of the com-



mons house of Parliament, but the infamous practises which had been developed by Mr. Maddocks in the house on the occasion of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval selling a seat to Mr. Quintin Dick, and then persuading him to vote against colonel Wardle's motion, and the rejection by a large majority of his motion, for an inquiry into those disgraceful practices, so thoroughly rooted in him a conviction of the absolute necessity of such a reform, that he came to a determination within himself, never to cease from his endeavours to obtain it, being perfectly satisfied that without an effectual and radical reform in the House of Commons, the boasted constitution of England would soon become a mere mockery, and the scoff instead of the envy and admiration of surrounding states.

Digressing from political matters, Mr. Hunt was now busily engaged in defending himself in the courts of law at the assizes for the county of Wilts, which were held at Salisbury. As the indictment against him for his assault on the gamekeeper Stone was intended to be made a serious charge, Mr. Hunt was prevailed upon to confide the conducting of his defence to counsel. A brief was accordingly given to Mr. Serjeant Pell. The cause was called on, and Stone swore to the assault, and described it of so severe a nature, as for a time to deprive him of his senses. This was confirmed by two other persons, who never witnessed the transaction. Mr. Hunt's counsel took the alarm, refused to cross-examine the witnesses, and when the plaintiff brought forward a surgeon, who resided at Amesbury to prove that Stone would probably never recover from the beating which he had received, Serjeant Pell was so confounded, that he refused to ask the witnesses a single question. He, however, made a speech, in which he admitted a great deal more than was necessary, and the only witness in his favour, whom Mr. Hunt could produce, was his friend, Mr. John Oakes, who never having given evidence in a court of justice before, was a very awkward, hesitating witness, and received a very severe cross-examination from Mr. Burroughs. Baron Graham summed up, and the jury found Mr. Hunt guilty, and



he entered into his own recognizance to attend in the court of King's Bench, in the ensuing term to receive judgment.

On the following day, the action came on to be tried, which Mr. Beach had brought against Mr. Hunt for a trespass, and having had a sufficiency of the aid of counsel, he determined to conduct his own case. It was reported to Mr. Hunt that Mr. Erskine once observed, "that a man, who pleaded his own cause, had a fool for an advocate." "This may be very true," said Mr. Hunt, "but then I have a consolation in knowing that I have not a rogue for a counsel."

The cause came on for trial, and after much crimination and recrimination on all sides, a verdict of guilty was recorded against Mr. Hunt, and a fine of one shilling, which would have carried costs, had the judge been willing to certify, this, however, he refused to do, and Mr. Beach had his own costs to pay, amounting to above eighty pounds.

At the latter end of May, Mr. Hunt was called up for judgment for the assault upon Stone; he did not employ any counsel, but offered in person what he had to urge in mitigation. The sentence was that Mr. Hunt should be committed to the marshal of the King's Bench for three months. During the time that Mr. Justice Grose was passing sentence, Ellenborough leant back in his seat, and said to Le Blanc, loud enough for Mr. Hunt to hear, "He will not go down to Salisbury to attend the writ of inquiry, and get another verdict of *no damages* this time."

The writ of inquiry against Mr. Hunt was not executed at the spring assizes, it having been put off by the parties, to see whether he would not be in confinement during the summer assizes, when they might have an opportunity of bringing it on in his absence. Notice was, however, served upon him by Astley's attorney, that the writ of inquiry would be executed before the judge of the summer assizes to be held at Salisbury. Mr. Hunt immediately employed Henry Clifford to move the court to delay the inquiry till the following spring assizes, as it was necessary to the due administration of justice, that he should be pre-



sent. This application was refused. He then got Mr. Clifford to move for a writ of Habeas Corpus, that he might be taken down to Salisbury at his own expense to attend the inquiry. This application was also refused; the writ was executed before the judge, who directed the jury to find a shilling damages, after an hours' deliberation, however, they returned a verdict of *a farthing damages.*"

Mr. Hunt was now a second time a prisoner within the walls of the King's Bench prison, and from a sense which the marshal entertained of the *honour* of Mr. Hunt, he allowed him to pass in and out of the prison, on the understanding that he should not go beyond the boundary of the rules. At this period, however, Sir Francis Burdett was a prisoner in the Tower, and Mr. Hunt had not been many mornings in the King's Bench, leaving the prison whenever he pleased on his *paroled' honneur*, than he paid a visit to Sir Francis Burdett, entering his name at the lodge of the Tower as *Mr. Hunt of the King's Bench.* "This," says Mr. Hunt, "was impudent enough, when I was in the Bench in 1800, I paid a visit to Colonel Despard in the Tower, when I was there in 1810, I paid a visit to Sir Francis Burdett in the same place."

There cannot be two opinions respecting the conduct of Mr. Hunt on this occasion. When he paid a visit to the marshal on his commitment, Mr. Jones, said to him. "while you were under my care, you conducted yourself like a gentleman, and acted towards me with *the strictest honour*, and in return, I can only say you are welcome to reside without the walls, but I will not accept a penny of your money, neither will I put you to the slightest expense of giving any security; your word *as a man of honour* is perfectly satisfactory to me, and you are at liberty to go out whenever you please. The only thing which I will accept is when you return into the country, *send me a basket of game, and I shall be perfectly satisfied.\** As an ac-

\* We discredit this statement of the solicitation of the basket of game in toto. Of all men that ever filled a public office, and particularly of the nature of that filled by Mr. Jones, there was perhaps never one less likely to ask for a present from any individual committed to his custody, independently of which, game



knowledge, however, for this liberal, and truly gentlemanly conduct on the part of the marshal, and as a grateful return for the confidence reposed in him, Mr. Hunt commits an action which forfeits his honour, and which, if detected by the high authorities of the court of King's Bench, would have led perhaps to the dismissal of Mr. Jones from his office. Mr. Hunt could not plead for this action the stress of private affairs, or any momentous business by which his immediate interests were endangered. His visit to Sir Francis Burdett was merely an act of common form and ceremony, it could not be attributed even to the common feelings of private friendship, for Mr. Hunt and Sir Francis were scarcely known personally to each other; it was merely their advocacy of the same line of politics, which had made them known to each other, and therefore on no principle of the common feelings of a man of honour can the conduct of Mr. Hunt be justified.

As to the enjoyment of the conversation of a kindred spirit in politics, Mr. Hunt was destined to partake of it in no small degree, for on the 5th of July 1810, Mr. Cobbett was brought up for judgement, having been convicted in the court of King's Bench of a libel, and was remanded until the 9th. In the interim, he was committed to the custody of the marshal, and Mr. Hunt no sooner heard of his arrival at the marshal's house, where he was waiting until some accommodation could be procured for him in the prison, than he hastened to him and offered to relinquish his apartments in the prison for the use of Mr. Cobbett and his family, until he could suit himself to his liking. The offer was accepted by Mr. Cobbett, and what was most satisfactory to Mr. Hunt, it was done without making any annoying apology for the inconvenience, to which, in the mean time, Mr. Hunt might be put in finding accommodation for himself.

It was now that the walls of the King's Bench prison contained two of the most extraordinary men of their times, yet there was a decided difference in their characters. Mr. Cob-

was sent to him in such profusion, that eighteen hampers have been known to be delivered at his residence in one day from one booking office in the city.



bett seemed to be perfectly conscious of his superiority, and was in consequence too prone to look down upon others with rather an unbecoming degree of disdain. On the other hand, Mr. Hunt allowed his character to speak for itself; he made no parade, no ostentation of the great talents which he possessed, but he allowed them to make their own impression, and as it was not done with design, the effect was the greater. There was also a selfishness attached to the character of Cobbett, which was wholly foreign to that of Hunt; the former was very willing to *receive* an act of kindness, the latter was very willing to *grant* it, and herein lay the distinctive marks of their respective characters; Mr. Hunt from an innate generosity of disposition took a pleasure in obliging a friend, even to the detriment of his own personal interest; Mr. Cobbett in all his actions had an eye to his own interests, for acts of disinterested friendship were with him like angels visits, very few and far between. Mr. Hunt would run to any extreme to save a friend; Mr. Cobbett would ponder long, and weigh the consequences which might result to himself, before he ventured to rescue a friend from an impending danger. He fulfilled with the most laudable propriety the relations of father and husband, but the relation of friend was unknown to him. As a proof of the friendly conduct of Mr. Hunt towards Mr. Cobbett, the following circumstances will bear ample proof, and they shall be related in Mr. Hunt's own words.

“While Mr. Cobbett was in the King's Bench,” says Mr. Hunt, “he was violently attacked by some of the writers belonging to the public press, and accused of having offered to compromise with the government by giving up his register, and undertaking to write no more upon politics. Amongst this number was Mr. Leigh Hunt of the Examiner; no man felt more indignant at this attack upon my friend than I did, and as I was made to believe that there was not the slightest foundation for this calumny, I lost no opportunity to condemn in the most unqualified terms, all those, who had been guilty of such base conduct, as that of falsely accusing a man



at such a moment, of that which, I held to be a political crime of the deepest dye. ‘Love me, love my dog;’ was a maxim that was firmly implanted in my breast. They, therefore, that injured my friend, made me his enemy, nay, I was much more ready to resent an insult offered to my friend, than I was to resent an injury done to myself. It seems I was yet very young in the ways of the world, so instead of leaving Mr. Cobbett (who was so very capable) to defend himself, I became his champion, and assailed all those who had attacked him.

“ I considered the conduct of Mr. Leigh Hunt as most unworthy, he being a writer in the cause of liberty, and praising those principles of good government for which Mr. Cobbett as well as myself, had been so earnestly contending. I charged him with wishing to raise his fame and fortune upon my friend’s downfall, and this was so strongly impressed upon my mind, that I believed it to be the sole cause of his propagating what I considered the foulest and most wanton calumny. I consequently spared him not, and so far was my friend from checking my imprudent zeal, that he encouraged it, and what made me the more earnest, was, that he held it to be more dignified, that he himself should treat such preposterous slander with silent contempt. I laid on also most unmercifully on the editor of the Times, on the same account, both publicly and privately, by which indiscreet warmth for my friend, I rendered two of the most powerful public writers of the day, and who had the most extensive means of disseminating their opinions, my most implacable enemies. For many years, the columns of the Examiner poured forth on every occasion the most bitter sarcasms, and the most unjust and wanton attacks upon my character, both public and private, and this too at a time, when I had not the slightest means of defence, as I had not the least possible power or influence over the smallest portion of the public press. To be sure, I have no one to blame but myself, as at the time, many good friends warned me of my folly. Their argument was, what have you to do



with Cobbett's quarrels, is he not capable of defending himself? But although I daily suffered the most severe attacks from the public papers, I still had the hardihood to persevere in his behalf, and I never for a moment doubted the correctness of my assertions, till one day that I was passing under Temple Bar, I chanced to meet Mr. Peter Finnerty. At some public meeting on the preceding day, I had been attacking some of the editors of the public press for their cowardly falsehoods and calumnies against my friend Cobbett. Drawing me aside, Mr. Finnerty began to reason with me in the most friendly and convincing language; he pointed out to me the folly of attacking the editors of the Examiner, the Morning Chronicle, and the Times in defence of Mr. Cobbett's conduct, when I had no means of repelling the attacks of those writers upon my own character. Even," said he, "had you proof of the truth of your assertions, that Cobbett never offered to compromise with the government, even then, it would be great folly in you to take up the cudgels for him, you, who have not in any portion of the press, the slightest means of vindicating your own intentions. *You* have drawn down a nest of hornets upon your own head; it is quite a different thing with Cobbett, he has all the means of defence, he has a great command of the press, and besides, it sells his register into the bargain. Follow the advice which I give you as a friend; take care of yourself, you will have quite enough to do to answer for yourself, and do leave Cobbett to do the same.'

"This exhortation was delivered in so earnest a manner, that I sometimes began to think that I might with possibility have been wrong. I was certainly more guarded in future, but all the mischief was done. I had excited the most inveterate hatred of the Examiner and the Times, neither of which papers ever let slip an opportunity to abuse, vilify, and misrepresent me. They certainly have had more ample revenge upon me for my folly and credulity. They have both occasionally made the *amende honorable*, and I believe that the editor of the Examiner has been long since convinced, that I was actuated by



the most honourable feeling in resenting his attack upon Mr. Cobbett.

During the term of Mr. Hunt's incarceration, the cause of Wright *versus* Cobbett was tried, and certain facts were then brought to light which opened the eyes of Mr. Hunt, and drew from him the acknowledgement, that in his warm and zealous advocacy of Mr. Cobbett, he had been led away by an enthusiastic disposition of befriending the oppressed and injured, without at the moment stopping to make the inquiry whether the object were worthy of it.

On the ninth of July 1810, Mr. Cobbett was brought up for judgment for the libel, of which, he had been convicted by a special jury. The sentence was two years imprisonment in Newgate, a fine of £1000 to the king, and to find security for his good behaviour for seven years. "Thus" says Mr. Hunt, the boroughmongers had got myself in the King's Bench, and Mr. Cobbett in Newgate," and to close the account of the former, he adds, "I was a prisoner in the King's Bench when Despard was in the Tower; I visited *him* with Henry Clifford. I was also a prisoner in the custody of the marshal, while Sir Francis Burdett was a prisoner in the Tower, and I frequently visited *him*, and I also very frequently visited Mr. Cobbett in Newgate. I mention this, to shew what sort of imprisonment it is, being in the King's Bench. In fact, it is no imprisonment at all. I was in the custody of the marshal, and he knew *that I should not attempt an escape*, and therefore I went where I pleased."

Mr. Hunt must have known, and did know, that if he had been detected on London Bridge on his way to the Tower, it was as much an escape in the eye of the law, and that the individual to whose custody he was committed was as liable to be called to account for that escape, as if he had been caught upon his farm at Chisenbury in Wiltshire.

On the termination of Mr. Hunt's imprisonment, he returned to Sans Soucie cottage near Bath, where he enjoyed the sports of the field with as great a zest as ever, and as a



proof of which, he sent his prosecutor, Michael Hicks Beach, a present of a beautiful pillow, made of the hare's *skins*, which he had preserved, amounting to a hundred and fifty, covered with satin, and which was sent as a mark of the contempt in which he was held, and as a trophy of the sport which Mr. Hunt had enjoyed during the season. This was taken, as Mr. Hunt meant it to be, in great dudgeon, and Mr. Beach complained of it very bitterly to some of his friends. Mr. Hunt had, however, in some degree retired from the sporting world; he had become so very heavy and corpulent, that few horses could be found which could carry him through a day's sport, nor would his finances at this time support the establishment of a hunting stud, such as he had kept at a previous period of his life. He, however, soon got tired of an inactive life, and therefore took a large farm at Rowfont, near East Grinstead in Sussex, consisting of a good mansion, a thousand acres of land, and the manorial rights of the whole parish of Worth, extending over upwards of twenty thousand acres, upon which he retired at Lady day in 1811.

There are some parts of the life of Mr. Hunt, on which he appears to be very solicitous to throw a veil, as if some transaction were connected with them, which might redound to his discredit. During the early part of Mr. Hunt's life, the farm at Chisenbury was always represented to be one of the first order, the produce and stock of it to be of extreme value, and the concern on the whole to be one of the most undoubted respectability. It might therefore be supposed as natural, that he would be loth to relinquish a concern from which such large profits accrued to him, and to which, he must have been greatly attached, as having been in the possession of his father, and in some degree the foundation of his fortune. It, cannot, however, have escaped the observation of the readers, of Mr. Hunt's life, that his fortunes and his prosperity began to decline from the moment of his immoral connection with Mrs. V—e. Whatever he might allege of the great extent of the domestic happiness which he enjoyed, it is nevertheless undoubted, that his society was shunned by many of the most



respectable of his former friends and associates, and that he sought in the turmoil and bustle of a political life, for that abstraction of thought, which must necessarily have accompanied him, when he directed his attention to the highly respectable mode of life, which he led, when living in the bosom of his family, respected and esteemed by all around him. Mr. Hunt informs us that he sold his stock off his Chisenbury farm, but of the motive for his parting with it, he is totally silent. Had he, however, remained without entering again into the farming line, no suspicions perhaps would have been excited as to the cause which *obliged* him to leave Chisenbury; but as he took another large farm at a considerable distance, and in a different county; we are perhaps warranted in drawing our conclusions, that the surrender of Chisenbury was compulsory on the part of Mr. Hunt, and that from some circumstances, which he did not think proper to disclose, but which may easily be guessed at, his further residence in that part of the country was no longer agreeable or suitable for him.



## CHAPTER XVII.

IN the early part of the spring of 1811. Mr. Hunt went to live *with his family* at Rowfont House, near East Grinstead, being situated about thirty miles from London. This gave him an opportunity of frequently visiting his friend, Mr. Cobbett in Newgate. The following statement as given by Mr. Hunt himself, will show the extraordinary enthusiasm and zeal with which he acted towards Mr. Cobbett, and for which, he afterwards received such an ungrateful return. When Mr. Cobbett was in the King's Bench, and before he was called up for judgement, he expected that he should be sentenced to some distant county gaol, and in case it had been so, Mr. Hunt promised him that, wherever it was, *he would come and take lodgings in the town, and visit him for a week or a fortnight at a time, several times during his imprisonment.* This, however, was rendered unnecessary by his imprisonment in London.

We shall now enter upon a brief recital of those circumstances which led to Mr. Hunt being a candidate for the representation of Bristol, in June 1812. Ever since the previous general election, when the electors had been humbugged by Sir John Jervis, and had attempted to wreak their vengeance upon Mr. Bragge Bathurst, he had at various times publicly declared his intention to offer himself as a candidate for that city. Neither of the sitting members relished the idea of standing another contest, and therefore intimated their intention to resign, which Mr. Hunt attributes entirely to his intimation of becoming a candidate. Mr. Hunt was not, however, to walk over the course as quietly as he expected, for Mr. Protheroe offered himself as a whig member, and Mr. Richard Hart Davis as the tory member, and it was supposed that they would have been returned without any opposition what-



ever by the two factions, had it not been for the threatened interference of Mr. Hunt, who was avowedly a candidate that would excite a popular feeling.

This consideration induced some, of what are called the liberal or foxite whigs, to think of looking out for a more popular whig candidate than Mr. Protheroe, for the purpose of taking away the votes from Mr. Hunt. After several meetings had been held upon the subject, it was determined upon by a little faction to invite Sir Samuel Romilly to become a candidate. Mr. Hunt in his usual spirit of gasconading, declares that it was he alone, who put the city of Bristol into a ferment, and certainly it cannot be concealed that his popularity was not so great as he thought it was, when the rival factions, as he styles them, put up such a candidate against him, and his own faction, or as he calls them a little gang of intriguers made up their minds to put Sir Samuel Romilly forward, not as Mr. Hunt believed with the slightest expectation, that they would carry his election, but under the firm conviction that he would very largely divide the popularity with him.

Thus it was that Sir Samuel Romilly was made the cat's paw of this faction, for the purpose of destroying all chances of Mr. Hunt becoming the representative of Bristol. As soon as they had announced their intention to support Sir Samuel Romilly, they, the whigs took the greatest pains to circulate the report and create the impression, that Mr. Hunt was offering himself as a candidate, merely to oppose "*the amiable Sir Samuel Romilly*;" these corrupt factious knaves, always taking care to keep out of view, that this gentleman was already a member of Parliament for the Duke of Norfolk's rotten borough of Arundel, which seat he was to retain as long as he lived, if he chose to do so. But it was necessary for their sinister purposes, to bring upon the scene this gentleman, who bore an excellent character, and who amongst the whigs was considered as a prodigy of perfection.

Notwithstanding that Sir Samuel Romilly was set up against Mr. Hunt instead of Mr. Hunt being set up against him, he having constantly before Sir Samuel's name was ever men-



tioned, avowed his intention of becoming a candidate, yet as soon as a meeting had been called at the Crown and Anchor in London, and a sum of eight thousand pounds had been subscribed by the whigs to support him, Mr. Hunt publicly offered to resign his pretensions and give his whole support to the knight, if he would only pledge himself to espouse the cause of reform in the House of Commons. This offer was, however, declined, or at least treated with silent contempt, but the venal press did not cease railing against him for opposing Sir Samuel Romilly.

A day was appointed for Sir Samuel to make his public entry into Bristol, contrary, however, to his expectation of being received in an enthusiastic manner, he was met by a volley of abuse and a general burst of disapprobation. This was in some degree owing to the company in which he presented himself, being that of alderman Noble, at that time one of the most unpopular men in Bristol, and in addition to which, it had been announced that Mr. Tierney would accompany Sir Samuel. But the name of Tierney at this precise period, popular as it once was, was not calculated to render Sir Samuel any great service. Before the whigs had been in place, and Mr. Tierney like the rest of them, had been tried and found wanting, it might have answered very well for him to have introduced a popular candidate to the city of Bristol, for at that time he professed himself to be not only the champion, but the child of liberty. At the time when he branded with so much spirit and eloquence, the income tax of Pitt, and declared in his place in parliament, that the income tax was such an odious and unconstitutional measure, "that the people of England would be justified in taking up arms to resist the collection of it, at that time, when Mr. Tierney so strenuously and brilliantly opposed all the ruinous measures of Pitt, at that time, if he had proposed to go to Bristol, he might have been received with approbation by the people, and his name might have added to the popularity of any man. But since Mr. Tierney had been in office with the whigs, since he



had become a splendid pensioned apostate from his former opinions, since he had been kicked out of the borough of Southwark for his apostacy, since he had while in the whig administration, advocated and supported an additional income tax, and voted for almost all those measures when in place, which he had opposed when out of place ; since these things had occurred, the name of Mr. Tierney was calculated to injure the popularity of any man to whom he linked himself. Thus of itself, the announcement that Mr. Tierney was to attend Sir Samuel Romilly was enough to damn his popularity with every real friend of liberty in the city. But when he appeared side by side with alderman Noble, all hopes of his ever being popular in Bristol were at an end.

It was asserted, and the assertion has been often repeated, that Mr. Hunt was instrumental to this unfavourable reception of Sir Samuel Romilly, but this has no foundation in truth. None of Mr. Hunt's friends knew of his being, or of his intending to be at Bristol on that day. He had entered the city privately, and had walked up to the exchange from the inn, *without exciting the attention of any one* ; and in fact, no man was more sorry than Mr. Hunt was, that such a man should have been treated so unfairly, as he was by his party, that he should in the first place, have been so ill advised, as to have his name coupled with that of Mr. Tierney, and then that he should be accompanied by the most unpopular and most odious man in the whole city, and one, who since he had been driven from the city, had become a placeman under the government.

The friends of Mr. Hunt were doubtless prepared to scrutinize his speech with rather a sceptical feeling, but not one of his friends would on this account have interrupted him or have done any thing to prevent him from being heard, on the contrary, there was a general disposition amongst the friends of Mr. Hunt to support Sir Samuel in conjunction with him.

In vain did Sir Samuel attempt to speak, he was literally



hissed, hooted, and groaned at from the window at a time, when he expected every one would have been anxious to hear him, and to listen to him with the greatest attention. A pause ensued, and no one on the part of Sir Samuel attempted to come forward. Mr. Hunt mounted upon one of the copper pedestals, which stands in the front of the exchange, and he was instantly hailed with shouts from all those who knew him, which at that time, could not have been more than half the persons present.

As we are always desirous to give Mr. Hunt the opportunity of relating any particular incident of his life in his own peculiar manner, we shall not in this instance depart from that plan, not doubting but that there are few of our readers, who will not discover in several passages, one of the prevailing traits of his character.

“My name,” says Mr. Hunt, “was rapidly communicated from one to the other, and before I could begin to address them, they gave three cheers for Mr. Hunt, *which was proposed by some one present*. The moment I began to speak, the most profound silence reigned around, and in a speech of an hour and forty minutes, I was interrupted only by the applause of my hearers, and *by the anxiety which they expressed, that I should put on my hat, as it rained*. This inconvenience was soon obviated by a gentleman being elevated with an umbrella, which he held over my head, till I had concluded. During the address I avowed myself the warm advocate for radical reform, and declared myself the staunch friend of Sir Francis Burdett and the principles which he professed. I went through a history of the proceedings of the whig administration, and recounted the sinecures, pensions, and unmerited places held by the Grenvilles and other boroughmongers of that faction, but when I came to speak of the conduct of the law officers of that administration, during the continuance of which, Sir Samuel Romilly was one of those officers; when I touched on their having drawn up the famous acts of Parliament passed by the whig ministry, during the reign of *one year, one month, one week, and one day*, when I came to speak of *this*, the windows of the room, in which Sir Samuel



Romilly and his friends were in the Bush tavern, opposite where I stood, were pettishly shut down by some one. The moment that the people saw this, they exclaimed, 'Look ! look ! they are ashamed to hear the truth, and they have shut the windows to prevent its coming amongst them !' This shutting the windows, the populace took as an insult offered to them, and they vociferously demanded that they should be reopened, and this demand was made in such an unequivocal and peremptory manner, that the gentry, after some slight hesitation, complied with the wishes of the multitude. I continued to address the people for nearly an hour after this time, although at the outskirts of the crowd in Clare Street, there was a waiter with Sir Samuel Romilly's colours in his hat, who announced that the dinner was waiting ; in consequence of which several attempts were made in vain by some persons in the Bush, to force their way out of that house, through the dense crowd ; that not only occupied the whole of the front of the tavern, but extended for a very considerable distance above and below, even up to Broad Street, and down to Small Street, so that it was absolutely impossible for any one to pass, whilst I was addressing the people. This was most galling to Sir Samuel Romilly's friends, who from this circumstance were actually prisoners in the Bush nearly an hour and half after the dinner had been ready at the assembly rooms in King Street, where the party were going to dine, but if their lives had been at stake, not a man of them could have got out till I had finished my speech, for the crowd had consequently increased since I had begun. After having exhausted my strength, I ended amidst the most deafening shouts of approbation, the whole of the immense populace accompanied me to my inn, and left Sir Samuel and his friends a clear course to proceed to their dinner."

The whigs were excessively annoyed by the inauspicious manner in which Sir Samuel was greeted, and not less so by the exposure which Mr. Hunt made of their politics and principles. The editor of the Morning Chronicle and other papers in London gave, however, a flattering account of the



public entry of Sir Samuel Romilly into Bristol, they said that he was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, and they published a speech which he had delivered to the people at the Bush tavern window, and which they unblushingly affirmed to have been received with the greatest applause; but they forgot to say one word about a speech of nearly two hours, which Mr. Hunt delivered. They published the account of a speech of a quarter of an hour, not one word of which was heard, while the speech that was heard and attentively listened to, they never noticed at all.\* This was so glaringly unfair and partial, that the indignation of Mr. Hunt was raised to the highest pitch, and even Mr. Cobbett wrote a very long and able paper upon the subject, exposing and chastising the whigs for their duplicity and deception, and at the same time, he did not fail to represent the conduct of Mr. Perry in its true colours.

A dissolution of parliament had been expected for some time, but an occurrence now took place that caused a sudden and unexpected vacancy for the city of Bristol. Mr. Bragge Bathurst was appointed to the lucrative office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, one of the most valuable places in the gift of the sovereign, or rather of his ministers. This appointment was no sooner made known, than Mr. Hart Davis, who was then member for Colchester, accepted the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds for the purpose of becoming a candidate for Bristol, on the ministerial interest.

The writ for electing a member for Bristol was moved for in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 24th June, Mr. Hunt, however, did not hear of it until the following Thursday, and he resolved upon starting immediately for that city, and he arrived in Bath at ten o'clock on the Saturday morn-

\* This reminds us of an anecdote of the celebrated Jack Fuller, who not seeing one of his speeches in the House of Commons, reported in the papers, wrote to the editors, threatening for their act of gross negligence never to speak again. What an advantage it would be to the country, if the majority of the members would follow the example of Jack Fuller.



ing. It appears, however, from Mr. Hunt's own account, that although on the previous Wednesday, he had not the remote intention of visiting either Bath or Bristol, yet that by some inspiration, some most extraordinary presentiment, the people of the former place were looking out for him, and even some of the people of Bristol had actually arrived in Bath in full expectation of witnessing his arrival. We see here a positive effect without the probability of arriving at the cause of it. The good people of Bath and Bristol must have been highly favoured with the gift of prescience as to have been able to calculate so nicely the motions of Mr. Hunt, who was nearly two hundred miles distant from them, and thereby to decide upon exactly the very day and hour in which he would arrive amongst them, he not having favoured them with any communication on the subject. On the contrary, he informs us that he was just sitting down to dine with his family at Rowfont, when the papers arrived, announcing the motion in the House of Commons for a new writ for Bristol, and his immediate determination to depart on the following morning for London, and thence by the first conveyance to Bath.

"At the appointed hour," says Mr. Hunt, "I arrived at Totterdown, where I was met by an immense multitude, who took my horses from the carriage and drew me into the city, and through the principal streets, till they arrived at the front of the exchange, which they had fixed upon as the theatre of *my public orations*, in consequence of my having accidentally mounted one of the pedestals on the memorable day of Sir Samuel Romilly's public entry into Bristol. I left the carriage, remounted the pedestal, and addressed at least twenty thousand of the inhabitants, who had accompanied me thither with the most deafening shouts. I never had seen such enthusiasm in my life. I briefly animadverted upon the trick which was intended to have been played off upon them by the worthy leaders of both the factions in that city, who had united for the purpose of stealing a march upon the electors; a trick, which I had no doubt my opportune arrival



would frustrate, and pledged myself to be at the Guildhall in due time on Monday morning, on which day, the election was fixed to be held."

Mr. Davis, who was a banker of Bristol, had made his public entry in the morning of the same day, attended by his friends, amidst very evident marks of disapprobation from the assembled multitude. So sure was this gentleman of success, and so little had his friends anticipated any opposition, that they had actually got every thing prepared for chairing him, and had ordered the dinner to celebrate the event, having calculated that the election would be nothing more than a mere matter of form, which would occupy them only for a very few hours. But the arrival of Mr. Hunt, and the enthusiastic reception which he had met with, made some of Mr. Davis' partizans begin to fear that the victory would not be so easily gained, or the contest so speedily terminated, as they at first sanguinely hoped. Still the old electioneering managers calculated upon carrying their point by one of their old tricks, or by *a ruse de guerre*, but in this, as the sequel will show, they reckoned without their host. Before Mr. Hunt got into the mail at London, he purchased Disney's abridgement of election law, a part of which he read before it grew dark, and although this publication is the least to be relied on of any, yet it furnished him with sufficient law upon the subject, not only to set completely their intended projects at defiance, but also to enable him to keep the poll open for fifteen days, the whole time that the law then allowed.

Mr. Hunt shall now relate the election in his own words. "Monday came, and at an early hour the bludgeon men of Mr. Davis had got possession of Broad Street, where the Guildhall is situated. I sallied forth from my inn, the Talbot, and having addressed a few words to the multitude upon the Exchange, I proceeded down Broad Street with some of my friends, and reached the hall door before it was opened. I immediately placed my back against it, and proclaimed to the surrounding throng, that I would be the first to enter that hall, and that I would be the last that would leave it,



while there was a freeman of the city unpolled. Notwithstanding I was now in the midst of the enemy, this declaration was received with a burst of applause, which made the old walls of this *scene of iniquity* ring again. At length the sheriffs Brice and Brickley arrived, attended by all the paraphernalia of office, in company with Mr. Richard Hart Davis, whom I now eyed for the first time. All persons were pompously commanded to stand back from the door, but I had a sturdy set of friends to support me, and they stood as firm as a rock, and almost as immoveable. For some time, the jacks in office attempted in vain to approach the door, till at length I requested that those who were near it would fall back and make way for the sheriffs, *which request was instantly complied with.* I was the first man who entered after the sheriffs, and the rush was tremendous. I was also one of the first that reached the hustings in the Guildhall, and being once there, I had not the least doubt, but I should by and bye make a due impression upon the persons there assembled.

“Mr. Davis was proposed and seconded by two members of the White Lion club, who were also members of the corporation. I was proposed and seconded by two freemen in the humble walks of life, journeymen, I believe, of the names of Pimm and Lydiard, men, who although they did not move in an elevated sphere, yet for native talent and honourable feelings as far excelled the proposers of Mr. Davis as the sun excels in splendour the twinkling of the smallest star. Both the candidates addressed the crowded assemblage. I avowed myself to be the staunch friend of radical reform, and the enemy of all oppression, and I tendered an oath to the mayor, that I would never receive one sixpence of the public money drawn from the pockets of an impoverished and starving people, and that if elected, I would move for the immediate reduction of all extravagant salaries and the total abolition of all sinecures and unmerited pensions, &c. &c.

“The sheriff, little master Brice, put it to the vote in the usual way by a shew of hands, which of us, the freemen would have for their member. The shew of hands was in my favour by an



immense majority. Mr. Davis then demanded a poll, and after a vote or two had been taken for each party, the sheriffs adjourned the poll till the next morning at nine o'clock. This was of course done to give the unpopular candidate time to collect his forces, and to put in motion the whole machinery of corrupt influence, and where that failed, the stronger means of unconstitutional dictation and arbitrary power.

On retiring from the hustings, Mr. Davis had to endure every species of popular execration, while *I was saluted by the overwhelming applause* of the whole multitude with, the exception of the agents of authority and wealth, and the whole of the corporation and its tools. If the people of Bristol had possessed the privilege of giving their votes by ballot, Mr. Hunt verily believed that he would have had on his side, eight out of every ten of the population of the city. It was evidently a contest between the rich and the poor; the whole of the former were openly for Davis; the whole of the latter, with the exception of those, who were hired by the other party, were every man, woman, and child for Hunt, and even of those who were hired, there were numbers, who could not conceal their good wishes for the latter, and the abhorrence of the party for whom they were acting.

In this election, Mr. Hunt found an able assistant in Mr. Cobbett, who although at that time a prisoner in Newgate, yet promoted the cause for which Hunt was contending, by the aid of his powerful pen. On this occasion, he published three letters to the electors of Bristol, in his Register, *all* of which carry with them the most striking proofs of his great and vigorous mind. Willingly, if our limits would permit, would we give a full transcript of these letters, but we must content ourselves with making a few extracts, which we are certain will be acceptable to our readers.

First in regard to the subject of parliamentary reform. It appears that for the purpose of securing the election of Sir Samuel Romilly, a meeting was held at the Crown and Anchor in London to raise money by subscription for defraying



the expences of Sir Samuel's election, but says Cobbett, "At this meeting there was nothing said about a parliamentary reform, without which, you must be satisfied no good of any consequence can be done. There was indeed at the meeting a person of the name of Mills, who said he came from Bristol, and he observed, that the great majority of the inhabitants of Bristol *felt* perfectly convinced of the necessity of SOMETHING LIKE reform. And is this all? does your conviction go no further than this? I remember that when a little boy, I was crying to my mother for a bit of bread and cheese, and that a journeyman carpenter, who was at work, hard by, compassionately offered to *chalk me out a big piece upon a board*. I forget the way in which I vented my rage against him, but the offer has never quitted my memory. Yet really this seems to come up to the motion of Mr. Mills; the carpenter offered me SOMETHING LIKE a big piece of bread and cheese. Oh no, gentlemen, it is not this *something like* that you want, *you want the thing itself*."

Speaking comparatively of Mr. Hunt and Sir Samuel Romilly, as proper persons to represent the city of Bristol, Cobbett says of the former, "He does not content himself with *talking* about defending your liberties. He *acts* as well as he *talks*. He hears that the enemy is at your camp, and he flies to rescue you from his grasp. He does not waste his time in a tavern in London, drawing up flourishing resolutions about 'public spirit.' He hastens among you; *he looks your and his adversary in the face*. he shows *that you may depend upon him in the hour of trial*. These, gentlemen, are marks of such a character in a representative as the times demand. Sir Samuel Romilly is a very worthy gentleman; an honest man; a humane man, a man that could not in my opinion, be by any means tempted to do a cruel or dishonest act, and is too, a man of great talent. But I have no scruple to say that I should prefer, and greatly prefer Mr. Hunt to Sir Samuel Romilly as a member of parliament, for while I do not know and do not believe that the latter excels the former in honesty or humanity. I am



convinced that his talents, though superior perhaps *in their kind*, are not equal in value to the public to the talents professed by Mr Hunt, who is at this moment giving you a specimen of the effect of those talents."

The following is worthy of perusal by every individual belonging to this law-ridden country.

"Gentlemen, the predominance of lawyers in this country has produced amongst us, a very erroneous way of thinking with respect to the talents of public men, and contrary to the notions of the world in general, we are apt to think a man great in mind in proportion to the glibness of his tongue. With us to be a *great talker* is to be a great man, but perhaps a falser rule of judging never was adopted. It is so far from being true as a general maxim, that it is generally the contrary of the truth, and if you look back through the list of our public men, you will find that in general, they have been shallow and mischievous in proportion to their gift of talking. We have been brought to our present miserable state, by a lawyer-like policy, defended in lawyer-like debates. Plain good sense has been brow-beaten out of countenance; has been talked down by the politicians from the bar, haranguing and special pleading and quibbling have usurped the place of frank and explicit statement and unsophisticated reasoning. In Mr. Hunt you have no lawyer, but you have a man who is not to be brow-beaten into silence. You have a man not to be intimidated by the power or threats of wealth or rank; a man not to be induced to abandon his duty towards you from any consideration of danger to himself, and I venture to fortell, begging that my words may be remembered, that if you elect him, the whole country will soon acknowledge the benefit conferred on it by the city of Bristol."

It is undoubted that Mr. Hunt entered upon the election at Bristol, with every disadvantage against him. He had no allies but the people, but of them, indeed, he had the great mass with him, but though he had well wishers in all the richer classes, yet there was scarcely a single man



beyond the rank of a journeyman, who had the courage openly to give him any countenance or support. The whigs and tories united with all their accumulated force against him. He had therefore to contend single-handed against all the power, wealth, and influence of all parties and factions in the city. All the corporation, all the merchants, all the tradesmen, all the clergy and priests, whether of the church of England or of the numberless sects of dissenters, all these, and all, whom they could array under their banners were volunteers to uphold the most corrupt and profligate system of election that ever disgraced the rottenest of rotten boroughs. Then came the hireling legion, consisting of a swarm of more foul and noxious vermin than Moses inflicted upon the land of Egypt. It was made up of all the attorneys and pettifoggers, with their clerks, scamps, and runners, every man, or rather every reptile of them being profusely fed to bark, to snarl, to cavil, and to bully, and all of them more ravenous and ferocious than sharks and wolves. It is indeed almost a libel upon the sharks and wolves to compare them with such creatures. It is perhaps impossible to give a better idea of them than in the forcible, though rather coarse language of a mechanic, who declared that "if hell were raked with a small tooth comb, it would not be possible to collect another such a gang."

"I requested my committee," says Mr. Hunt, "to procure me a list of those worthy limbs of the law, and if I recollect, right, the number was forty one. There they were, whigs and tories, bitter haters of each other on all other occasions, but now jumbled together like pigs in a sty, or like hungry curs of all sorts of a mis-begotten and degenerate breed. Oh! how this blessed band did roar and bluster, and pretend to be shocked and horrified at my matchless impudence in thinking to oppose the amiable and mighty candidate of the White Lion club.

"The hungry, grasping, quirking attorneys, though they were all the time pretending to be shocked at my opposition to the worthy Mr. Davis, were in fact frightened out of



their senses, every moment of the first day, lest I should make a slip so as to enable their worthy leader, Mr. Arthur Palmer, the perpetual under-sheriff, to take an advantage of it and close the election. These mercenaries were all hired at five guineas a day each, as long as the election lasted. This squire Palmer, this perpetual tormentor of the poor distressed debtors of the city, was a cavilling, quibbling empty-headed, testy, old, womanish chap, scarcely worthy to be designated by the title of a man. He was eternally yelping, like a cur, without any rhyme or reason, and the character of the whole of the pack may be estimated by the description that has here been given of the foremost hound.

“ There was another of this gang, who put himself very forward. and who was very insolent to some of my friends. Such a looking creature, I had scarcely ever seen in human form ; he had coal black, straight hair, hanging down a sallow looking face that had met with very rough usage from the ravages of the small-pox. In fact, his face resembled a piece of cold, dirty, honey-combed tripe, and had very little more expression in it, and the whole was completed by two heavy dark eyes, which looked like leaden bullets stuck in clay. This worthy had been going on for some time in an impertinent way, on which I was about to admonish him, and as a preliminary, I asked him with great coolness, pray sir, is not your name Leach ? Yes, said he, it is *Leech*, and I should like to suck thy blood. This was esteemed a brilliant sally of wit, and was received with noisy approbation by his surrounding friends. Well ! I thought to myself, I am amongst a precious set of cannibals, and it will require all my temper to manage myself with such a tribe.

There sat the sheriffs. The one of them, Mr. sheriff Brice a sugar baker, was as upstart, whipper-snapper, waspish, a little gentleman as ever disgraced the seat of office. I soon discovered that I was not to expect from him an atom of liberality or fair play. Mr. Benjamin Bickley, the other sheriff, appeared to be an easy, good sort of man, that wished to take it all very coolly and unconcernedly, to wit, ‘ you may settle it



just as you please, gentlemen; or some such answer as that, when he was appealed to. However, there was altogether, a spirit of fairness about him, which when it came to the push, he had too much honesty to disguise, so that when he could be made to interfere, it was generally with impartiality. Such were the two sheriffs, and the returning officers, but as they thought it quite beneath them to understand any thing about the law of election, they had their assessor, a barrister, to settle all the law points with me; this assessor was Edmond Griffith Esq. who afterwards became one of the police magistrates of the metropolis. The points of law, however, I carried nineteen times out of twenty, for I had Disney's abridgement at my fingers end, and that authors' volume we made the umpire in all contested points. With the exception, however, of the fair and gentlemanly conduct pursued towards me by Mr. Griffith and Mr. sheriff Bickley, I can safely affirm that I never received an act of civility, liberality, or fair play from any of that class, that call themselves gentlemen in Bristol, during the whole fifteen days that the election lasted. But to make amends for this, I received numerous acts of kindness from many worthy tradesmen, and such proofs of devoted attachment from almost the whole of the population, male and female, with the exception of the hirelings and dependants of the gentry, as I have never seen surpassed to this day.

"Between the time of adjourning the poll to that of meeting again the following morning, I received no less than half a score anonymous letters, threatening my life if I appeared at the hall next day. This had of course no weight with me, but it shows by what a gang of desperadoes I was surrounded. I had not the least doubt of their goodwill to put this threat into effect, *it was the fear of a dreadful retribution alone*, that deterred them from hiring some of the numerous assassins, who it was said, had volunteered for a good round sum to become my butchers. All sorts of schemes and plans were devised to get rid of me, but nothing was thought likely to answer. At length it was proposed by certain members of the White Lion club to bribe me with the offer of a sum sufficient to pur-



chase a seat from one of the boroughmongers, if I wished to be in parliament, this was believed to be the only plan, and every one appeared to think that it would be much better to give me £5000 to withdraw, than it would be for them to pay £20,000, which would be the least the contest would be likely to cost, besides all the trouble to boot. But just as this was apparently unanimously agreed upon, one of the sapient attorneys, who happened to know me a little personally, put this very natural question pray, gentlemen, who is the man that is to offer Mr. Hunt this bribe? This, as I was informed, put an end at once to the scheme, there being no one, who would undertake to be the messenger to bear such a proposition to me. They were the living typēs of the fable of the Cat and the Mice, the latter having agreed amongst themselves, that it would be highly conducive to their safety, if a bell could be placed around the cat's neck, as a warning to them of her approach, but the question arose, who would undertake to propose the subject to the cat, or to tie the bell round her neck? The task in regard to myself, would have been an absurd as well as a hazardous one, for I offered myself to the people of Bristol upon the constitutional principle, that I would not spend one shilling, neither would I canvass the electors, and I further tendered an affidavit, which I offered to swear before the mayor, that I never would accept of a place of profit or a pension under the crown, either directly or indirectly, either for myself or any one of my family. It was therefore, not very likely that I would consent to creep into parliament by corrupt means."

To follow Mr. Hunt through his long, egoistical, and gasconading account of the Bristol election, would far exceed the limits to which we are obliged to restrict ourselves. The following, however, may be taken as a fair sample of the extreme minuteness of Mr. Hunt in his description of events, and which in many instances throws an air of ridicule over the whole of the proceedings, independently of exciting some few suspicions, that fiction has not a little to do in the recital.

Well," says Mr. Hunt," the election was fairly begun, two



candidates were regularly proposed, it had been put to the vote, the show of hands had been declared by the sheriffs to be in my favour, a poll had been demanded by Mr. Davis, the poll was open, and the votes on each side had been taken, and the poll had been adjourned till nine o'clock the next morning. One thing was made obvious on the first day to my opponents; it was clearly ascertained, that I could not be put off my guard, and that in the midst of this terrible struggle and hurly burly, I was perhaps the calmest and most collected man in the whole assemblage. All hopes of putting an end to the election were consequently quite banished from the mind of even the arch trickster, Mr. Arthur Palmer, and there was nothing left for them but to endure the fifteen days contest, or to bring it by force to a sudden conclusion. It was then that the bludgeon men were let loose to accomplish the plan and glut the vengeance of their enraged and mortified employers, and after *I was retired to bed at the inn to recruit my strength, that I might be able on the next day to commence single-handed the task of keeping in order these said forty limbs of the law, and dreadful was the struggle.* All day long my voters had to submit to insults and assaults committed upon them by the bludgeon men, who had increased their numbers to eight hundred. Information was frequently brought to me, that these ruffians were assaulting and beating back my votes, and I frequently left the hustings and went into the streets to rescue those, who were so unmercifully attacked, *which I always effected whenever I went forth.*

“When the evening came, and the poll was adjourned to the next day, I returned, *mounted on my horse, which was waiting for me at the hall door, and rode to the Exchange, to give the multitude, a history of the proceedings of the day in Guildhall.* After giving them a correct detail of the business of the day, and the state of the poll, I urged every man to get as well armed as he could, and by all means to resist the illegal violence of the hired bludgeon men, but on no account to strike first. *I told them that after I had been home to my inn, and taken my dinner, it was my intention to ride round the city for a little fresh*



*air, and that I should, if they wished it, have no objection to my friends accompanying me, to make a general canvass.\** This communication was received with *universal approbation*, ALL declaring that they would attend me, and I promised to start from my inn, the Talbot, *precisely at seven o'clock, to ride an hour, or an hour and a half.*

“ At the appointed time, they were all as good as their word, and the Talbot was instantly surrounded by perhaps not less than from TEN TO FIFTEEN THOUSAND PEOPLE.† I also was as good as my word, for as soon as the clock struck seven, I mounted my horse and rode out of the inn yard amongst them, *I was of course hailed with such shouts as made the whole city ring again!!!* Unaccompanied by any human being that I knew, *I threw myself amongst them, and made my way through a passage that was opened over the bridge and down by the quay, gently following the course of the river from Bristol bridge, even till I came round by the Broad quay to the drawbridge.* The whole of the quay was covered with all sorts of timber, wood, poles, fagots, piles, and other rough merchandise, principally brought from Wales. The people eyed these fagot-piles very wistfully, at length one drew out a stick. another followed, till as we passed along, the whole *male* part of the multitude were armed with bludgeons and sticks, as well as Mr. Davis' bludgeon men.§ Though I could have wished that the weapons had been otherwise

\* This trifling minuteness on the part of Mr Hunt, exposes him to the severest castigations from the lash of ridicule. The idea is in itself most laughable, that a man, who had been in the fresh air the whole of the day, should think the matter of such consequence, as to inform a mob, that after his dinner, he would take a ride round the city for a little fresh air, and that if they pleased, they might accompany him for the same purpose. The subject would have been a rich one for the caricaturist.

† What a delectable treat it must have been to the remaining part of the population of Bristol, to behold ten or fifteen thousand of their fellow-tradesmen taking the fresh air for an hour or an hour and a half, presided by the candidate for their suffrages. The whole business is farcical in the extreme.

§ By this it would appear that Mr. Hunt in his airing was accompanied by



obtained, yet I must confess that I was not very sorry to see what had happened, as the White Lion hirelings had become so outrageously brutal, that it was absolutely necessary to put them down, or the next day we should not have been enabled to bring up a single vote. Eight hundred ruffians collected from the collieries at Kingswood and from Cockroad, the haunt of every species of desperadoes; such a gang as this well paid, and well filled with ale, and knowing that do what they would, they should be protected by the authorities, was a force not to be trifled with. I therefore gave the word, let none of my friends strike first, but let no one upon such an occasion, as that for which we are contending, which is for the freedom of election, let no one be insulted or assaulted with impunity by the hired bludgeon men. If they once begin to knock down the people, let them without ceremony be driven out of the city.

“ Such a body of men as were with me, armed each of them with a good stick, made rather a formidable appearance, and I saw that the countenances of the citizens, shopkeepers, and merchants, *as I passed*, evidently betrayed the greatest alarm. *As soon as they had attended me to my inn*, and given me three cheers at parting, the cry was to Broad Street! to Broad Street! which was the rendezvous for Davis’ bludgeon men. In less than a quarter of an hour after they had quitted the Talbot, and before *I had finished my tea*, I heard a tremendous shouting, and upon inquiring the cause, I found that the bludgeon men had all fled at the approach of *my men*, who returned to communicate their triumph to me, which they announced by three cheers, and then quietly and peaceably dispersed.

a certain portion of the ladies of Bristol. This, however, may be accounted for, from the following circumstance. When queen Anne visited her good city of Bristol, she was struck with the extreme ugliness of the women, and by way of making some amends to them for this gross neglect of nature, she ordered, that any man marrying a Bristol woman, should be immediately entitled to the freedom of the city.



“ I very soon discovered, that there was not the slightest chance of carrying the election, there being a complete coalition between the whigs and tories. The whole enormous influence of both the factions was thrown into the scale against me. I had been now two days without any friends to assist me, when on the third day, to my great joy, a gentleman, whom I had only met once or twice before, came down, as he said, when he had introduced himself upon the hustings, expressly to assist me in the glorious struggle. My pleasure was equal to my surprise, when Mr. Davenport, a gentleman well known in the literary world, walked up on the hustings and shook me by the hand, at the time that he communicated this gratifying intelligence. Mr. Davenport was just the very man of whom I stood in need. This was such an accession to my forces as I had not calculated upon. To Mr. Cobbett and Sir Francis Burdett, was I indebted for the able assistance of such a man.

“ On the following morning one of my friends came to *my bed-room door* to inform me that a regiment of soldiers had been marched into the city during the night, and that some of them had actually taken up their quarters and slept in the Guildhall, the very seat of the election. *I immediately rose and whilst I was dressing myself,* I ordered my horse, determined to go and witness this novel scene, of a regiment of soldiers taking possession of the Guildhall and the hustings during an election. *I mounted my horse,* and accompanied by a few friends. I rode down to the door of the Guildhall, which was surrounded by soldiers with fixed bayonets: *upon hearing that I was coming, for my approach was always announced by the people, those, who had slept in the hall came flocking down the steps, to have a peep at this tremendous candidate,* who had caused such a popular feeling, that the election could not be carried on without the intervention of the military. Upon one of the officers coming to the spot, I addressed them, as I sat on my horse, as follows. Gentlemen, soldiers, fellow-citizens, and countrymen, I have a favour to ask of you, and that is, that you will discover no hostility to



each other, on account of your being dressed in different coloured coats. You are all equally interested in the election. You are all Englishmen, you must all love freedom, and therefore act towards each other as brother towards brother, but if military force is to carry the election, the sooner the shooting begins the better, and here am I ready to receive the first ball."

On this occasion, the London papers bespattered Mr. Hunt with their coarsest abuse. The *Courier* lead the van, and, the *Times* brought up the rear. Of Mr. Hunt, the latter paper speaks in the following manner. "The poll commenced at 10'clock; in this *farce* Mr. Hunt plays many parts. He unites in himself the various characters of *candidate, counsel, and committee, as he has not one human being to assist him, in either of those capacities.*

Mr. Hunt continues his narrative in the following manner.

"After having reviewed the red-coat gentry of the west Middlesex militia, I returned to my inn *and took my breakfast,* and at 9 o'clock, I proceeded on horseback to the Guildhall, accompanied *as usual* by a great number of my friends, the unhired, the unbought people. When I arrived at the top of Broad Street, I found to my surprise, that I had to pass the whole of the way down that street to the Guildhall, between double lines of the military, drawn up on each side of the street, with arms supported and bayonets fixed. This was not only a novel scene, it was such a one as had never before been exhibited at an election in England. As I passed the first rank and file, I halted, and taking off my hat, said, 'Come my lads, let us give our friends, the soldiers three cheers.' This was instantly complied with, and as I went on, *each soldier exclaimed, HUNT FOR EVER, and this was kept up by the whole line, till I reached the hall door, when three more cheers were given, in which many of the soldiers heartily joined.\**

\* Some strange delusion must have been exerting its influence over Mr. Hunt, when he undertook to send forth this account to the public of the behaviour of the military, indeed, he must have been conscious to himself, that he was drawing most exorbitantly upon the credulity of his readers, when he palmed upon them such an incredible story, as that the soldiers whilst under arms, would



“The moment that I got upon the hustings, I protested against such a violation of the constitution, such an outrage upon the rights of freedom of election, and I pledged myself that I would present and prosecute a petition against the return, which might be made under such circumstances.

“In the evening, after this exhibition of the military, I heard that they were quartered all over the city. A circumstance, however, now occurred, which at the time, I communicated only to a few confidential friends, and have seldom mentioned it since, for fear there might be a remote possibility of placing in jeopardy the parties concerned. About 11 o'clock, just as I was going to bed, a message was brought to me to say, that there were three men, strangers, who wished to see me in private, upon a business, which they said was of importance. I had a friend sitting with me, who was about to depart, but I detained him and desired that the gentlemen might be told to walk up. Three decent looking young men were introduced, and one of them, who acted as spokesman, addressing himself to me, said, ‘We wish to communicate something of consequence to you in private, if you please sir.’ My answer was, ‘As you are strangers to me, I ought to see you only one at a time, but as there can be no secret that I would wish to hear from you, that I would not entrust my friend with, I beg you will proceed. Can you rely upon your friend, sir, said the speaker, as our commission will place our lives in your power. I replied that I would trust my own life in the hands of my friend, but I saw no reason why they should commit themselves either to me or to him. The reply was, ‘It concerns you, sir, as well as us.’ ‘Well then,’ said I, ‘proceed, for I will be answerable for my friend, that he will never be-

have dared, unless they felt a disposition to be well flogged, to have uttered a single ejaculation in his favour. We know so much of the discipline of the army as to assert, that if any private whilst standing in the ranks, had uttered the words, as represented by Mr. Hunt, he would have been brought to a court martial, and severely punished, but when we are told that every soldier cheered Mr. Hunt as he passed, we not only treat it as a positive fiction, but as greatly detracting from those principles of veracity, which ought to be the leading characteristic of every autobiographer.



tray you.' 'I, sir, am a corporal in the —— regiment —— ; these are two privates, my comrades, we are quartered at——. Yesterday one of our men was sent over by an officer to vote for Mr. Davis, he had a conversation with a serjeant of the Middlesex militia, who told him in confidence, that they had private orders, in case of any row or riot, to shoot you, sir, which the serjeant told him would be certainly put into execution, in case there was the slightest disturbance to give colour for such a measure. This he related to us upon his return last night. The circumstance has been communicated in confidence to every man in our division, except the officers, and one non-commissioned officer, and we have one and all sworn to come to your relief, and by driving "these bloody Middlesex men" out of the city protect you from a violent death, which is intended for you. We were chosen by lot to come over to you with this offer, *but only give us a nod of assent, and we will march into the city of Bristol at any hour to-morrow night that you may think proper.* We shall have no commissioned officers, but we shall have all the non-commissioned officers, except one, and him, we did not choose to trust. Our lives are in your power, and we pledge them upon the accomplishment of what we offer, we are ready to lay them down to save you. It was first proposed to come off this night, in which case the whole of the four companies would have been here by this time, but it was at length resolved to make you acquainted with our design, lest you might be sacrificed in the onset, before you were aware of our intentions. The lot having fallen upon us to communicate this to you, sir, we put on coloured clothes and started before it was scarcely dark, and here we are in your power or at your command. The two privates testified to the truth of the corporal's statement and gave their names.\*

\* With all that respect which we entertain for many traits in the character of Mr. Hunt, we cannot wilfully close our eyes to a disposition manifest in him to impose upon the credulity of his readers, by the relation of circumstances, which even to the most common observer carry with them their own contradiction. Can it be for a moment credited by any one, having the slightest



“ During this harangue, I had time to collect myself, and I deliberately replied, if you are spies sent to entrap me, your own guilt will be your punishment, but as you appear to have placed yourselves in my power and claimed my confidence, I will not betray you. If you are honest, you have my thanks for your indiscreet zeal, in running such a great risk to preserve my life. The motive is laudable, but the means are most dangerous, and I fear you have not well weighed the consequences. Should the sword be once drawn in such a cause, there is no middle course to pursue; the scabbard must be thrown away. The period is not yet come for such a movement, neither will the occasion warrant it. I must trust to the laws for my protection, or rather to the fears of my enemies as their dread of a terrible and summary retribution. I have no doubt, will prove my greatest shield of safety. I must recommend you to return immediately to your comrades, *and tell them they are not wanted*; and rely upon it, as you have placed such confidence in me I will never betray it. They all replied, that they had not the slightest fear of that, and they declared that if any accident or foul play happened to me, that they would take an ample and an awful retribution.

“ This was a very serious occurrence, and *it made a deep impression upon my mind*. I was grateful for their zeal and attach-

knowledge of the rigid discipline of the army, that the privates of a regiment, would have dared to have acted in the manner described by Mr. Hunt; that they would have committed such a breach of discipline, not only as to put on coloured clothes, but to leave their quarters without leave, and further, that if Mr. Hunt would only “ nod his assent,” the whole regiment would have marched without the knowledge or order of their commanding officer, into Bristol to enter into a hostile affray with the “ bloody Middlesex militia.” It is altogether a most miraculous story, that a whole regiment would have committed an act of mutiny, and expose themselves to be shot as mutineers, merely because they had been stricken with a spirit of self-immolation in the cause of a man whom they had never seen, and in whose cause they did not possess the slightest interest. We further consider that the whole farrago is a direct libel upon the English character; for however violent and outrageous an Englishman may be in defence of his political principles, his nature abhors the idea of assassination. On the whole, we have given the story as related by Mr. Hunt, leaving those to believe it who are gifted with greater credulity than ourselves



ment to me, but I trembled when I thought of the result. Yet, had I at last found that no other resource remained to save me from being murdered, I might perhaps have been tempted to accept their offer, and make one grand effort to preserve my life and the liberties of my country, and either have accomplished my purpose, or have gloriously fallen in the struggle. *I never doubted the truth of the corporal's account respecting the private orders, which were delivered to the non-commissioned officers of the west Middlesex militia, and I have never had any occasion to doubt the sincerity of these men.\** If the event had taken place six years later, I should at once have been of opinion that it was a plot to *entrap me*, but *I am thoroughly convinced*, from what came to my knowledge afterwards, *that it was a most sincere and devoted offer*, and further, *that if I had been killed during that election, rivers of blood would have flowed in Bristol*. In fact, this occurrence made such an impression both upon me and my friend, that we shall never forget it," and we may add, that we are certain it will never be forgotten by any of our readers.

"The military were still stationed in Bristol, and one or two of the Scotch Greys were kept, during the whole election, at Clifton, within a hundred yards of the bounds of the city. The election was still continued, but very few were polled on either side, although those, who polled for Davis, more than trebled in number, those who polled for me.

"One day when I came from the Hustings, *I announced that I should take a ride down the Hot Well Road, and round by Clifton, this was hailed with that sort of applause* which was an earnest that my friends would attend me; the plan was however thought by some to be a hazardous one, as we had over and over again been threatened, that if we went out of the

\* We will fearlessly express our opinion, that Mr. Hunt stands single in his belief of the truth of the corporal's statement, in fact, if any such occurrence, did take place as detailed by Mr. Hunt, it was nothing more than a hoax practised upon him, by some persons who had penetrated a little into his character, and had discovered that his love of notoriety had obtained the ascendancy over the cooler dictates of common sense and prudence.



bounds of the city, the military should assuredly be called into action to disperse us, my answer was, my friends are always very well behaved, they never commit any breach of the peace and I shall certainly ride when I please.

The hour of six came, I mounted my horse, and was accompanied by Mr. Williams of Clare Street on one side and by Mr. Hornbrook on the other, both mounted, and Mr. Claridge *in front* exhorting the people to be firm and peaceable. Before we had reached half the summit of the hill, some respectably dressed females came running down to meet us, they were received with cheers, but they no sooner approached than they addressed me *in the most fervent and supplicating manner to return, as the Scotch Greys were drawn out with their carbines loaded, and they had heard the magistrates and gentlemen give orders to fire upon the people* and Mr. Goldney the magistrate had read the Riot Act; *some of the women fell upon their knees to implore me to return* if I had the least regard for my life, as they had heard the *officers and gentlemen give orders by all means to shoot me!!!* I thanked the ladies for their kind wishes and good intentions and then turning to my attendants and friends, I addressed them, urging any one that feared death to go back, as it appeared very evident that murder was premeditated; as to myself I told them, that as I had promised to pay my friends a visit that evening at Clifton, I should proceed, if I went alone. Having promised to go, go I would, for I would! much rather be punctured like a cullender, by a thousand balls; than live in such a state as not to travel peaceably in any part that I might choose, and particularly during an election.

“ If I went back and failed to perform my promise through fear, I should justly deserve to be execrated as a contemptible coward as long as I lived, and whatever they might think of me, I would much rather be out of the world than have such a despicable opinion of myself. I therefore entreated those, who meant to proceed with me to be firm and peaceable, but those, who had the least doubt upon their minds to return.



*The effect which this speech had upon my hearers was prodigious!! Mr. Claridge was the first to pull off his hat, and the air resounded with one tremendous shout, which was repeated three times, and the distant hills echoed it back again!!! Even the ladies (?) who had so earnestly entreated me to return joined in the cheers, and every soul passed steadily and cheerfully along.*

“Just as we were turning off the down to go back to Bristol, through Rodney place, all at once a troop of the Scotch-Greys wheeled in *full gallop* from behind some houses and plantations, and formed a line across the road, so that our progress was apparently stopped. At the same time we discovered Mr. Goldney the magistrate, accompanied by half a dozen of Mr. Davis’ friends, running with a book in his hand to meet us. He came up between us and his troops, as pale as ashes, and in a trembling hurried accent, he exclaimed, ‘Stop, sir, and hear the riot act read.’ I knew the gentleman well with whom I had to deal, and therefore pushing my horse steadily forward, I deliberately said, ‘Stand out of the king’s highway, sir, and suffer me to pass, or I shall be under the necessity of riding over you, it appears *you* want to commit a riot, by interrupting the progress of those, who are peaceably passing on the king’s highway, but we shall not indulge you in your amiable plot; stand aside!’

He and his friends, now exclaimed, turn back, which caused a great laugh, while we proceeded forwards to within twenty paces of this most formidable interruption of the horse soldiers drawn up across the whole road, to cut off, as it were, our return to Bristol. We gave the heroes three friendly cheers, and proceeded deliberately on, up almost to the noses of their horses, upon which the officer gave the word to the *left wheel, march,\** and they instantly wheeled out of the road, left us a clear passage, and resumed their former position behind the

\* This must be a mistake on the part of Mr. Hunt, for had the order been obeyed, it would have brought the soldiers in direct collision with the mob in the situation in which they stood towards each other. Mr. Hunt, had been in the yeomanry, and therefore was not wholly ignorant of cavalry tactics.



plantation and houses. I took off my hat, bowed to the officer, and politely thanked him, adding, that it was a beautiful manoeuvre, well planned, and most adroitly executed; this was said in such an ironical manner, *that the officer burst into a loud laugh, in which he was heartily joined by his men.*

The result of the Bristol election, was as might be naturally inferred, the return of Mr. Davis, Mr. Hunt not having the slightest prospect of success, only *two hundred and thirty-five freemen having voted for him*, a circumstance which entitles us to draw the conclusion, that although Mr. Hunt might have delivered his *public orations* to his tens and twenties of thousands, yet that he was not a little mistaken in regard to the influence which he imagined he had gained over the inhabitants of Bristol. Amongst the 235 who voted for him, there does not appear scarcely half a dozen above the grade of a carpenter, tailor, barber, or blacksmith, in fact, he can only muster *three gentlemen*, the remaining 232 consisting of the tag-rag and bobtail of the freemen, although Mr. Hunt takes a pleasure in recording the names of these *brave men*, for the purpose of handing them down to posterity, as a specimen of genuine patriotism and disinterested love of liberty, and Mr. Hunt considers himself, further bound to declare, that during the election, he witnessed as great a degree of enthusiasm as was ever exhibited by the people upon any occasion, and *that he beheld such daily individual acts of heroism, as would have done honour to the character of the most revered Roman or Spartan patriot.* To which climax, we can only add one remark, which is, FUDGE!!!

After the bustle of the election was over, Mr. Hunt returned by the way of Botley in Hampshire, on purpose to pay a visit to his friend Cobbett, who had just been liberated from Newgate, and on this occasion he enters into a comparison of the nature of the imprisonment, which he endured in Ilchester jail with that, which Cobbett underwent in Newgate. It appears, however, that it was on the occasion of one of these visits to Cobbett whilst a prisoner, that Mr. Hunt gave such an offence to Mrs. Cobbett, that she became ever after-



wards his enemy, a circumstance, which by no means corroborates the extraordinary high character which Cobbett always bestows upon his wife. "One evening," says Mr. Hunt, "there was a large party, and Mr. Cobbett had been keeping us in a roar of laughter by his wit and vivacity; the very life and soul of the company, which he always was when he chose, all at once in the midst of our mirth, he exclaimed, addressing himself to me, "Hunt, I have a *particular* favour to ask of you, will you promise to grant it me?" This was said with great earnestness, and with peculiar emphasis. I replied, if it is any thing in reason and within my power, I will, but let me know what it is, and I have no doubt that I shall gratify your wish. He urged me again, and again to promise him beforehand, all eyes were fixed upon me, and Mrs. Cobbett appeared by her looks, to desire that I should comply with her husband's request, evidently shewing, *that she anticipated what it was he wished me to promise him.*

"This earnestness made me press him to explain, and at the same time, I repeated my assurance, that I would comply with his wish, if it were within my power. I own, I expected, that he was about to get me to promise him, in the presence of our mutual friends, that I would accomplish something of great importance, as he knew, if I once gave my word, that nothing would deter me from endeavouring to carry my promise into effect. Expectation was upon the tiptoe, every one seeming anxious to know what was the object of such a serious, and almost solemn request. "*Well,*" said he, "*promise me then that you will never wear white breeches again.*" Every one appeared thunderstruck, that the mountain had brought forth such a mouse. I had on a *clean* pair of white cord breeches, and top boots, a fashionable and a favorite dress of mine at that time. There was a general laugh, and as soon as this had subsided, all were curious to hear my answer. It was briefly this: I certainly will upon one condition. "What is that?" asked Cobbett. "Why, that you will promise me never to wear *dirty breeches* again." Cobbett at the time had on a remarkably dirty pair of old drab kerseymere breeches



The laugh was now turned against my friend, and I instantly felt sorry for the repartee. I saw my friend was hurt, he thought it unkind, and dropped his under lip. Mrs. Cobbett's eyes flashed the fire of indignation, and she was never civil to me afterwards. Nothing could be further from my intention, than to hurt the feelings of my friend; it was an ill-natured and thoughtless, although a just retaliation. At all events, I was very sorry for it, and it called to my recollection, an old saying, which was very commonly used by my father, "A fool's bolt is soon shot."

The foregoing circumstance would have been deemed scarcely worthy of notice, had it not been, that it had some reference to the treatment which Mr. Hunt received on his first visit to Mr. Cobbett, after his liberation from Newgate, and to talk over the affair of the Bristol election. On the arrival of Mr. Hunt, with his friend Davenport, at Botley, they were received by Mr. Cobbett with that hearty welcome, which he was accustomed to give, but the other part of the family behaved in the most rude, unhandsome, and disgusting manner, both to Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hunt. The latter says, when speaking of this affair: "*I shall not descend to particulars, but I am sure my friend Davenport will never forget it, as long as he lives. There is, however, no accounting for the conduct of some women. Mr. Cobbett was always, as far as I was capable of judging, a kind and indulgent husband, as well as a most fond father, and this he carried even to a fault, and it now appeared very evident that he began to feel his error. But perhaps Socrates would never have proved himself so great a philosopher, if he had not been blessed with the little rippings of Xantippe.*"

It was very proper that Mr. Hunt should adduce a reason for this uncourteous conduct on the part of Mrs. Cobbett, and to what other cause could it be attributed than to the affair of the *dirty breeches*, and certainly Mr. Hunt does give that circumstance as the cause of Mrs. Cobbett's conduct towards him, but he carefully and artfully conceals the real one. Of all crimes, there is no one of so heinous a nature in the opinion



of a married woman, as conjugal infidelity, and Mrs. Cobbett was not a woman to receive an individual under her roof, who was avowedly living in adultery, with the wife of another man, without openly and undisguisedly exhibiting her resentment. There might be, for aught she knew, something contagious in the presence and company of Mr. Hunt, and as he was continually passing his eulogium, on the excess of domestic felicity which he enjoyed in the new relation in which he stood, there might, she thought, arise a disposition in the breast of Mr. Cobbett himself, to try the experiment, whether his domestic happiness might not be increased also. As for the affair of the dirty breeches, it had made no lasting impression on the memory of Mrs. Cobbett, at the same time it must be allowed that the character of Mr. Hunt had been depicted to Mrs. Cobbett, in blacker colours than really belonged to it. The report had been industriously circulated, and was generally credited, that Mr. Hunt had not only repudiated his wife, but that he had actually turned her out of doors to starve, and although we have already given Mr. Hunt's version of his conduct towards his wife, on that occasion, and of the exuberance of his generosity towards her, and of the *extreme affection* with which they parted with each other, and of the extraordinary high opinion which they entertained of each others character, yet the world was either too ill-natured, or too wise to give him credit for all that he had related, for there were some things, which "had crept out through the dark cranny of the night," which carried conviction to the minds of the moral part of the community, that the conduct of Mr. Hunt could not be sanctioned on any grounds of decency, decorum, or virtue. Mr. Hunt had placed himself on the pinnacle of notoriety, and where is the man so situated, who has not assembled around him a host of enemies, who would gladly seize upon every flaw in his character, to render him obnoxious and hateful even to the very people who espouse his cause. Mrs. Cobbett was a woman of a strong and masculine mind; she had always had before her a pattern of the strictest conjugal fidelity, and therefore, her resentment and indignation were naturally



roused, when she saw her husband associating with an individual, who had got the curse of infidelity marked on his brow, and whose society, she knew, had been discountenanced by many families, on account of the immoral connexion which he had formed. Mr. Hunt was, therefore, an unwelcome guest in her house, for although he and her husband might be associates in politics, she did not wish the intimacy to be extended any further between them.

We have only one further remark to make on this subject, which is, that although Mr. Hunt appears exceedingly desirous to conceal the real cause of the coolness with which he was received by many families, with whom he had formerly been on the most intimate terms, and particularly by the female branches of those families, yet the real cause for that conduct was well known to Mr. Hunt, and we may add, that in many instances, he received those mortifying repulses, which could not have failed to convince him of the opinion which the moral part of the world entertained of him. We can also further state, that had the immoral connexion which he had formed been confined solely to him, the injury which he had committed against the moral interests of society, would have perhaps not been considered as so reprehensible, but in a future part of this work, we shall have to lay open a scene of moral depravity, which is of rare occurrence in an English family.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

MR. HUNT becoming weary of the noise and bustle of an election, now returned to Rowfont, where he directed his attention to the management of his farm, which he prosecuted with all the ardour which had distinguished him in the early period of his life. In this respect Mr. Hunt draws his own character in the following words: "My natural disposition, my taste, and my habits, all led me to the enjoyment of *domestic comforts* in a rural sphere. I was always doatingly fond of the country, country pursuits, and a country life. The sports of the field, hunting, shooting, &c., to me afforded the most captivating delight. The pleasures of cultivating the soil, and attending to the growth and progress of the crops, can only be known to, and can only be estimated by one, who has a perfect knowledge of agricultural pursuits. Then *the domestic felicity* enjoyed in a quiet cheerful country house, *surrounded by one's own family*, and every now and then a good neighbour and sincere friend dropping in, has always been to me that sort of exquisite enjoyment, which I could never find in any other situation, nor in any other occupation. My natural taste is so domestic, that I should not wish on my own account, ever to mingle in the busy haunts of men. I could freely remain in the country, and never enter a city or town again. Nothing but a sense of public duty, should ever induce me to sacrifice myself by residing in a town, and if I could once see my country free, and the people happy, and honestly represented, the greatest blessing I could wish for, would be to pass uninterruptedly a tranquil old age in the country, far away from the harassing turmoil, danger, and misery of boisterous unprofitable politics. But the man, who would immolate the interest, the honour, the freedom and happiness of his country, to gratify his own love of ease and



comfort, is unworthy the name of patriot. I can scarcely hope to be permitted to enjoy such unmixed bliss, such delightful tranquillity, during the remainder of that short race, which I have to run in this sublunary world, neither shall I sigh and pine after that, which it appears fate has forbidden."

Mr. Hunt kept his word with the Bristol electors, in regard to the presentation of a petition to the House of Commons against the return of Richard Hart Davis Esq., but before his petition could be gone into, the parliament was dissolved, and he immediately issued a letter to the electors of Bristol, promising them to be at his post on the day of the election, which promise was faithfully executed.

The general election was to take place in the month of October, and the 6th of that month was fixed for the election at Bristol. There were four candidates, Mr. Davis, Mr. Protheroe, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. Hunt. In regard to the latter we may say, *Ah ! mon ami, que vous etes Gascon*, and the following statement as given by Mr. Hunt himself, will prove our quotation to be true.

"The morning came, and I proceeded to the Exchange, where, while I was addressing my friends, who had assembled in great numbers, intelligence was brought to me, that the sheriffs with the other three candidates and their friends, were gone to the Guildhall, which was filled almost to a state bordering on suffocation. Thus by another trick had these worthies stolen a march upon me, by filling the hall with their friends before the usual hour. As no time was to be lost, I proceeded thither with as much speed as the density of the crowd would permit. *I believe that no man but myself would have been allowed to pass down Broad Street*, but I was cheered by friends and *even foes, all anxious to assist me to the hustings*. When I came to the hall door, the steps were so jammed with the people, that it was impossible to penetrate through the solid mass of human bodies, upon which, one man at the top of the stairs hailed those at the bottom, as follows, 'Mount Mr. Hunt upon your shoulders, my friends, and let him pass



over us, as he cannot get through the crowd.' *This plan was instantly adopted, and I marched along deliberately stepping upon the shoulders of those assembled, every individual endeavouring to assist me as I passed amidst the cheers of the whole multitude; but when I sprang upon the hustings, the shout was such as made the old walls of the Guildhall shake, AND IT WAS ACTUALLY SO DEAFENING, THAT IT WAS SOME TIME BEFORE I COULD HEAR AGAIN !!!*"

To follow Mr. Hunt through the whole of his account of the second Bristol election, would be filling our pages with a mass of the most fulsome self-panegyric which perhaps ever issued from the pen of an autobiographer. According to his own shewing, he was the darling, the idol of the people of Bristol, he was in fact the only person who could pull the strings so as to make the puppets dance according to his pleasure, and yet amongst these staunch and fervent worshippers at his throne, only 450 could be found, who would tender their votes for him; in fact, Mr. Hunt could not for a moment have entertained the thought, that he possessed the slightest chance of being returned as one of the sitting members for Bristol, all he could do, and did do, was to keep the city in a state of continual ferment for the period of the fifteen days, allowed by act of parliament for the continuance of the election, when at the same time, the state of the poll on the first day must have fully convinced him that he was not the object of the choice of the freemen of Bristol.

Mr. Hunt presented a petition to the house of Commons against the sitting members on the ground of bribery and corruption, and the introduction of the military into the city during the time of the election. The committee appointed to try the merits of the election, sat on the 26th February 1813, at which, Mr. Hunt conducted his own case in person. The committee sat for fourteen days, at the expiration of which, it was decided that the sitting members were duly elected, but that the petition was not frivolous nor vexatious, by which, each party had to pay their own costs, and Mr. Hunt for his



quixotic attack on the representation of Bristol had the satisfaction to pay £600!! In this particular, however, he was deceived, for the friends of Sir Samuel Romilly had undertaken to raise a subscription for the purpose of defraying the expenses of prosecuting the petition, but the whole sum collected amounted to only £25, which sum exactly paid one of his witnesses, Mr. alderman Vaughan. There were four persons exclusive of Mr. Hunt, who were co-petitioners with him, and if experience make fools wise, they will never interfere with an election petition again, for not being able to pay their proportion of the expences, they were frequently visited by Messrs. John and Richard Doe, who allowed them to make no other *election* than the payment of the sum demanded or the interior of a prison. Mr. Hunt attributes his failure in not being returned as one of the sitting members for Bristol, to no default of evidence, nor to any deficiency in the proof of the circumstances which were alleged as sufficient to invalidate the election of the sitting members, but on the contrary, entirely and wholly to the corrupt and rotten influence of the representatives of corrupt and rotten boroughs, and further that the committee were chosen from as corrupt and profligate a boroughmongering parliament, as ever disgraced the parliamentary annals of once free and happy England.

The extraction of six hundred pounds from the pockets of Mr. Hunt, in support of the rights and liberties of the freemen of Bristol, as well as for the freedom of election, independently of all other extra expences incurred, and loss of time, rendered Mr. Hunt for some time rather unwilling to fight the battles of other people, for which in return, he only received hard blows and every species of abuse and detraction which malice or malignity could pour out against him. Nauseated for a time with politics, he returned from his discomfiture in London to his farm at Rowfont; although he had made up his mind not to continue to occupy it, as it was by no means a profitable farm, and being situated in a very low country, was any thing but wholesome. Many speculations on this estate completely failed, particularly his sheep, and his charcoal



concern was a decided loss. There was plenty of wood on the estate, and having no other method of disposing of it, Mr. Hunt was advised to make it into charcoal as other farmers in that neighbourhood were accustomed to do. The charcoal was made, *two hundred and forty sacks* were provided to convey it to the London market; a customer was soon found, but neither the value of the charcoal nor the 240 sacks were ever received by the unfortunate vender, making the whole a dead loss of about fifty pounds. Thus ended Mr. Hunt's speculation in charcoal, and he was determined never to cut any more wood upon the estate as long as he kept it, but to let it grow for the next person, who should follow him, and who might wish to enter into the business of a charcoal burner. Mr. Hunt eventually sold the lease of Rowfont farm for two thousand pounds, and the value of the stock alone was to the amount of six thousand more, thus carrying with him from Rowfont two thousand pounds more than he carried thither.

Mr. Hunt now went to reside at Middleton cottage in Hampshire, situated on the London road, about three miles from Andover; which he rented together with the manor of Long parish, extending over a fine sporting country of eight or ten thousand acres. As he found that farming was become a very expensive amusement, he made up his mind to remain out of business rather than run the risk of sinking any capital without any corresponding chance of making it pay common interest. He, however, soon found that he was not formed for an idle life, and an opportunity having offered for him to resume his agricultural pursuits, by the lease of Cold-Hanley farm, near the borough of Whitchurch; he was induced to purchase it, and he entered upon that farm early in the year 1814.

This certainly was a bad speculation, as the lease had only three years to run, but his principal inducement to take this farm, which contained about four hundred acres of land, was his wish to try the experiment of raising large crops of corn in the manner recommended in Tull's husbandry, and adopted by Mr. Cobbett. The two political farmers, however,



eventually found themselves to be great losers, by adopting the drill system of Mr. Tull, to the amount of nearly one thousand pounds each.

Mr. Hunt now declared open and uncompromising war against the paper currency of the country, to which, however, he was in a great degree instigated by the writings of Cobbett, who in his Register, had commenced the series of those celebrated letters entitled "Paper against Gold." What Cobbett, however, attempted to achieve in writing, that Mr. Hunt essayed to accomplish by open and determined action. The following will amply show the manner, in which he executed his purpose.

"On the same morning," says Mr. Hunt, "that I received my money from the sale of my property at Rowfont, which was paid me in *one thousand pounds* bank notes; I called at the Bank of England to change one of these notes. I was desired to present it to the inspector, which I did, and he made his mark upon it as good, and tore off at the lower corner the name of the person, who had signed it. He then desired me to carry it back to the clerk, to whom I had first presented it for payment. I did so, and presented it again. The gentleman inquired in what notes I should like to have the change; I replied, one five hundred, and five of one hundred each. *Drawing the pen from behind his ear, and applying it into the ink,* he handed it to me, together with the note, saying, write your name and address on the back of the note and I will give you the change immediately. I stared the jockey full in the face for a short time; which stare he returned, and then exclaimed, come, sir, write your name and address. Not I, indeed, was the answer. What, said he, in a loud voice, what, refuse to sign your name! Yes, said I, I do refuse to sign my name. This was said in about two keys higher than the clerk's interrogatory. Well then, said he, I shall not give you the change till you do sign your name, and address upon the back of the note. What, said I, raising my voice still higher, back one of your notes for a thousand pounds? Indeed! I shall do no such thing. I have not confidence e-



nough in your firm, to back one of your one pound notes, much less one of your notes for a thousand pounds.

By this time I had a mob collected around me, some professing to be astonished at my impudence, but others unequivocally professing their approbation of my conduct, adding that they were very happy to hear me take those impudent all-sufficient gentlemen clerks to task a little; the former set, who professed their astonishment, seemed *from the cut of their coats* and the turn of their phizzes to be bankers and merchant's clerks, but many of the latter seemed to be gentlemen; I continued boldly to demand my change or my note, the latter was instantly handed over to me, but as it was mutilated, and the name of the person by whom it had been signed had been torn off by the inspector I declined to take it. The clerk as resolutely refused to give me the change, saying that they had positive orders not to take any notes of that description above £50 from a stranger, without his name and address were indorsed on the note, I demanded to know what law there was for such a proceeding, but I could get no answer. I then demanded to see the governor, but was told that he was engaged and could not be spoken with. I asked if it was not a good note? yes, it was admitted so by the inspector, then said I, as you have mutilated the note and refuse to give me change, and as you also refuse to admit me to the governor, I will swear the debt of £1000 against the governor and company of the Bank of England, and if there be an independent attorney in London, I will instantly strike a docket against them. On hearing this, they all started all the clerks stood with their pens behind their ears; all business was at an end, and as I spoke aloud every man in the Rotunda\*heard what I said. *Two or three gentlemen present gave me their cards of address* promising to come forward to prove that the clerk refused payment, and denied the governor of the

\* Mr. Hunt is here in a mistake, the business of the exchange of notes is not carried on in the rotunda, that place being appropriated to transactions in the stocks.



Bank, which as I said was evidently an act of bankruptcy and they offered me numerous thanks for calling these impudent gentry to account and checking their usual insolence, which many of them said was unpardonable. I repeated my declaration, and walked out of the Bank, leaving my note in their hands and all the clerks petrified and gazing on each other in utter astonishment.

I tried three or four attorneys to induce them to strike a docket against the governor and company of the Bank of England, and offered to make an affidavit of the debt, the refusal of payment and the denial of the governor, but I could not get one of these worthies to move a peg in the affair,\* so I left the note where it was and went into the country for three or four days.

“ Upon my return to my inn in London, Cooper’s Hotel, in Bouverie Street, I found a letter from Mr. Henry Hase, the cashier of the Bank of England. It seems that on my quitting the Bank, *they sent some one to dog me to the Inn*, and by these means, they found out who I was.

‘ This statement to us carries with it the most decided falsity, to say that in London an attorney could not be found to move a peg in the affair of striking a docket against the Bank, with such a petitioning creditor as Mr. Hunt carries with it its own contradiction. We are positively convinced that within the area of a hundred yards of the Temple alone, a hundred attorneys could be found who would not hesitate to undertake any action however base, dishonourable or infamous, provided they were certain of the payment of their costs. It was investing the attorneys of the metropolis with a degree of honour and principle, which no one will award them, who has had the misfortune to have any dealings with them. Perhaps there is no set of men, of whom Mr. Hunt speaks with greater disrespect on any occasion, which presents itself, than he does of the tribe of attorneys his opinion of them therefore must have undergone a wonderful change, when he on a sudden experienced that he had himself proposed a case to several of them, not one of whom would move a peg in the affair. To sum up the matter however, we can only say that should any one in future be similarly circumstanced as Mr. Hunt was, and not be able to find an attorney to undertake his business, however black and dishonourable it may be, and he will grant us the loan of a law list for a quarter of an hour, we will return it to him with a mark against a hundred names, from whom he need be under no fear of meeting with a refusal to undertake his business, and were it even to prove his own mother an adultress.



Before we close this extraordinary account of Mr. Hunt, the many falsities of which will be easily detected by any person connected with Bank affairs, we will introduce a few stanzas of a poem written by Cobbett entitled "To SAINT HENRY of ILCHESTER.

Munchausen long has borne the prize,  
 From all the quacking squires,  
 But what are all his heaps of lies,  
 To thine, thou PRINCE OF LIARS.

How t would have made the German stare,  
 To see thy wires and pegs !  
 How blush to see thy loving mare  
*Trot on with broken legs !\**

*The thundering lie 'bout "Bank and Note"*  
 Which you so glibly utter,  
 Stuck fast had in Munchausen's throat,  
 And made him kick and stutter.

The *poor man's friend* † thou sure must be,  
 If ever there were any,  
 Since only twelve pence he gives thee  
 For what cost thee a penny.

"Mr. Hase's letter was couched in very civil language requesting me to call for the thousand pounds, or offering to send it to me to the Inn, in any notes I pleased. The next day I called at the Bank with my son, who was then about fourteen years of age, being determined one way or another to set at rest the question of giving names; I gave to my son a £500 note to put in his pocket, that he might at a proper time demand it to be exchanged, for it was a mockery to call it payment, it being only exchanging ONE PROMISE TO PAY, for ANOTHER PROMISE TO PAY. On my arrival at the Bank I demanded to see Mr. Hase. *Business was at an end the moment that I entered the Rotunda, the clerks all having their eyes fixed upon me; I was im-*

\* See page 244

† See page 185



mediately introduced to Mr. Hase in his private room, and I expostulated with him against such illegal conduct as I had experienced, I was introduced by him to the Governor, who together with Mr. Hase admitted that there was no law to compel any person to sign his name or give his address, *but they said it was nevertheless their inviolable practice not to exchange a note above fifty pounds for any stranger\* without first obtaining his name and address*, and they pleaded the necessity of this to enable them to trace forgeries, and robberies, and they proceeded to state that they did it for the benefit of the public; I contended on the contrary, that it was not only illegal but an insult upon the person presenting the note to be exchanged, (I always calling it *exchanged*, they always calling it *payment*,) for after their inspector had admitted the note to be a good one, they had no legal nor moral right to refuse to exchange it for other notes. I candidly told them that I had kept my promise, and that I had seriously endeavoured to get a docket struck against them for an act of bankruptcy. The governor smiled (and well indeed he might) but Mr. Hase looked very grave, (there are such things as the gravity of contempt, and the gravity of thought, it is not a difficult task to decide to which of the species of gravity, that of Mr. Hase belonged) they however apologized for the trouble I had experienced, M. Hase adding "*it will not happen again Mr. Hunt, as you are so well known to the clerks, they will not require your name in future, we certainly ought*, continued he, *to have known you, as we recollect that you brought an action against Messrs. Hobhouse, Clutterbuck, & Co. Bankers, Bath, because they would not pay you their*

\* We will venture in the most positive terms to deny that such a statement was ever made by Mr. Hase, or by any other functionary of the Bank. The name and address are as indispensably requisite to obtain change for a five pound, as for a fifty pound note, and the reason Mr. Hunt gives for not giving his name and address on the ground that he had no confidence in the solvency of the establishment, is too ridiculous to be mentioned, for he must have known that the mere inscription of his name and address, attaches neither liability nor responsibility to him, and further, that the note so indorsed to be exchanged is never afterwards circulated, but entirely cancelled.



notes in cash,\* you having refused to take Bank of England notes in exchange, we know that you are an enemy to our paper system, *but we recognize you as an honourable and open enemy.*

“ A good deal of such conversation passed between us, and it ended by a polite offer on the part of the governor, to show me and my son over the establishment. As *I was rather in a hurry*, and other business to do, I declined on that account to accept the offer. Mr. Hase then said *with a smile*, that he would feel a pleasure in taking another opportunity to show me over their whole establishment, when he had no doubt he should convince me of their solvency.

“ I now took my leave of the governor, and Mr. Hase accompanied me out to the clerk, and desired him to give Mr. Hunt change for his note in any sums, which he might choose. He then made his bow and quitted me. When this was arranged, my son, whose name was unknown, produced his note for five hundred pounds. It was as usual handed to the inspector,† amidst the inquiring eyes of all the clerks, and he demanded five hundred pound notes. The clerk handed him a pen and desired him to write his name and address, to which he replied that he should certainly do neither, but that he insisted on the change ; the clerk refused, saying it was as much as his situation was worth to comply ; I was meanwhile writing down notes with a pencil in my pocket book without saying a word, except that I would be a witness for him.

“ We will mention a few circumstances relative to this affair to shew that our former strictures on the squeamishness of the London attorneys to commence an action of whatever nature it might be, were founded in truth. Mr. Hunt being determined to bring his action against the Bankers, applies to a Bath attorney, he declined having any thing to do in the affair ; Mr. Hunt then applies to his London attorney, he also declines it ; he then applies to Mr. Cobbett, who applies to another London attorney and the action was brought ; any fool can bring an action, but the prosecution of it, is another matter.

Mr. Hunt not only in this case, but also in that of his son, betrays a strange ignorance of the method of exchanging a note at the Bank, the name and address are written before the note is presented to the inspector, nor will he look at it, until such form is gone through.



*The whole place was again in a state of uproar, but my young friend was immovable and acted his part like a hero; at length Mr. Hase was called out again, and informed that a youth refused to give his name, and he wished to know if he must pay him the five one hundred pound notes without it. For a moment Mr. Hase lost his temper and positively ordered the clerk not to pay it, unless the usual custom was complied with, and he began in a pettish manner to question my son, and in a peremptory tone demanded his name, the youth, however as peremptorily and sturdily refused to comply; Mr. Hase was just going away in a dudgeon, when he happened to cast his eye upon me and perceived that I was deliberately taking down all that passed without saying a word, upon which instantly recollecting himself, he turned back and laughing, said to the clerk, *pay him the notes as he is with Mr. Hunt, we can call upon him to give us his name if ever it should be found necessary*, then patting my son upon the shoulder, he said, recollect young gentleman that you are the first who has left the Bank with such a sum without giving his name. He then turned to me and said *you have carried your point* Mr. Hunt, good morning, I answered sarcastically, good morning Mr. Cashier. The clerk having paid my son the notes, I bade him good morning, telling him at the same time that I was very sorry he should have given himself and his master so much unnecessary trouble, my son also, significantly nodding his head, and putting the notes in his pocket, added his good morning and off we marched *AMIDST THE CHEERS OF A VERY CONSIDERABLE MULTITUDE*, who had collected and listened to this curious dialogue, amongst the number was one of the gentlemen who had given me his address on the previous day, when I left my thousand pounds, and he heartily thanked me for having brought the Jacks in office for once to their senses, and compelled them to act agreeably to the law which they had so long been in the habit of setting at defiance."*

It cannot have escaped the notice of our readers, that we are not much addicted to the convenient practice adopted by some of our scribbling brethren of filling our pages with quo-



tations in some cases very inapty, and having little or no connection with the subject; we had however scarcely finished the transcript of the foregoing rhodomontade of Mr. Hunt, and scarcely was the noise of the cheers out of our ears, which the *multitude* at the Bank had given to Mr. Hunt for the prodigious act which he had accomplished before the governor of the Bank and his subalterns, than taking up a volume of Shakespeare which accidentally lay on our table, we stumbled by chance upon the following words,

“ Fernando Pinto, was but a type of thee  
Thou liar of the first magnitude.”

Whether the quotation just given has any association with or in any degree apropos to the Bank story of Mr. Hunt, cannot for moment be held in doubt by the majority of our readers in the proportion of ten to one.

The occasion of the proclamation of the general peace gave Mr. Hunt an opportunity of recording his opinions on that subject, as well as on the principal personages who figured in that eventful drama; coinciding as we do with Mr. Hunt, in many of his statements on this subject, we shall transcribe them, foreseeing at the same time, that they will not tend to exalt Mr. Hunt in the estimation of the ultra loyalists, and of all those who consider Royalty, its fripperies, its gewgaws, and its fooleries, to be a benefit and a blessing to the nation.

After lamenting that a pretty delicate English girl should allow herself to be kissed by “that filthy old beast Blucher,” and expressing his determination never to kiss her himself on any occasion whatever, after she had been so polluted, Mr. Hunt proceeds to give a description of the freaks and antics which John Bull and his family performed on the occasion of the general peace, for the purpose of showing to the crowned despots of Europe, the extreme length of folly to which the English people can be carried.

“The country, says Mr. Hunt, was still intoxicated or rather insane with the idea of the GLORY that had been obtained by the downfall of one man, against whom all the despots of Eu-



rope had been united, and all the wealth of nations had been squandered during fourteen years. There was a naval review at Portsmouth to amuse the royal tyrants, and fetes were given at Carlton Palace, at which were displayed the great taste of the Prince Regent, in the cut of his coat, the flavour of his wines, and the beauty of his adulterous harlot. A method was shown to "the filthy old beast Blucher," of ridding him of all his superfluous cash, and leaving him actually without a guilder, by means of a few cubes of ivory. The Autocrat of the north, was whirled down to Oxford, to impress upon his mind a high idea of our seminaries of learning, but as he did not wish to take any portion of that commodity back with him to his own country, it being there a contraband article, he therefore left Oxford, with the firm impression on his mind, that all kings, and emperors, are fools, who allow of any learning being instilled into the minds of their subjects. It was supposed that he would have admired the *Beauty* of our institutions, clerical, charitable, municipal, and legislative, he however could not perceive any *beauty*, in any thing, but in a certain demirep of nobility, who was kindly, and graciously transferred to him, for his use and benefit, by the most virtuous of all Princes, the Prince Regent of England.

On the 7th July, that same pious and religious prince got up a mockery or a thanksgiving for peace, which to please the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and deacons, and all other grades of the clerical tribe, was offered up in those churches where the tocsin of war had been sounded by the pious preachers of the gospel, the servants of the meek and lowly Jesus, and who considered that their prayers would be more acceptable to the god of love, humanity, compassion, and benevolence, in proportion to the hundreds and thousands of his creatures that had been murdered. This was the way in which the peace was celebrated, and at the same time the jubilee to *commemorate* the *accession* of the house of Brunswick, which accession has rather been a curse than a blessing, it having furnished to this country a set of as finished reprobates as ever disgraced the throne of a civilized country.



The characters of George I. and II., are to the misfortune of this country and to the disgrace of human nature, matters of recorded history. George III. at the time of the jubilee for the accession of the house of Brunswick, was confined in Windsor castle in some apartments which were padded six feet high; in these, blind, and mad, he was suffered to wander about a melancholy and disgusting object. This wretched old man was reduced from the highest pinnacle of human grandeur to the most pitiable condition; none of his subjects were permitted to see him for many years, even his children were excluded except upon particular occasions, and then they were admitted only in the presence of certain individuals. But even this circumstance was turned into an instrument for extracting from the pockets of John Bull a certain sum for the performance of an act, which an individual in the humbler grades of life, would have considered it his duty to perform without any remuneration whatever, and that in so doing, he was only acting up to the character of a christian and a civilized being. Royalty, however, is supposed to be exempt from any of those kindred feelings, and therefore it was necessary to call upon the nation to pay a son a certain sum annually, ostensibly for defraying the expences of his journey to and from Windsor, to make an inquiry after his father's health, which sum, however, of £10,000 a year was squandered at the hazard table, or in the keeping of a notorious harlot.

When we reflect upon the bloody reign of George III., and call to mind the rivers of human gore that were shed during that reign, when we look back to the period of the American war, which was generally understood to be a war of the king's more than his ministers; when we call to our recollections the commencement of the French war, which, it has been asserted was waged at his majesty's particular instance, in opposition to the private opinion of Mr. Pitt;\* when we look back on

\* If Mr. Pitt, according to the dictum of Mr. Hunt, did actually wage the French war contrary to his own opinion, it must be acknowledged, that even if it had been his opinion, he could not have prosecuted it with more inveterate fury, or a more reckless disregard to the interests of the country.



the numerous sanguinary statutes that were passed during this king's reign, and the thousands of victims that fell a sacrifice to them ; and when we contemplate the myriads upon myriads of brave Britons whose lives were offered up as a sacrifice to these moloch wars, then may it well and truly be called the UNFORTUNATE REIGN of King George the Third, which reign was concluded by the king himself being locked up for many years in his own castle, a solitary captive, suffering under the complicated and melancholy visitation of *blindness* and *madness*, and when we think of all this, we may without being very superstitious, consider the catastrophe as an awful instance of the Divine vengeance levelled at the sinful ruler of a war-loving nation.

“ George III.,” says Mr. Hunt, “ was the only king I ever saw, *and I never wish to see another king.* The last time I saw him, was when he was getting out of his carriage at the Star at Andover, on his return from Weymouth, which place he never afterwards visited. His eyesight was then nearly gone, and his attendants were obliged to guide his feet, and to lead him like a child into the inn. I had known him in his prime, and had frequently hunted with him. At the time when I saw him at Andover, he had indeed sadly fallen off, and his signature to all his documents was effected by a stamp, some one directing his hand. All acts of Parliament, all commissions, all death warrants, and all pardons, were for a long time signed in this manner. He who had signed more death warrants than any mortal that ever breathed, and who could kill or spare human beings by the mere dash of his pen ; alas ! alas ! he once so powerful, could not now even save the life of a poor mouse.\* I would have had the emperor Alexander,

\* This alludes to a little mouse, which paid the royal maniac such frequent visits during his long captivity, that it at length became quite tame, and would submit to be handled by the unfortunate shadow of a great monarch. Unfortunately the queen came into the room one day, before the little trembling animal had time to escape to its hiding place, and she ordered her attendant in her barbarous Anglo-German dialect to kill “ dat nausty mose.” Her attendant ventured to expostulate, saying that his majesty would miss his little



the king of Prussia, and all the royal visitors go down to Windsor, to be the eye-witnesses of the ills that (royal) flesh is heir to; they should have been reminded by a personal interview with this poor old maniac, to what a wretched state it was possible even for the greatest monarch to be reduced by the hand of providence; that all wise and just providence, the same power that permitted the EMPEROR NAPOLEON to be sent a prisoner to St. Helena; the same power that permitted HENRY HUNT (we wish he had added, *non magna componere parva*,) to remain a captive in Ilchester bastile for two years and six months, commanded also that GEORGE the THIRD, should after having lost his sight, and been deprived of his reason, be confined as a solitary prisoner in his own palace for many of the latter years of his existence. The Lord's will be done.

“During the whole time that these ridiculous freaks were going on in London, and that John Gull and his family were running stark mad with joy and glory, I remained quietly and snugly at Middleton cottage, occupied in fishing or looking after my farm, and most sincerely lamenting the folly of my countrymen and countrywomen, and whenever I had an opportunity, I did not fail to remonstrate with them on their ridiculous and preposterous conduct, and assure them that the hour would come, when they would be heartily ashamed of it. So far was I from ever making one of the number of fools who ran after these sceptred despots, that when some of them were travelling post by the house, where I was staying, I retired into a *back room*, in order to avoid the possibility of seeing them, always saying, when the question was put to me, that I thanked God I had seen *one king*, and was so well satisfied, that I never wished to see another, a single sample was quite enough for me.”

We know not what the admirers of Mrs. Hannah More will say to the following strictures, which Mr. Hunt passes upon

corruption, but expostulation was vain, “de leetle nausty mose” was killed and his majesty cried when he was told of its death.



that lady, for he jumps from royalty to Hannah More, and from Hannah More to Johanna Southcote, as if they formed a kind of Trinity in lunacy, fanaticism, and hypocrisy.

“At the time,” says Mr. Hunt, “that the allied sovereigns were figuring away in London, there were two fanatics of the names of Johanna Southcote, and Hannah More, who were what is professionally called, *much followed* in the west of England. Somersetshire could boast of possessing two female saints *Mrs. Hannah More*, and *Mrs. Johanna Southcote*; at the same time, which of the two was the greatest imposter, it would be very difficult to decide; although the former appears to have borne off the palm of successful fraud and imposition. Miss Hannah More, who in her younger days, had been a very frolicsome lass, became all at once converted into a saint, and set herself up for a severe and rigid moralist. In her younger days, she also wrote plays and tragedies for the benefit of the young misses entrusted to her charge, in which they were instructed in the art of making love, and in the manner in which love is made to them, on which subjects we may be allowed to hazard a conjecture; that there are few misses who require any instruction to render them perfect in the knowledge of them. Miss Hannah More had also the merit of establishing the gang, generally known by the name and title of the saints amongst our politicians. In her train, she had the Sidmouths, the Wilberforces, the Babingtons, the Dickensons, and others of that puritanical cast. Although it has been whispered, but which of course must be a calumny, that from the well known character of some of these gentry, who were very frequent in their visits, the buxom dame, (who had now assumed the title of Mrs.) contrived like the friars of old, to indulge in the gratification of those passions, to which it is said real saints are not prone. Some of her neighbours were in consequence so ill-natured as to say, that her conversion was not sincere, but that it was a mere cloak to cover certain practices. Mrs. Johanna Southcote was an illiterate woman, whose fanaticism was carried to full as high a pitch as that of



Mrs. More, but as her doctrine did not suit "the powers that be" quite so well as the doctrine of the other did, she could not boast of having ministers of state and many of the nobility as her disciples, although amongst her numerous followers she did not want for men of talent and education. Dr. Ash, and under whose care, the VERY VENERABLE JUDGE BEST, that type of all that is amiable, and good, and virtuous, in the judicial character, received his education, was a staunch disciple of Johanna's, and it is said the venerable judge himself at times discovered a little hankering after the prophetess, but whether his attachment was to her person or her principles, is not clearly decided."

We are now arrived at a momentous period in the life of Mr. Hunt, when he became entangled with a set of political demagogues of the lowest character, or rather of no character at all, some of whom expiated their crimes on the scaffold, and whose measures obtained for Mr. Hunt a name of opprobrium, which clung to him to the last hour of his life. This unfortunate connection may also be said to have led to the Manchester meeting, which may be considered to be the crisis of Mr. Hunt's political life, and which forms an important epoch in the pages of English history







*Engraved by J Rogers from a Drawing by J Chater*

**HENRY HUNT, ESQ: M.P.**

*L. B. NOV 6 1775*

*DIED FEB 13 1835*

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'H. Hunt', with a stylized flourish at the end.

*London Published (for the Proprietors) by*

*"SA" ANDERS 35 NEWGATE STREET 1835*



*The*  
HISTORY OF THE  
*Private and Political Life*  
of  
HENRY HUNT, ESQ.  
*Member of the House of Commons*  
HIS TIMES AND CONTEMPORARIES.  
BY  
*Robert Huish, Esq.*

LONDON,

*Published for the Proprietors by John Saunders 25 Newgate Street.*

1835







THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE  
OF THE LATE  
**HENRY HUNT, Esq. M. P.**  
FOR PRESTON,  
HIS TIMES AND COTEMPORARIES;  
EXHIBITING  
THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THOSE GREAT POLITICAL EVENTS  
WHICH LED TO THE PASSING OF THE  
**REFORM ACT :**  
EMBRACING ALSO THE  
HISTORY OF THE MOMENTOUS CRISIS,  
BY WHICH THE  
**TORY GOVERNMENT**  
OF THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN ABOLISHED.

---

BY ROBERT HUISH, Esq. F.L.A. F.Z.S.

Author of "The Last Voyage of Capt. Ross," "Travels of Richard Lander into the Interior of Africa." "Memoirs of William Cobbett Esq. M. P." &c. &c.

---

VOL. II.

---

**London :**

*Published for the Proprietors, by*

**JOHN SAUNDERS, 25, NEWGATE STREET.**

---

MDCCCXXXVI.



---

**M. Abel, Printer, 52, Broad-wall, Christ-church, Surrey.**



THE HISTORY  
OF THE  
PRIVATE AND POLITICAL LIFE  
OF THE LATE  
HENRY HUNT ESQ.,  
M. P. FOR PRESTON  
ETC. ETC.

---

CHAPTER I.

As an improvement, or rather, a total change in the representative system of this country, was the leading feature of all Mr. Hunt's endeavours, and in the prosecution of which he exhibited an unshaken integrity of soul, an indefatigable industry, and an unparrelleled fortitude, we shall not consider ourselves as swerving from the strict line of our duty, if we take a rapid sketch of our representative system as it stood in the time of our forefathers, and mark its progress, till it arrived at that state of comparative perfection, which it exhibits at the present day.

It must however strike us as a very strange and unaccountable inconsistency in human affairs; that mankind should suffer themselves to be terrified by words which have not the slightest tendency to excite ideas of alarm or apprehension. No one can deny but that there is an essential difference in the words *innovation* and *reform*, and yet it was the interest of certain classes so to confound them, that whatever applied to the latter was considered to partake of the nature of the former. The term *innovation* was at one time so assiduously rung in the ears of the people of this country, and so much of the dan-



gerous and terrific has been associated with it, that if any one will examine the speeches as delivered by those vile plunderers of the public, styling themselves statesmen, it will appear to them as a comprehensive phrase for every sort of political evil and calamity. But there is something still more paradoxical in the circumstance, for upon the most superficial examination of the subject, every Englishman, who values the constitution of his country, will be obliged to trace all its excellencies, and advantages, to that principle, the very sound of which was at one time, so discordant to the ears.

No one will deny that the representative form, which our government has assumed, however defective, is one of the features for which it has been the most justly celebrated, and the most reasonably admired. Yet the present constitution of that assembly has flowed not from any single and unconnected effort of deliberative wisdom, but from the gentle innovations of time, the sudden changes of accident, and the gradual improvement of the human mind.

In the early age of this legislative body, it does not appear that the commons, now the most essential part of it, held a seat in it, the whole power in the early times of English history was lodged in the King, and great council, and although some writers have been fond of finding a perfect representative system in the ancient Saxon polity, it is by no means evident that this order of men were recognised at all in those periods.

We know indeed that our Saxon ancestors had parliaments, but it is a very difficult matter to prove that the third class of community were included in them; the opposite proposition is much more probable, and stands on stronger grounds of proof, and reasoning, for the bulk of the nation were either in a state of vassalage to their lords, or enjoyed allodial privileges under the king. The vassals were absolute slaves to their masters, and it is very improbable that they ever advanced any claims in the legislative power, and the *allodii* not being united to the general feudal community, were necessarily excluded from the national councils. Notwithstanding the vehement panegyrics which have issued from political writers on the Saxon govern-



ment, no part of their community can be called free, except the lords, or the proprietors of land, and for this very reason, public liberty could not exist, for public liberty can only exist with an equal communion of privileges, founded on those legislative provisions, by which, all who are the subjects of the laws, must personally or by representative, be the makers of the laws.

Let us not therefore roam the forest of barbarians, or ascend into the darkness of gothic ages for features of just or equal polity; but let us attend to the history of our own government, and we shall see the slow and gradual manner in which it has been moulded into its present shape. Nor ought we to forget that our boasted constitution instead of issuing out of the brains of sage and enlightened legislators, the perfect product of human wisdom, has been the offspring of the most savage times, of perpetual innovations, concessions, and struggles, a circumstance that ought surely to diminish a superstitious and bigotted regard for the system, because it admits an inference, that it is not even now the most perfect constitution that the ingenuity of man can devise, or his wants may require.

The representative system was not more perfect at the first introduction of feudal polity. William divided the whole kingdom into knights fees, which were held of himself by military tenure, and none but the immediate vassals of the crown, or tenants in *capite* had seats in the public assembly. In tracing the subjects of popular privileges, we must believe with caution what has been said by many historians, concerning the first introduction of the commons into parliament, by Mountford or Edward, for this improvement did not originate with those persons, but arose from a longer train of innovating causes than those writers are willing to imagine. Edward I. passed a law by which it was intended to preserve both, to the crown and to the barons their feudal rights for ever. This act restrained the creation of new superiorities; it allowed the people to dispose of their land, but the original tenure pursued it through all its alienations, and when the king's tenant divided



his estate into small baronies, the purchaser afterwards had no connection with the seller, but held it immediately of the crown, and if these purchasers alienated the land to others, the tenure remained still in the king; and as it was before remarked, every tenant in *capite*, that is every, one who held immediately of the crown, had a seat in the feudal parliament, and here we observe the effect of a law that was passed by Edward and his barons merely to prevent their vassals from becoming lords like themselves. This was the grand innovation which gave birth to the English House of Commons, the innovation of a short-sighted ambition, tyrannical, rapacious, and thoughtless.

The tenants in *capite*, by the alienation of the king's vassals soon became so numerous, that it began to be inconvenient and almost impossible for them to assemble in their own persons. Hence arose, and not from any laboured refinements of legislative invention, the first idea of representation. The enfranchisement of royal boroughs still multiplied the royal tenures, and consequently added to the incipient rights of the commons in the scale of authority. Having assembled for a long time in the same chamber with the peers, when their numbers became too great to meet in one assembly, they were obliged to separate. Hence proceeded the distinct existence of the Lords and Commons. Thus the legislative influence of the people arose from the ambition of a king and his barons, and their authority as a distinct body, from a mere local accident.

But there are a variety of *other innovations* by which our boasted constitution has been formed. In ancient times, the towns and cities were built on the demesne lands of the king or of some powerful baron, and were consequently considered as private property, and owing to this circumstance it was that the lord might confer the privileges of a borough on any of his towns and cities. But this was first a considerable innovation, although it was frequently practised afterwards.

The English Kings usurped the privilege of increasing at their own pleasure the number of borough representatives. This privilege gave rise to a very important innovation in the



number of the commons, for although in the reign of Henry IV., they did not exceed three hundred, yet before the end of Charles the second's reign, they amounted to more than five hundred.

The towns of Buckingham and Berwick sent no representatives till the Reign of Henry VIII., Westminster was first represented in the reign of Edward VI., and the two universities in the time of James I. But this prerogative being abused by many kings, who by means of its assistance were enabled to return a majority of their favorites, it has been virtually abolished, but yet this abolition was a very important *innovation*.

In the reign of Edward, the sovereign frequently directed the chief commercial towns of the country to send representatives to a council of trade, at length, however the popular representatives usurped the province of that council, and from that time a grant of supplies which was the exclusive prerogative of the commons, was always accompanied with a petition in behalf of trade, of property or freedom. By this innovation the house of commons gradually acquired their legislative authority, and before the conclusion of the reign of Edward III., they declared that they would not in future, acknowledge any law to which they had not expressly given their assent.

But besides these various *innovations*, the very principle on which that assembly depends for its deliberative authority, is clearly an innovation, we mean the freedom of speech. In the reigns of many princes, imprisonment and penalty were employed to stifle and suppress the exercise of this important privilege. During the government of Elizabeth, and some of the Stuarts, the privy council frequently controlled the liberty of debate, and the tone of a bold and exalted freedom was highly offensive to the court, and dangerous to him that uttered it.

We have thus shown that the present form of our legislative body, (if that system, even with the boasted reform which it has undergone, which is so defective and inadequate may be called representative,\* (the principles on which it operates, and the

\* There is only one way of rendering the representation pure, and that is by



privileges it enjoys, are all the effects of perpetual innovations. If indeed an Englishman in his natural pride and enthusiasm be inclined to adore his government, as a perfect plan of polished wisdom and enlightened invention, let him reflect on this, and lay aside at once his bigotry for his own, and his intolerance towards other models of institutions. This boasted fabric, the envy of the world, the admiration of ages, without principle or design, without even prudence or political foresight, has lasted from generation to generation. because it has been upheld and supported, by temporary repairs, and occasional amendments, and to which a *thorough repair* at the present time would be highly beneficial.

Yet, from the high language that is held by those, who pretend to be its admirers, one might imagine that it had remained from the highest antiquity, the monument of a consummate and finished legislation. How weak and defective a proof this opinion rests upon, will easily be shown; for when did the English constitution ever arrive at perfection? when did it make even the slightest approximation to a complete and perfect government? The polity of Saxon barbarians has been already characterised as a stern and haughty aristocracy, unjustly excluding from the general rights of society, a large portion of the community. The constitution of the Normans, surely, has no claim to the description of a pure and perfect system, when there was no other idea of right, than partial and exclusive privilege, and when the claims of the people were so little understood and so faintly acknowledged, that an equal value was set upon the life of a man, and of a beast of chase; at neither of these periods then, was there a settled plan of constitution, the vices of the feudal system were indeed somewhat remedied by the Magna Charta, extorted from one of our feudal kings, and this produced some very important innovations.

ballot; for as long as certain boroughs; Tamworth, for instance, are in the hands of one person, it is a mockery to call those boroughs duly and properly represented. The inhabitants of these boroughs are like so many serfs on a Russian estate; if their proprietor, be a consummate blockhead, they must still vote for him, or be ejected from their houses



The celebrated statute of Edward I., *de tallagio non concedendo*, which secures the inhabitants of towns from arbitrary taxation, was another useful innovation. The statute of treasons passed in the reign of Edward III., was a provision of the most beneficial nature, and introduced a very salutary innovation in that part of English jurisprudence. The venerable act of Habeas Corpus, likewise the abolition of the courts of wards and liveries were further attempts to rectify and regulate the ancient system, and after these, the memorable revolution of 1688, which established the principles of *resistance* upon its true, solid, and legal foundation, contributed still more to improve the plan of our government. But all these improvements show how much we are indebted to those innovations, the repetition of which is so much dreaded at the present time and which were the chief stumbling block in the way of the municipal Reform Bill, adduced by the adherents of corruption, abuse, and absurdity.

The amendment of our representative system is an innovation, which the circumstance of these times loudly called for, and, however, the petitions of the people may be for a while despised or slighted, the time will come when they will appear as demandants of a right, not as petitioners for a privilege. Then will approach the season of innovation, not perhaps of innovations, which are merely temporary expedients or compromising remedies, but of innovations which will lay the axe to the root of oppression, and pursue every political evil to a complete and final extirpation.

We have indulged in the foregoing remarks as introductory to a particular and very important period in the life of Mr. Hunt, when he was brought into contact with individuals of the most desperate character, and whose secret aim was the actual overthrow of the English government, carried on under the guise of an extinction of abuses, and a thorough regeneration of the houses of Parliament. It was their desire to enlist in their cause some persons of standing, respectability and talent, and whom could they fix upon with greater propriety



than upon Mr. Hunt, who had openly avowed himself as the unflinching and uncompromising champion of parliamentary reform, and who having some stake in the country, would impart to their proceedings a degree of personal responsibility, of which the conspirators themselves were wholly wanting.

Mr. Hunt relates his introduction to this gang of desperadoes, in the following manner.

“Sometime in the early part of September, I received a letter from London, signed A. THISTLEWOOD, requesting me when I came to town, to do him the favour of a call, as he had to communicate to me matters of the highest importance connected with the welfare and happiness of the people, to promote whose interest, he had always observed, that I was most ready and active, &c. &c. As Mr. Thistlewood was a perfect stranger to me, I wrote to a Mr. Bryant, a quondam attorney and clerk of the papers at the King’s Bench, a man who it was said knew every body and every thing that was going on in London, both in high and low life. I wrote to this gentleman, and requested him to inquire at such a number for Mr. Thistlewood, and let me know who and what he was, as I had received rather a mysterious letter from him and I wished to know something of him before I gave him any answer. The answer which I received from Mr. Bryant, was such that I never replied to the letter of Mr. Thistlewood, or took any further notice of it.

“Some time, however, in the beginning of November, I received a letter from London, signed Thomas Preston, secretary; to say, that a public meeting of the distressed inhabitants of the metropolis, was advertised to be held in Spa Fields, on Monday the 15th November, and that he was instructed by the committee, to solicit my attendance. The letter was dated from Greystoke place, and the writer requested an answer which I gave him by return of post, desiring to be informed what was the object of the meeting. I received a reply, stating that the object was to agree to a memorial to the Prince Regent, setting forth their grievances, and praying for relief.



I instantly wrote to say that I accepted their invitation, and I would attend the meeting at the time appointed.

“ On the next day, I rode over to *my friend* Cobbett at Botley, to consult with him what was to be done. When I mentioned the circumstance to him, he looked very grave, and said it was a dangerous experiment, and he scarcely knew how to advise me, whether to go or not. Oh ! said I, make your mind quite easy upon *that* point, there is no difficulty in it. I have accepted the invitation, and I mean to attend the meeting. The moment that I ascertained that it was for a legal purpose, that of addressing the Prince Regent upon the distressed state of the people, and praying for redress, I no longer hesitated, but accepted the invitation, and promised to be there in time. All that I want you to do, therefore, is to assist me in drawing up some resolutions, and preparing a proper address to be presented to his royal highness upon the occasion. ‘That,’ said he, ‘I will do with great pleasure.’ After due consideration, the resolutions and the address were agreed upon, and drawn up by him. *Mr. Cobbett never mentioned one word to me, that he had been invited by the same party, to attend this same meeting, but he said he should be at his lodgings in London at the time.*

“ I arrived in London the Saturday before the intended meeting, and called at Greystoke place to inquire for Mr. Thomas Preston. I found no one there but, two or three dirtily dressed, miserable, poor children, who told me that I should find their father at some house in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane. Thither I repaired, meditating as I went along, on the wretched emblem of the distresses of the times, which I had just witnessed in the family of Mr. Thomas Preston. When I reached Southampton Buildings, I knocked at the door, and inquired for Mr. Preston. The servant said there was no such person there, but she would go and inquire of Mr. THISTLEWOOD and the Doctor ; she then desired me to walk in, and I was shown into a very neat and well furnished dining room. I could not avoid observing to myself the contrast between the elegant apartment I was now in, and that



which I had just quitted in Greystoke Place; *the name of Thistlewood was still tinkling upon the drum of my ear, having quite forgotten where I had heard it before.*"

We must here interrupt the course of the narrative, to make a few brief remarks on the latter circumstance as related by Mr. Hunt. It must be admitted that he had offered a direct insult to Thistlewood, in not taking any notice of the letter which had been written to him, and which conduct he was induced to adopt from the character, which he had received of Thistlewood from Mr. Bryant. Mr. Hunt, however, now becomes personally acquainted with him, and in despite of the character, which he had received of him, shows no hesitation or repugnance to enter with him into an explanation of his plans, instead of withdrawing himself at once from any association with a man of such a questionable character. It must also be observed that Doctor Watson was an utter stranger to Mr. Hunt, and if the maxim be good, that a man is known by the company he keeps, some not very pleasant suspicions must have arisen in his mind, that he was committing himself to the power of individuals, who might bring his own character to a level with theirs. There is also something not very credible in the circumstance of Mr. Hunt having *entirely forgotten* where he had heard the name of Thistlewood, *although it was still tinkling upon the drum of his ear*, on the contrary, the circumstance of the receipt of the letter from him, and the *reason* of his not answering it, must, it would be naturally supposed, recur to his memory, and have induced him to make a precipitate retreat from all association with characters of their stamp.

To resume Mr. Hunt's narrative. "In a few minutes, two gentlemen walked in, the one dressed in a handsome dressing gown and morroco slippers, the other in a shabby genteel black. The former addressed me very familiarly by name, saying, that he *was Mr Thistlewood, and he begged to introduce his friend Dr. Watson.* They at once informed me that they were part of the committee for whom Mr. Preston acted as secretary, that they had called the meeting, and directed their secretary to invite me to attend it, and that they had also



written to invite Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, Mr. Waithman, Mr. Cobbett, and several other political characters. I then inquired what was the nature of the memorial or address which they meant to submit to the Prince Regent. They answered, that they had it not then by them, but, that if *I wished it*, they would procure me a sight of it, before I went to the meeting. To this, I replied, that I certainly did not wish merely for a sight of it, but for something more, as, if I attended the meeting to take any part in it, I should choose to have time to peruse the memorial very minutely, before I undertook to give it my support. This they promised I should have an opportunity of doing, and the doctor appeared anxious to have my opinion of it. I could, however, see that Mr. Thistlewood had set his heart upon this memorial as it stood, and he slightly intimated that the committee had made up their minds on the subject, and that it was finally settled that the memorial was to be submitted to the meeting. I inquired who the committee were composed of, and I soon found that Mr. Thistlewood and Dr. Watson were in reality the committee; young Watson, Preston, Hooper, *Castles*, and one or two others who formed the remainder of the committee, being merely nominal members. I informed them that I was staying at Cooper's hotel, where they promised to wait upon me in the evening with the memorial, that I might look it over."

The information which Mr. Hunt had received, that invitations had been sent to Sir Francis Burdett, Major Cartwright, and others of the leading political characters of the day, and they, one and all of them having declined to have any thing to do with the meeting, ought to have operated on Mr. Hunt to follow their example, and to have left the unprincipled crew to prosecute their traitorous designs, at the risk of their own heads, without involving that of an innocent and respectable individual. Conscious to themselves, that they had no character to lose, they were reckless as to the consequences which their designs might have upon the character of those individuals who might be unsuspectingly entangled in their snares. It is also worthy of remark, that there appears some-



thing very inexplicable in the conduct of Mr. Cobbett, who although invited to attend the meeting, forebore to mention that circumstance to Mr. Hunt, at the same time that he assisted him in drawing up the resolutions. It would thence appear that Mr. Cobbett had some foreboding of the dangerous tendency of the meeting, and of the rottenness of the characters of the individuals who had projected it, but still, although he felt no inclination to expose himself to any danger, yet he felt no objection to expose *his friend* to it. The whole affair was indeed well calculated to arouse suspicion in the breast of any one possessed of the feelings of common caution or prudence. Mr. Hunt was, however, a candidate for popular fame, and his extreme love of notoriety conquered over those dictates of prudence, which in any other case, he would have put in practice.

Mr. Hunt continues. " Mr. Thistlewood and the Doctor came at the appointed hour, and brought the document with them. It was very long, and filled several pages closely written upon foolscap paper. As soon as I had read the first resolution, I was satisfied in my own mind, as to how I ought to act with respect to this voluminous production, but when I had read to the bottom of the first page, I closed the book, and very seriously informed my visitors, that it evidently contained treasonable matter, and that nothing more than the overt act of holding the meeting to carry the scheme into execution was required, to make all that were concerned in it, liable at least to be indicted for high treason. I certainly should not, I told them, countenance any such measures as were proposed, even in the first page, and the project of marching in a body to Carlton House, to demand and enforce an audience of the Prince Regent, which formed a part of their design, was quite preposterous, as well as unjust and unreasonable. As a private gentleman, I myself would not submit to be intruded upon in such a manner, and it was very unreasonable to expect that it could be endured by the chief magistrate of the country. I found, in fact, that the whole affair was made up of Spencean principles, relating to the holding of all



the land in the kingdom as one great farm belonging to the people, or something of that sort. I told them my ideas upon the subject, which were, that the first thing the people had to do in order to recover their rights, was to obtain a reform of the Common's house of Parliament. When once the people were fairly and equally represented in that house, such propositions as were contained in their memorial might then be discussed, but for one set of people to dictate to any other what should be the law, I maintained to be arbitrary and unjust. The Doctor very readily concurred with me, and he asked my advice as to what was best to be done. I replied that the only course to be pursued was, to pass certain resolutions, pointing out the distressed state of the country, and the absolute necessity of reform, to save the wreck of the constitution, and declaring that the only reform that would be of any avail, must be upon the principles of ANNUAL PARLIAMENTS, UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, and vote BY BALLOT. They both at once agreed to the propriety of my suggestions, and requested that I would prepare some resolutions and an address to his royal highness, which they also begged me to propose to the meeting, and they would support them. I asked them if they did not expect the attendance of any other of the public characters to whom they had written. To this they replied, *that I was the only person who had accepted the invitation.* The Doctor and Mr. Thistlewood promised to take care about the hustings being erected in Spa-Fields, and the former was to call on me on Monday morning to prepare and transcribe the resolutions and the petition, which were to be submitted to the meeting.

“ The Doctor came at the time appointed, and he copied the resolutions and the petition, which I had drawn up, which with some alterations and additions, were the same as were agreed upon by Mr. Cobbett and myself at Botley. Before we had finished these, a messenger arrived to say, that an immense number of persons were assembled in the front of the Merlin's cave, public house, in Spa-Fields, and that they were impatient for our arrival. Upon this, the Doctor and



myself got into a hackney coach, and drove immediately to the spot, which was covered by much the largest concourse of people I had ever seen together in my life. We were hailed by the most deafening shouts, and with some considerable difficulty we were driven to the summit of the hill, surrounded by the multitude. Upon inquiring where the hustings were, I found that nothing had been done or thought of towards the erecting them. In this dilemma, I mounted upon the top of the hackney coach, and was immediately followed by the Doctor and another person, which person, without any further ceremony, hoisted a tri-coloured flag, *red, white, and green*. The bearer of the flag was no less a personage than the notorious MR. JOHN CASTLES, a *gentleman* that I had never seen before. I soon found that it was impossible to address such an immense multitude from such a situation as that of the top of a coach, and as the wind blew very sharp, our berth was a very disagreeable one. While we were looking round for a better situation, we were hailed by some *gentleman* from the windows of a house in the neighbouring row, and a young person, whom I afterwards found to be Mr. William Clark, having made his way to the coach, invited me to enter the house opposite, and to address the multitude from the window, and as the party, who were assembled in that room still kept beckoning me to join them, I readily assented. We dismounted and followed Mr. Clark, who led us up stairs into the front room of the Merlin's cave public house, which I afterwards found had been taken by, and was partly occupied by the magistrates, accompanied by a number of officers of the police, and the reporters of the public press. The sashes were immediately removed from the window, and I presented myself to the assembled multitude amidst universal shouts of applause. I found myself surrounded by strangers, there being scarcely a man in the room I had ever seen before, with the exception of Mr. Clark and some of the reporters of the public press. I proposed that Mr. Clark should take the chair, which proposal was seconded and carried by acclamation. I was the only one present who was known to the multitude as a public man. I



had often appeared before the people at Palace Yard, and at the Guildhall of the city of London, and I was instantly recognized by them. In fact, I believe that it had been publicly placarded and advertised, that I had accepted the invitation to attend, which had been sent to me by the committee, and I was therefore expected.

The chairman having in an appropriate speech, briefly opened the meeting, I stood forward to move the resolutions, which I prefaced by a speech of about an hour in length."

It would far exceed our limits to give the whole of Mr Hunt's speech, and therefore we shall merely state that it embraced the leading topics on which the complaints of the public are founded, namely the enormous sum which is annually wrung from the pockets of the people for the discharge of the civil list, alias for the support of the expensive pageant of Royalty, amounting to £1,038,000 to which may be added on the score of deficiencies, £584,713 which with the civil list for Scotland, made the whole amount of the civil list for *one year, one million, seven hundred and fifty nine thousand, three hundred and twenty six pounds*, and in the same year, the family of royal cormorants, called upon the nation to grant an additional allowance to them of £366,660.

Mr. Hunt of course could not allow that monument of profligacy, extravagance, and vice, to pass over without receiving from him, his well merited castigation, we allude to the pension list of this country, which includes the names of the titled paupers of the state workhouse, and including a list of some of the most profligate sinecurists, and pensioners; of all grades, and ranks, from the bastards of royalty to the very pimps and panders of the lowest stews of the metropolis.

Mr. Hunt contended that the enormous weight of taxation alone produced the misery under which the people were groaning, and that the sole cause of such heavy impositions being placed upon the people, was from the corrupt state of the representation in the house of commons, or the people's house of parliament, and he laboured strenuously to convince them that



the high price of bread and meat, did not originate with the bakers and butchers, as was falsely asserted to be the case by the corrupt conductors of the public press. He demonstrated to them the weakness of wreaking their vengeance upon unoffending tradesmen, who were suffering from the weight of taxes, nearly as much as themselves, and he endeavoured to convince them of *the superiority of mental over physical force*, contending that it would be an act of injustice, as well as folly to resort to the latter, while they had the power of exercising the former. Above all things, he took the greatest pains to promote peace and good order, as the only means by which they were likely to obtain any redress for their grievances, or any alleviation of their miseries, and to convince them that to commit acts of violence would prove them unworthy of relief.

Mr. Hunt then proposed four resolutions, the chief principles of which were "*the removal of the weight of taxation.*" "*The impolicy of the maintenance of an army in France, in order to uphold the restored despots, and priests, in opposition to the express wishes of the whole French nation.*" "*The lavish and improvident expenditure of the public money on innumerable men, and women, who are the holders of sinecures, pensions, grants, and emoluments of various descriptions, without having ever performed the smallest service to their country.*" A complete and radical reform of the house of commons, and concluding with a petition to the Prince Regent, that he would immediately assemble parliament, and recommend to them in the most urgent manner, *to reduce the army ; to abolish all sinecures, and all pensions, grants, and emoluments not merited by public services, and to apply the same, to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked.*

After passing the customary vote of thanks to the chairman Mr. Hunt, and others, the meeting was dissolved ; the multitude however took the horses from the carriage, which Mr. Hunt had entered with the chairman, and drew them *amongst the most deafening cheers* to the Inn where Mr. Hunt was lodging, the Black Lion, Water Lane.\*

\* Mr. Hunt here makes a mistake, previously to the meeting he was lodging at



Just as Mr. Hunt was sitting down to dinner with Mr. Bryant, his son, and Mr. Clark, to the great surprise of the party in marched Messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, and three or four strangers, whom they introduced as Mr. Watson junr., Mr. Castles, Mr. Hooper, &c., who had followed them from the meeting with the intention, as they said, of dining with Mr. Hunt, not perhaps knowing where they could get a dinner elsewhere. Mr. Hunt was very much disconcerted by this intrusion, and told them that he had private business to settle, that he had no idea of dining in public, and that dinner was only ordered for four. As, however, they did not appear to take the hint, although it was a pretty broad one, Mr. Bryant ordered more fish and some chops to be added to the dinner, *and the table being lengthened*, down they all sat together; Mr. Bryant took the chair at the request of Mr. Hunt.

Even with the slight knowledge which we may be supposed to possess of the common courtesies of human life, we cannot reconcile the account of this dinner as related by Mr. Hunt with any of the generally received modes of social intercourse. In the first place, Mr. Hunt was living as a private gentleman at a public inn, and it was not very probable that the domestics of the establishment would have permitted a posse of strangers to have, comparatively speaking, forced their way into the company of a guest at the house, who was about to sit down to dine with a few friends, without having first announced to Mr. Hunt that some individuals had called upon him: and in the next place, as Mr. Bryant was a guest of Mr. Hunt, it was rather a specimen of very ill breeding on the part of the latter to subject a visiter of his to sit down at a table, and actually to preside at the head of it, at which was seated a character, so notoriously bad, that Mr. Hunt himself would not answer a letter received from him, on account of the information received from the very individual, whom he had invited as a visiter. Mr. Hunt, although not mixing in the highest circles, was

Cooper's Hotel, Bouverie Street, after the meeting he was lodging at the Black Lion



still not so entirely ignorant of the urbanities and courtesies of genteel life, as to expose a guest of his to sit down at the same table with an individual, whom he had represented as totally unworthy of the notice of any respectable person. Mr. Hunt must also have distinctly seen the lowness of the characters with whom he had brought himself into association, by their not immediately retiring on the information given by Mr. Hunt, that he was not dining in public, and had only ordered for four. There is also something unaccountably strange in Mr. Bryant, who was a guest of Mr. Hunt, being requested to take the head of the table, as if Mr. Hunt were himself ashamed to preside over such a disreputable gang, not one of whom had at the time a farthing at *stake* in the country, and who did not know where to get a *steak* but at the expence of Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Hunt, however, was not long before he found good reason to regret the imprudent step which he had taken, in committing himself with a set of men, who were in a degree utter strangers to him, for on the dinner being ended, Mr. Bryant drank the *health of the king*,\* which toast passed round till it came to Mr. Castles, who having filled a bumper, substituted the following vulgar and sanguinary toast for that of the king.

‘*May the last of kings be strangled with the guts of the last priest,*’ a piece of brutality which had not even the miserable merit of being original, he having copied it from one of the French anarchists. This was to Mr. Hunt, a pretty specimen of the company that had intruded themselves upon him. He remonstrated immediately against such blackguardism, and he declared that he would not remain in the room if there were any repetition of it. Mr. Castles, however, soon began again in a similar manner, and having put forth some most outrageous speech, as vulgar as it was seditious, both Mr. Hunt and Mr. Bryant insisted upon the unmannerly in-

\* Mr. Bryant was at this time holding an office under the crown as clerk of the papers of the King's Bench, and yet Mr. Hunt could place him in a situation, which had it been known to “the authorities,” would have been instantly followed by his dismissal.



truder leaving the room or holding his peace. He promised to do the latter, and soon dropped off, or appeared to drop off into a very sound sleep. This was a circumstance which struck Mr. Hunt as being very suspicious, and therefore he was particularly guarded in what he said, and in what was said by others. At length two of the party, young Watson and Hooper, made a movement to retire, and Mr. Hunt insisted upon it that they should take their friend Castles with them, but he shammed so sound a sleep, that he was with difficulty got out of the room, and it was only effected by Mr. Hunt pulling the chair from under him, upon which he was in an instant as wide awake as any man in the room. This soon convinced Mr. Hunt that his sleep was all a mere pretence. Soon after this, the remainder of the party left them, and Mr. Bryant and Mr. Hunt were left to themselves to talk over the curious adventures of the evening. They were at any rate convinced that Castles was a great villain, and Mr. Hunt was determined in future not to be in a room where he was.

On the following morning, Watson and Thistlewood came to apologize for the ill behaviour of their *friend* Castles, who, they assured Mr. Hunt, was at heart a very good fellow, but *that he was overcome with liquor on the preceding evening.* (There is an old adage, save me from my friends, and I will take care of my enemies. When Castles gave the obnoxious toast, not a single glass of wine had been yet taken after dinner, Mr. Bryant having given the first toast, therefore Castles nor his friends on his behalf could plead intoxication.) He, however, now wished very much to have an opportunity of making an apology in person, for which purpose he was waiting in the vicinity. Mr. Hunt, however, positively refused to see him, saying, that he believed him to be a great scoundrel, and that he would on no account suffer him to come into his room again, and he not only cautioned Doctor Watson against him, but he advised him to take care, or Castles would bring him to the gallows. In fact, Mr. Hunt made up his mind that as long as the Doctor and Thistlewood kept company with such a fellow, he would have nothing to do with them in



private, nor would ever see them alone. Mr. Hunt felt that he had been in very dangerous company, and he was determined not to place himself in the power of such a man as Mr. Castles appeared to him to be.

From the corrupt state of the venal press at this particular period, it ceases to be a matter of wonder, that on the day subsequently to the celebrated meeting in Spa Fields, the whole pack of the government bloodhounds were let loose upon Mr. Hunt, who represented in the *Courier and Morning post*, that Mr. Hunt's speech was full of treasonable matter, and in this they were in some degree warranted, as government had obtained a copy of the original memorial from a person of the name of Dyll, and it was inserted in the *Courier* newspaper, as being the one which Mr. Hunt proposed. The following extract from Mr. Cobbett's *Register* will, however, give the fairest representation of the business, at the same time, that it relieves the character of Mr. Hunt from much of the odium, which has been so industriously attached to it.

"Since my long acquaintance with the press, I do not think that I have ever witnessed so much baseness of conduct as this meeting has given rise to. If Mr. Hunt had been the most notorious pickpocket; if he had been a ragamuffin covered with a coat hired for the day; if he had been a fellow who took up his lodgings in the brick-kilns or in the niches on Westminster Bridge; and if he had actually proposed to the meeting to go directly and plunder the silversmiths' shops, and cut the throats of all those who opposed them; if he had drank off a glass of human blood by way of moistening his throat; monstrous as this is, it is a real fact, that if he had been and had done all this, the London press could not have treated him in a worse manner than it has. The *Statesman* newspaper is an exception; but, I believe, that it is almost the only exception. Talk of *violence* indeed! Was there ever violence *like this* heard of in this world before? And what is the monstrous *crime* which has emboldened these literary ruffians to make this savage assault, and which induces them to suppose



that they shall finally escape with impunity? They, the vile wretches, are the real *mob*. They attack in body, they know that *defence is impossible*, they know that a hundred times the fortune of Mr. Hunt would not purchase enough of their columns to contain an answer to their falsehoods. Is this *manly*, is this *fairness*, is this *discussion*, is this *liberty of the press*? Infamous cowards! They merit to be dragged by a halter fastened round their necks and whipped through the streets. They talk of *decency* and *decorum* indeed! They call people *blackguards* and ruffians! They pretend to complain of *misrepresentation* and *exaggeration*! They! who set up one common howl of foul abuse and viperous calumny.

“ But what is the act which has awakened all those filthy curs, and put them in motion? Some persons, no matter who, but I believe, some suffering tradesmen in London, agreed to call a meeting of *distressed* people in Spa-Fields, in order to present a petition on the subject of their sufferings; one of the committee, who had called this meeting, wrote to Mr. Hunt to come and assist at it. This he did. Being there, he proposed a petition which was agreed to. This petition has appeared in the *Statesman* newspaper, to which I refer the reader, and when he has looked at it, he will be convinced, that if the language of *moderation* be desirable, the language of this petition is much more *moderate* than that of almost any petition; which has recently appeared in print. Upon what *ground* then is this outrageous abuse founded? The meeting separated very quietly, never did any meeting partake less of riotous behaviour. In the evening of the same day, a mob of boys and others attacked some *bakers* and *butchers* shops. But whose fault was this? Was it Mr. Hunt's, who seems to have spent a quarter of an hour in endeavouring to convince his hearers, *that to commit such acts was to prove themselves unworthy of relief*; or, was it the fault of those pestiferous vehicles of falsehood, the *Courier* and the *Times*, who are incessantly *inveighing against the avarice of bakers and butchers*?

“ It is clear that these proceedings of the evening had no



connection with the meeting, but on the contrary, that every thing which was said at the meeting had a natural tendency to prevent them. As to the *attack on the office of the Morning Chronicle*, that might possibly arise out of what Mr. Hunt said at the meeting. And what then? Was he to endure the calumnies, the unprovoked calumnies of that paper *for years*, and never reply a word? It would have *cost him hundreds of pounds* to cause to be published in that paper *answers* to a hundredth part of the base attacks upon him contained in that same paper. And was he never to answer in any way? Was he, when he had a hundred thousand men within his hearing, to abstain from expressing his indignation at the conduct of that paper, lest by possibility the indignation might be catching? The Morning Chronicle, the Courier, and the Times, make no scruple to endeavour *to cause him to be knocked on the head*, they point him out for either hanging or murdering; they are beforehand with an apology for any one who may take his life. And is he, who can find no entrance into their columns, without covering his paragraph with gold, to abstain from uttering a word against them, when he comes before a public meeting, lest the people should espouse his cause and demolish their windows? Whence have *they* derived this privilege of assaulting him with impunity? He has no newspaper in his hands. He has no means of answering them through the press. They assail him, sitting snugly in their offices. They assail him daily. And is he never to open his lips at any time, or at any place?

“Where then is the ground of all this infamous abuse? After accusing Mr. Hunt of having raised a mob for *treasonable* purposes, some of the papers have in the most *serious* manner, asserted that he was *insane*, and that he had been to a *madhouse*! Is not this a pretty stretch of calumny? Is a man bound to endure this in *silence*? ‘He has no redress *at law*.’ Oh! the base cowards! Their answer is worse than their crime.

“Was it any *fault* in an Englishman living in the country to come to London to take part at a *meeting of Englishmen* in



*distress*? Was this any *fault*? No one can say that it was.—The meeting had been advertised many days before any knowledge of it reached Mr. Hunt; he was requested to come up, and who can blame him for coming? However, it is a question of blame or no blame; he had a *right* to come, and he chose to exercise his right. If, indeed, the invitation had been from persons in *prosperity*, he might have easily declined, but I do not see how he was to resist the call of the people in distress.

“But his speech, that was *‘inflammatory.’* Good God! what is *not* inflammatory now-a-days? But though the speech might, and, I dare say, did contain matter much stronger than that which I have read in the report of it, I am very sure that it could not surpass what I have read in the Morning Chronicle within this month, and that it could not surpass (for nothing surpasses) the inflammatory matter in the Times and the Courier on the subject of their alleged extortions of the bakers and butchers. Besides, as to the printed reports of the speech, Mr. Hunt was wholly *at the mercy of the reporters*. They have made him say just what they pleased, and he has no redress, no means of correction, no chance of being heard in explanation. They impute to him the having asserted, that *Lady Oxford* is on the *pension list*. This was false, as he has since proved to me by the list which he read. It has been asserted, that he went to the meeting with a tri-coloured flag. This is also false, he never having known of the existence of any flag until his arrival on the spot, and was he to go away merely because some whimsical persons *had hoisted a flag and a cap of liberty*? Besides, are there not flags enough at contested elections? Do not freemasons and others parade about with flags? Why was this meeting not to have a flag, if it chose it? Call the thing *nonsensical* if you please, and I shall not dissent. But where was the *harm*? Where was the justification for all this vile, this atrocious abuse?

“It is said, that Mr. Hunt urged the people to use *physi.*



*cal force*, if their petition was not granted. This also is false, or at least, he assured me that it was, and I believe him, because it was too foolish for him to think of. But how often have we heard of *resistance* being recommended? Mr. Fox once recommended it, and he never was calumniated in this outrageous manner. I have no doubt that many things escaped Mr. Hunt during his speech, that he himself wished he had uttered more select phrases; but who is there, who is so very choice upon such occasions? If any one say, that he would do better to remain in Hampshire or Wiltshire, and take care of his farms, the answer is, that *he* is seemingly of a different opinion. He *chooses* to take a part in public matters. He prefers this bustle to the tranquillity of a country life. The boisterous hallooing of multitudes is more pleasing to his ears than the chinkling of the plough traces, the bleating of lambs or the song of the nightingale. His taste may be bad, but in God's name do not cover him with all sorts of infamous names and imputations on account of his want of taste. Besides, if this sort of objection were made to the leaders at public meetings we should, I imagine, have very few meetings. One might be told to keep to his snuff shop, another to his haberdashery, and so on. Indeed the tools of corruption are so very nice upon this head, that I have never yet heard of any one trade or calling, which they did not despise, if a man who came forward against abuses happened to be of that trade or calling; and on the other hand, there is nothing too low or vile for them, if it be put forward in corruption's defence, or employed as one of her agents.

“ We shall see in the end how this most calumniated gentleman conducts himself. He has engaged to carry the prince's answer to the Spa Fields meeting next Monday week. Now, if, in the conducting of this business, he shall be found to have acted the part of a stupid country jolterhead, or of a headstrong insolent ass, let him be left to the public contempt; but if he shall be found to have carried the matter through with due



respect towards the prince and his ministers, and at the same time, with the spirit and resolution of an independent man, let him have the praise that will be his due.

“ In the meanwhile it must be not a little mortifying to the Morning Chronicle in particular to see, that *votes of thanks to Mr. Hunt* have been passed at many of those meetings in different parts of the kingdom, the proceedings at which meetings Mr. Perry has very highly and very justly *praised* ! How will this calumniator of Mr. Hunt account for this ? And how will he account for the speech of Mr. Hunt at the late Westminster meeting, having been republished in Norfolk, and widely circulated in that county ? There can have been no *trick* made use of by Mr. Hunt to produce these effects. He has no acquaintance and cronies about the country. Ten times his fortune would not have purchased him these marks of popularity. And why should the people of Spa Fields be abused for having chosen to ask the assistance of him, who has received votes of thanks from those very meetings, both in England and Scotland, the proceedings of which meetings Mr. Perry of the Chronicle has *praised* to the skies ? Surely the people in Scotland, in Norfolk, in Lancashire, cannot have had their judgment *unduly biassed* in his *favour* ! They have heard the former outrageous *abuse* of Mr. Hunt ; never have heard, except by mere accident, a word of defence ; and yet they most solemnly decided that his efforts are worthy of their praise and of their specific thanks.

“ Were I, who am acquainted with Mr. Hunt, to say to him, ‘ why do you not stay quietly at home and attend to your country affairs, and pursue the foxes, and hares, and pheasants, when you find yourself in need of recreation ? You will be much happier in so doing, than in getting into all this turmoil of politics, and exposing yourself to so much calumny, and indeed, to the hatred of those, whose hatred is full of danger to you.’ If I were to say this to him, would he not be fully justified in asking me, why *I did not myself* act upon the principle of my own advice ? *Times and circumstances create men*, or at least, they call men forth, who would otherwise



have remained unknown to the end of their days; and the present are times when it is impossible for such men as Mr. Hunt to remain dormant.

“ Since writing the former part of this article, I have discovered, that the report of Mr. Hunt's speech in the Statesman was taken word for word, or nearly so, from the Chronicle. The evening papers have I find, *no reporters*. So that *no true* account has gone forth; and thus has the misrepresentation circulated without the *possibility* of defence! There is a gentleman in Wiltshire, whose name is Bennett, whose speech, at an agricultural meeting, about the Corn Bill, was published in all the London papers, and which speech, as published, drew down on him the *execrations* of those same papers, and, indeed, of the public in general. He said, that he never uttered such words; that he had been grossly misrepresented. He wrote to some of these same papers a *contradiction* of the statement; a *defence of himself*. But in order to get in a short paragraph, he was called upon to pay to one paper *nineteen guineas*! and though he has a fortune of, probably, £10,000 a year, he declared that his fortune would have been insufficient to obtain the means of defending himself through the same channels, which had attacked him. A hundred such fortunes would not have obtained the means of defence; for the moment he had paid for inserting a defence against one calumny, he would have found another to defend himself against. What, then, is a calumniated man to do? The *law*! The reptiles know how to evade that; and, besides, where is the fortune sufficient for *law*? Therefore, the calumnies must go and take their course. If men cannot bear up against them, they must hold their peace, and retire from before the public. Whether Mr. Hunt is to be driven off by these means remains to be seen.”

In the meantime Mr. Cobbett had addressed several of his Registers to Sir Francis Burdett, pointing out what sort of reform it was necessary and just, the people should have. In these letters he contended for annual parliaments, and that all direct tax payers should have a vote, but no others.



In his Register, No. 16, of volume 81, published on the 19th of October, after having in a very elaborate manner maintained this doctrine he says 'All, therefore, that the reformers have now to do, is to adhere to the above stated main points. *Every man who pays a direct tax to have a vote; and parliaments to be elected annually.*' The test to ascertain whether a man should have a vote or not, is laid down by Mr. Cobbett as follows:—'When a man comes to vote, the churchwardens who have charge of the ballot box ask his name; the overseers look into their rate book to see whether he be a tax payer, finding his name there, they bid him put in his ballot, which done, home he goes to his business. *If the overseers do not find him to be a tax payer, he of course, does not vote.*' This was the sort of reform which, on the 19th of October, 1816, Mr. Cobbett proposed as competent to work *our* salvation.

"After the great public meeting, which had been held in Spa Fields, on the 15th of November, Mr. Cobbett, in the very next number of his Register, published on the 23rd of that month, came round all at once to *Universal Suffrage*: and he says, 'In Nos. 16 and 18 I gave my reasons for *excluding* from the vote all persons who did not pay direct taxes. He then very clearly demonstrates the justice of *every one* having a vote, and adds, 'But it appeared to me, when I wrote Nos. 16 and 18, to be too difficult to put this right in motion all at once; and therefore I recommended the confining of the right of voting *to the payers of direct taxes*, until there should be time for a reformed parliament *to change the mode of taxing*. Since, however, I have come to London, I have had an opportunity of consulting Major Cartwright upon the subject; and the result is, my THOROUGH CONVICTION that nothing short of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE would be just, and that such a system is perfectly practicable.' This was published on the 23rd of November, 1816. The reader will have to recollect these things when the circumstances are detailed which took place at the meeting of delegates, in London, on the following January. Now, Mr. Cobbett says that 'there are three things for



which I contend— *Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot.*”

The following account which Mr. Hunt gives of his interview with the celebrated John Mc' Mahon, is truly illustrative of the character of that finished courtier.

“As soon as I received Sir Francis Burdett's letter, declining to present the petition of the distressed people to the Prince Regent, I took the earliest opportunity of proceeding to Carlton House by myself. When I arrived there, I was informed that Colonel M'Mahon, his Royal Highness's secretary, had left town, and would not return till two o'clock the next day. I informed the under secretary, who was in waiting who I was, and what was my business, and I made an appointment to wait on Colonel M'Mahon at two o'clock on the following day. I took care to knock at the gate at Carlton House at the appointed time, and the moment that the gate was open, the porter took off his hat, and ringing a bell, accosted me by *name*, and requested me to walk forward to the front door which I had scarcely reached, before the large folding doors of Carlton House were thrown open, and I was politely requested by the attendants to walk in, as Colonel M'Mahon was ready to receive me. I was ushered into his apartments in great state, and was immediately introduced to him by name. I was most graciously received by the secretary, to whom I stated that I was deputed to present to his Royal Highness a petition, agreed to at a meeting of nearly one hundred thousand of his distressed subjects of the metropolis, assembled in Spa Fields on the 15th, and that I wished to know when I could have an audience for that purpose. The Colonel then took his book, and informed me that the next levee would take place in about three weeks, which was the first opportunity that I could have of being introduced to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. I told him that would be too distant a date, and I begged to know if there were no means of presenting the petition earlier, as I had promised to deliver the Prince's answer to the people on the second of December, when they would assemble again to hear what the answer was.



To this he replied, that the only other means was to forward the paper through the Secretary of State for the Home department, who he had no doubt, would deliver it to his royal master immediately, as he knew it was considered by the ministers as a matter of considerable importance. I thanked him for his polite attention and obliging information, and I then retired with the same form as I entered, the Colonel attending me to the doors, which were thrown wide open as before.

“ I immediately wrote a letter to Lord Sidmouth, to appoint a time when I could have an audience, for the purpose of delivering to him the petition to be presented to the Prince Regent, and I carried this letter myself direct to the office of the Secretary of State, and sent it up to his lordship, saying, that I would wait in the ante-room for an answer. In a very few minutes the servant in waiting returned, attended by an under secretary, who said that Lord Sidmouth would give an audience immediately, and he desired that I would follow him. I did so, and was forthwith introduced into the audience room, where his Lordship received me with all that parade of overstrained politeness which belongs to a finished courtier. He was surrounded by some half-dozen lordlings, who from the manner in which he ordered them out of the room, appeared to be hungry expectants, seeking and supplicating some place, office, or boon. They vanished in a twinkling, and his Lordship could not hear a word for the world, till I did him the honour to take seat, which he politely drew for me. My letter had explained the object of my visit, and after having briefly apologized for intruding at a time when he was surrounded by others, I expressed my wish to have the petition of 100,000 of the distressed inhabitants of the metropolis, who had assembled in Spa Fields the preceding Monday, presented to the Prince Regent; and I then put into his hands the petition; he read it over attentively, and having finished the perusal of it, he said that it was a most important paper, and was couched in such proper language, that he should feel it his duty to lay it before his royal master the very first thing



on the following morning, and he had not the least doubt that a favourable answer would be returned.

There had in the meanwhile been meetings held for petitioning for reform, all over the kingdom, particularly in the North of England and Scotland; which meetings emanated from the first Spa Fields meeting; and at almost all these meetings resolutions and petitions of a similar tendency were passed; Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot, being very generally prayed for. Hampden clubs had been formed all over the north of England, by Major Cartwright, who had sent an agent round the country for that purpose. The Major had also supplied a copy of a petition for reform, to be transmitted to the members of these bodies, which prayed for the suffrage or right of voting, to be extended only to all payers of direct taxes. These petitions being printed upon large paper, were very generally adopted, as it saved the trouble of drawing up others. A circular letter had also been sent round the country, signed by Sir Francis Burdett, or rather with the Baronet's fac-simile, which he had authorised the Major to use, for the purpose of inviting the Hampden clubs, and all other petitioning bodies, to send up delegates or deputies to London, to meet a deputation of the Hampden club, to decide upon what sort of reform the reformers would unanimously agree to petition for. Great numbers had followed the example set them at Spa Fields, Bristol, and Bath; others who had signed the Major's printed petitions, only prayed for all payers of direct taxation to be admitted to the right of voting.

The Parliament was to meet on the 28th of January. About the 24th of that month, the delegates, or deputies, from the Hampden clubs, and other petitioning bodies, from various parts of the kingdom, arrived in London; and a day was appointed for them to meet at the Crown and Anchor. Mr. Hunt was delegated from Bristol, to accompany Mr. Cossens, who brought the petition from that city, signed by twenty-four thousand persons. He was also delegated from Bath, together with Mr. John Allen, who seeing the spirit displayed by his



townsmen, volunteered once more to act the part of a reformer, and he brought up the Bath petition, containing upwards of 20,000 signatures. The reformers of Bath and Bristol gave positive instructions to their delegates that they should support Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by ballot. Mr. Allen brought up the written instructions from Bath, which he delivered to Mr. Hunt, and he accepted the delegation upon the express condition that he would support and vote for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by ballot. Mr. Hunt met Mr. Hulme from Bolton Mr. E. Taylor from Norwich, Mr. Warburton from Leicester, and several other delegates from England and Scotland, at Mr. Cobbett's house in Catherine street, in the Strand, which was the general rendezvous; and there he first saw Mr. Fitton and Mr. Kaye of Royton, Mr. Bamford from Middleton, Mr. Benbow and Mr. Mitchell from Manchester, and many others. Major Cartwright had in the meantime, been down to Brighton personally to ascertain Sir Francis Burdett's opinion upon the subject; and from him the Major learned that he would not support any petitions that prayed for *Universal Suffrage*; that he would support Householder Suffrage and the payers of direct taxes, but nothing farther. When the Major returned, he communicated this to Mr. Cobbett, who was requested to use all his influence to prevail upon Mr. Hunt to give up Universal Suffrage, and to adopt the plan of Sir Francis Burdett. Mr. Hunt had consulted with Mr. Hulme, whom he found an honest and staunch friend of liberty, and he had agreed to support him in the motion which he had resolved to make at the delegate meeting, for Universal Suffrage, and Vote by ballot. The Major, as well as Mr. Cobbett, had already done every thing to prevail upon them to give it up for the householder plan, but they were inflexible.

This being the situation of affairs, on the day before the meeting was to take place, the Major was very anxious for Mr. Cobbett to attend as a delegate; but to accomplish this was not an easy matter, as Mr. Cobbett had not been elected



a delegate by either of the petitioning bodies. The Major however, was never at a loss for a scheme, and his agent or writer, whom he employed at the time, an Irishman of the name of Cleary, was set to work privately to assemble some members of the *Union*, which had been formed in London by the Major previous to the formation of the Hampden club; in fact, the latter sprung out of the former, which was too democratical for the aristocracy, and they consequently set on foot a select club amongst themselves, called the Hampden club; although it is believed, with the exception of the Major and Mr. Northmore, there was not a member amongst them who was at all disposed to follow the example of John Hampden. But, be this as it may, Cleary was ordered to get together, at the Crown and Anchor, the night before the intended delegate meeting, a chosen number of the members of the *Union*, expressly for the purpose of appointing two delegates for the metropolis. Although they were both members of the *Union*, Cleary was enjoined not to communicate either to Mr. Hunt or to Mr. Hulme any intention of holding this conclave, which was to have been a snug junto of Westminster men, nothing more nor less than the rump committee, who were to assemble at the request of the Major, to appoint Mr. Cobbett a delegate, that he might attend the meeting the next day, purposely to oppose Mr. Hunt's motion for *Universal Suffrage*, and to move in its stead, that they the delegates, should adopt the recommendation of the Hampden club, and support the *householder suffrage* only.

This good piece of generalship could not, however, be carried completely into effect, as one of the invited party communicated it in confidence to Mr. Hulme and Mr. Hunt. They laughed heartily at the intrigue of the old Major and Mr. Cobbett, and agreed that being members of the *Union*, they would unexpectedly attend the meeting at seven o'clock, without saying a word to any one. They both dined with Mr. Cobbett, and a little before seven they made an excuse for leaving his table, saying, that they had a particular engagement for an



hour or two after which they would return again. Mr. Cobbett strongly opposed their leaving him; but whether he had any suspicion that they were up to the tricks of the Major and himself, Mr. Hunt never ascertained. However, off Mr. Hulme and he started together, and they soon arrived at the Crown and Anchor, and desired to be shown into the room where the members of the *Union* were assembled. At first the waiters did not appear to understand them; at length they asked Mr. Hunt if they meant Mr. Brooks and Mr. Cleary's room. They replied, "exactly so," and in they marched to the great consternation of Mr. Brooks, who sat at the head of the table, with Cleary at his right, and surrounded by some half score of as pretty a picked junto for dishing up a little under-plot of the sort, as could have been selected for the purpose in the whole kingdom.

Their unexpected visit, without any invitation, appeared to create very considerable uneasiness, and even dismay. Mr. Hunt informed them, that as they were both old members of the *Union*, and had accidentally heard that there was to be a meeting, they did themselves the pleasure of attending it, although (no doubt from mistake) they were not summoned. This did not at all relieve them from the dilemma in which they were placed. After looking at each other for some time, they cautiously developed the object of the meeting, and with great timidity and doubt Mr. Brooks proposed Mr. Cobbett "as a proper man to be a delegate to represent the Union, at the delegate meeting to be holden the next day." Instead of throwing any obstacle in the way, which they had expected would be the case, Mr. Hunt instantly arose and seconded the motion; adding, that he believed Mr. Cobbett to be one of the most proper men in the kingdom to attend such a meeting, and that he proposed Mr. Brooks as a proper colleague for him; and he moved that these two gentlemen should be appointed as the delegates of the Union Society, to maintain their rights at the approaching meeting. Mr. Hulme seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously; upon which they returned to Mr. Cobbett's and were the first to communicate the result



of that select assembly which was got up privately, and from which it was intended that they should have been totally excluded. He appeared astonished, but carried it off with a laugh.

After this, many hours were employed by Mr. Cobbett, in endeavouring to prevail upon them to give up the plan of supporting *Universal Suffrage*. He should, he said, propose to the delegates to agree to the *householder plan*; especially as Sir Francis Burdett had declared that he would not support the former. Mr. Hunt lamented differing from him, but he declared that he would support Universal Suffrage from principle in spite of all the policy in the world, and in spite of the opinion or whim of all the baronets in the world.

With this determination they left him, and met at the appointed hour, at the Crown and Anchor, on the next day. Major Cartwright and Mr. Jones Burdett were the deputation from the Hampden club; and there were, in the whole, about sixty delegates from different parts of England and Scotland; but, with the exception of those from Bath, Bristol, and London, they all came from the North.

Major Cartwright was unanimously called to the chair, and he opened the proceedings by informing them that the Hampden club had come to the determination of supporting the *Householder Suffrage*; which plan he strongly recommended to the delegates to adopt, particularly as *Sir Francis Burdett had declared that he would not support any petition that prayed for a more extended right of voting*. In truth, the Major, instead of performing the part of chairman, actually became the strenuous and eloquent advocate of the Hampden club, and their notable scheme of restricting the right of voting to householders and payers of direct taxes to church and king; and in justice Mr. Hunt declared, that he never saw an advocate labour harder than the Major did to carry the point, which he believed he confidently relied upon accomplishing, as he knew that he would have the support of Mr. Cobbett's great talent and influence amongst the assembled delegates.

Mr. Cobbett then rose, and in a luminous and artful speech,



endeavoured to convince the delegates, or rather to bring them over to the same way of thinking. He as well as the Major, were heard with great attention, but it was with such silent attention as rendered it very evident to Mr. Hunt that their doctrine of *exclusion* was listened to by the delegates without any conviction of its truth. It may easily be supposed that Mr. Hunt took good care narrowly to watch the contrivances of those, who by their votes, were to decide the great question, many of whom Mr. Cobbett had previously had an opportunity of communicating with, and using his influence upon in private. After a most ingenious speech, he concluded by moving, that the present meeting was of opinion, that the right of voting for members of Parliament could be safely and practicably extended only to *householders paying direct taxes* to church and state, and that it should be recommended to the reformers throughout the country to petition for a reform of the Common's house of Parliament, upon the plan of householder suffrage. If not the words, this was the substance and meaning of the motion.

The moment that Mr. Cobbett sat down, (sat down with perfect silence round him,) to the great astonishment of Mr. Hunt, up started John Allen, his brother-delegate from Bath, and *seconded the motion* for the exclusion from the right of voting of all persons, *except householders and payers of direct taxes*; that is except they were payers of church and poor rates, and king's taxes. This was the conduct of the volunteer delegate from Bath, although he had received written instructions, from the committee of reformers of that city, to support *Universal Suffrage*.

As soon as Mr. Allen was seated, Mr. Hunt rose to move an amendment to his friend Cobbett's motion, and in his address to the delegates, he combatted and successfully controverting the *doctrine of exclusion* which had been so forcibly urged by the chairman, and so ingeniously supported by Mr. Cobbett. He modestly and with great deference called to their recollection the language, the irresistible arguments, in favour of Universal Suffrage, which in his Register, Mr. Cob-



bett himself had published, within one short fortnight of the time in which he was addressing them. Almost every sentence that he uttered in favour of Universal Suffrage was hailed by the enthusiastic cheers of the great body of the delegates. Mr. Cobbett rose to order, and protested in strong language against Mr. Hunt quoting his own words, or any thing he had previously published, in order to controvert his present proposition. Mr. Hunt therefore forebore to do so again; not from any conviction of its impropriety or unfairness, but because he wished to conciliate, and because he was quite clear that his amendment would be carried. He concluded by asserting the right of every freeman to be represented in the Common's house of Parliament, which could only be done by Universal Suffrage; and on this ground he moved that the word *universal* should be substituted for *householder*.

Mr. Hulme seconded the motion, and Mr. Bamford was about to support him, by refuting Mr. Cobbett's arguments with respect to Universal Suffrage being impracticable; but before he had concluded his sentence, Mr. Cobbett rose and said, that what Mr. Bamford had stated had convinced him of the practicability of Universal Suffrage, and consequently he should withdraw his motion, and support Mr. Hunt's amendment. The fact was, that Cobbett plainly saw that his motion would be lost by a large majority, and he had the policy not to press it to a division. Mr. Hunt, however insisted upon having the question put, and it was carried in favour of Universal Suffrage by a majority of twenty to one. The question of Annual Parliaments was also carried unanimously. Mr. Mitchell then moved, that votes should be taken by ballot; this was opposed also by Mr. Cobbett and others, but on a division it was carried by a majority of more than two to one. When Mr. Hunt held his hand up for it, Mr. Cobbett turned to him and said very earnestly, "What! do you support the ballot too?" Hunt answered, "Yes, most certainly, to its fullest extent."

These points being decided, and some minor resolutions being passed, the meeting was adjourned; but, Mr. Hunt af-



terwards found, only to assemble again the next day, where the Major was at his post in the chair, passing various resolutions, which, of course, Mr. Hunt expected would be finally settled that evening. They were, however, surprised to find that the meeting was adjourned to the King's Arms, Palace Yard, opposite Westminster Hall, where it was expected they (the delegates) would assemble from day to day till the Parliament met. This was thought by Mr. Cobbett, as well as by Mr. Hunt, to be not only a useless but a dangerous proceeding; useless, because the main question upon which the delegates met was settled; and dangerous, because it would be taken advantage of by the government, which would construe such meetings, so continued, into an attempt to overawe the Parliament. Mr. Cobbett declared he would not go near them again; in fact, he had not attended the second day; and he added, that they would all be apprehended, for holding their meetings for an illegal purpose. He and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hulme all agreed, therefore, that as they had arranged those points to deliberate upon which they had been assembled, it was very desirable to dissolve the meeting, but to stir a single step to accomplish this end, Mr. Cobbett positively refused. Mr. Hulme and Mr. Hunt, however, attended, and after the Major had got some of his resolutions passed, Mr. Hunt moved that the meeting should be dissolved, and urged his reasons for the measure. Mr. Hulme seconded the motion, and a warm debate ensued, which was maintained with great spirit on both sides, for the dissolution was strongly opposed. However, when the question was put, Mr. Hunt's motion was carried by a very considerable majority, and the far-famed delegate meeting was dissolved. It is a curious fact that Mr. Cobbett never noticed the proceedings in his Register.

In the evenings of these meetings, many of the delegates assembled at the Cock, in Grafton Street, by invitation, to meet Dr Watson, Pendrill, and others of the Spenceans. It appears that they were taken there by *one Cleary*, an Irishman, who had been an attorney's clerk in Dublin, and who had contrived to be employed as the secretary of the Hampden



club, and who, as private secretary of Major Cartwright, attended the delegate meetings. These private meetings, at the Cock in Grafton Street, took place unknown to Mr. Hunt, and were afterwards made a pretence for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act; and, strange to relate, warrants were issued out, by the secretary of state, against every one of the persons who attended those meetings, *except* the said *Cleary*.

The delegates, as has been already seen, were in town; they had brought up with them petitions, signed by half a million of men, and they were anxious to place them in the hands of some member of Parliament, who would present them and support the prayers of their petitions. But such a man was not easily to be found. Sir Francis Burdett had promised the Major to come to town in time to present those petitions, or at least some of them, as soon as Parliament met; but when he found that the delegates who had been assembled in his name had declared for Universal Suffrage, and that the petitions in London likewise mostly prayed for reform upon the principle of Universal Suffrage, he declared that he would not support the prayer of them, neither had he arrived in town on the day previous to the meeting of Parliament.

On the failure of Sir Francis to come forward, Lord Cochrane had been applied to by the Major and Mr. Cobbett, to present these petitions; but he had declined to act in opposition to his colleague, Sir Francis Burdett; every effort had been tried to induce him to do so, but they had been tried in vain. At length Mr. Hunt hit upon a plan, which he proposed to Mr. Cobbett. It was this—that on the day when the Parliament met, he would collect ten or twenty thousand people in the front of Lord Cochrane's house, which was in Old Palace Yard, and thus cut off his Lordship's access to the house, unless he would take in some of the petitions. "What?" exclaimed Cobbett, "would you besiege the man in his own house?" Mr. Hunt answered, that desperate cases required desperate remedies. "Aye! aye!" said he, "that is very pretty talking, it is like belling the cat. Suppose such a thing likely to succeed with his Lordship, how the devil would you



contrive to collect such a number of people there, without his knowing it, so as to avoid them, if he pleased?" Mr. Hunt replied, "leave that to me. If you will go to his Lordship's house about one o'clock, and detain him at home, by endeavouring to persuade him to present the petitions, I will undertake to bring ten thousand people to the front of his house by two o'clock,"—the House of Commons being to assemble at three. In fact, there appeared no other alternative; for on the next day the Parliament was to meet, and they had not yet one single member of Parliament who would present their petitions, all being unwilling, because they prayed for *Universal Suffrage*. After making a hundred excuses, Lord Cochrane had absolutely refused to present them; at least he refused to support the prayer of the petitioners. There being no other chance of accomplishing their purpose, Mr. Cobbett at length adopted Mr. Hunt's plan, and agreed to make the attempt as a sort of forlorn hope, and accordingly he promised to be at his Lordship's house at the time appointed.

Mr. Hunt knew that great numbers of people would be collected, in and about Parliament Street, at that time, to see the Prince Regent go down to the House, to open the session of Parliament. Mr. Hunt therefore made an arrangement with all the delegates in town, to meet him at the Golden-Cross, Charing-Cross, a quarter before two o'clock, and requested that each man would bring with him his rolls of parchment, containing the petitions. This they all complied with, and met Mr. Hunt at the time appointed, in number about twenty; it might be more or less. He then informed them that he wished them to march, two and two, down Parliament Street, into Palace Yard, to the door of Lord Cochrane's house, who they had reason to hope would present their petitions, and he begged them to follow him. He then requested his friend Cossens to unroll a few yards of the Bristol petition, which he took in his hand, and proceeded down Parliament Street, at the head of the delegates. The people stared at such an exhibition; and he announced that the dele-



gates were going down to Palace Yard, to get Lord Cochrane to present their petitions. This information was received with huzzas, and the people ran forward to communicate the intelligence to others, so that before they had got opposite the Horse Guards, they were attended by several thousand people, cheering them as they went along. When they arrived at the front of Lord Cochrane's house, there was the largest assembly that ever was seen in Palace Yard, all believing that his Lordship had undertaken to present their petitions.

Mr. Hunt knocked at the door, and gained immediate access to his Lordship, with whom, as he expected, he found Mr. Cobbett. His Lordship asked what was the matter? Mr. Hunt told him that the people had accompanied the delegates, to request his Lordship to present their petitions; to which he replied, "that Mr. Cobbett had been using every argument in his power to prevail upon him to do it, but he could not take such a step without consulting his colleague, Sir Francis Burdett." A great deal was now urged by them to induce him to comply, in which ~~they were most heartily joined by his lady,~~ but all was to little purpose. At length, Mr. Hunt led him to the window, and requested him to address twenty thousand of his fellow-countrymen, and tell them himself that he refused to present their petitions; for that he certainly would never inform them of any such thing. Their appearance at the window drew forth some tremendous cheers. "There," said Mr. Hunt, "my Lord, refuse their request, if you please; but if you do, I am sure that you will regret it as long as you live. Besides," added Mr. Hunt, "I deny the possibility of your getting from your house, without your previously consenting to present their petitions."

At length they carried their point, and his Lordship agreed that he would take in the Bristol petition, which was the largest, the roll of parchment being nearly the size of a sack of wheat, and containing twenty-five thousand signatures. It was rolled upon a *bundle of sticks*, tightly bound together, as an emblem of the strength of an united people. His Lordship



also now agreed to move an amendment to the address, which had been previously drawn up, in hopes that he might be prevailed on to do so. The moment that his Lordship yielded to their entreaties, Mr. Hunt flew down stairs to the door, and announced the intelligence to the assembled multitude, who received it with loud and long continued acclamations, which made Old Palace Yard and Westminster Hall ring again. He then proposed that the delegates should carry his Lordship in a chair, from his house to the door of Westminster Hall, if the people would make a passage to allow him to proceed thither in that way. This suggestion was instantly adopted; an arm chair was provided and placed at the door, in which his Lordship was seated, with the Bristol petition and the bundle of sticks rolled up in it. In this manner he was carried by the delegates across Palace Yard, Mr. Hunt leading the way; and he was sat down at the door of the House, amidst the deafening cheers of the people, who, at the request of Mr. Hunt, immediately dispersed in peace and quietness to their homes.

Lord Cochrane presented the Bristol petition, and moved the following amendment to the address, which, as a vindication of the conduct of the Reformers, shall be here recorded.

“That this House has taken a view of the public proceedings throughout the country, by those persons who have met to petition for a Reform of this House, and that, in justice to these persons, as well as to the people at large, and for the purpose of convincing the people that this House wishes to entertain and encourage no misrepresentation of their honest intentions, this House, with great humility, beg leave to assure his Royal Highness, that they have not been able to discover one single instance, in which meetings to petition for Parliamentary Reform have been accompanied with any attempt to disturb the public tranquillity; and this House further beg leave to assure his Royal Highness, that in order to prevent the necessity of those rigorous measures, which are contemplated in the latter part of the speech of his Royal Highness, this House will take into their early consideration the propriety of abolishing sinecures and unmerited pensions and



grants, the reduction of the civil list, and of all salaries which are now disproportionate to the services, and especially, that they will take into their consideration the Reform of this House, agreeably to the laws and constitution of the land, this House being decidedly of opinion that justice and humanity, as well as policy, call at this time of universal distress, for measures of conciliation, and not of rigour, towards a people who have made so many and such great sacrifices, and who are now suffering, in consequence of those sacrifices, all the calamities with which a nation can be afflicted."

It is a melancholy subject for reflection, that there was not ONE man to be found in the House that would even SECOND this amendment, which was neither more nor less than a true account of the proceedings of the reformers throughout the country; and in consequence of this, the motion fell to the ground without a division. Lord Cochrane continued night after night to present these petitions, brought up by the delegates; and the most remarkable event of these times was, that the very night that Lord Cochrane presented the petition from Bath, which especially pointed out the enormous sums annually received by their recorder Lord Camden, and which prayed for the abolition of his enormous sinecures; that very night a message was brought down to the House, and it was announced by one of the ministers *that Lord Camden had actually resigned his enormous sinecure of Teller of the Exchequer*, which did not amount to less than thirty-five thousand pounds a year. No one will doubt that this act of his lordship was occasioned solely by the resolutions and the petition passed at the Bath meeting. He well knew that Lord Cochrane had presented the Bristol petition, and had stated in the House that he had several other petitions to present; and amongst the number that from Bath, signed by upwards of twenty thousand persons. To prevent, therefore, the discussion which was likely to arise from the presentation of this petition, he anticipated the prayer of it, by resigning his sinecure of Teller of the Exchequer. How often have we been asked by the tools of corruption, what good was there in holding public



meetings ! We have been everlastingly told that these great public meetings, and the violent petitions passed at them, did a great deal of harm, but that they never produced any good. What these knaves mean by this is, that the House of Commons never attended to the prayers and petitions of the people, and that therefore it was of no use to persevere in petitioning. This as far as it goes, is very true ; the House of Commons never did attend to the petitions of the people for reform ; but yet it may be boldly answered, that petitioning *has* done some good ; that the petition of the first Spa Fields meeting obtained *four thousand pounds* from the droits of the Admiralty, for the suffering poor of Spital Fields and the metropolis. This was some good. Again, it may be said, that the petition and the resolutions passed at the Bath meeting, caused Lord Camden to surrender thirty-five thousand a year to the public. This alone was some good. Nor must we stop here. Almost all the petitions in which Mr. Hunt was ever concerned, petitioned for the abolition of all sinecure and useless places, and unmerited pensions ; and he always particularly denounced the sinecures of the late Marquis of Buckingham, the other teller of the Exchequer, and prayed and petitioned for its abolition. At the death of the old Marquis *it was abolished*. Does any man of sense and candour believe, for a moment, that this would have ever been done to this hour, if it had not been for the prayers, petitions, and remonstrances of the people ? Here, then, is another saving of upwards of thirty thousand pounds a year.— Therefore, it may be said, that the great public meetings *have* done a great deal of good ; and those who promoted them have rendered very considerable service to the country, although they have themselves been the victims of that system of tyranny and oppression, which, in these two instances alone, has had its plunder curtailed in more than *sixty thousand pounds a year*. Add to all this, that the Prince Regent surrendered fifty thousand per annum to the public exigencies. Will any man say that the Regent would have done this, had it not been for the great public meetings held in Spa Fields and other places ? and was this nothing ? Again, Mr. Ponsonby resigned his chancellor s



pension of *four thousand pounds a year*. Is this nothing? Here has been shown that, within *three months* of the great meeting first held in Spa Fields. and between the second and third meeting which were advertised, no less a sum than NINETY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR was surrendered for the public exigencies; and was this doing nothing? To be sure, five persons had been found guilty of rioting on the day of the second Spa Fields meeting, and Cashman was sentenced to death; but this had nothing to do with the meeting itself, which met only for the purpose of petitioning Parliament, and peaceably separated, after agreeing to a petition, which was signed *by twenty four thousand persons*, praying for reform, and the abolition of all sinecures, and a reduction of the public expenditure; which petition had been presented, and received by the House of Commons, before these *surrenders* and resignations of these large sums were made. To be sure, Lord Sidmouth had delivered in the House of Lords a message from the Prince Regent, laying before Parliament the famous green bag, full of precious documents, got up to prove that sedition, conspiracy, and rebellion were close at hand; and that treasonable practices existed in London, and in various parts of the kingdom; upon which a committee was appointed by the ministers, in both Houses of Parliament, to examine and report upon the contents of the said bag. The result of this was, that Mr. Evans, of Newcastle Street, the Spencean, and his son, were arrested on a charge of high treason.

About this time Mr. Hunt received a letter from the reformers of Portsmouth, requesting him to attend and preside at a public meeting, which they wished to hold in or near that town, to petition for reform. He showed this letter to Mr. Cobbett, who said, "I know these people; I will answer that letter for you and arrange with them all about their meeting. As you are so much engaged in other matters at this time, I will take this trouble off your hands, and you will have nothing to do but to attend the meeting when the day is appointed." This offer was cheerfully accepted, and Mr. Hunt thought no more of the business till he saw it



publicly announced that a meeting would be held on Portsdown Hill, on the 10th day of February, *the very day that was fixed for the holding the third Spa Fields meeting* ; and that was done without consulting or saying a word to Mr. Hunt upon the subject, although he was the only person written to by the people of Portsmouth. It did certainly strike him at the time, that there appeared to be a good deal of trickery and management made use of to keep him from this meeting. As, however, he was never jealous of any one himself, he had no suspicion that his friends were jealous of him, and he took notice of it, though he was sorry to find that to the people who met on Portsdown, *no apology or explanation* was made for his absence, or at least for the meeting being held on the day that he was at Spa Fields ; and he had reason to think that the people of Portsmouth, who first invited him, were very much disappointed at his not being present, and that they felt themselves slighted by him, which, was the farthest thing in the world from his wish or intention.

While the *friends* of Mr. Hunt were acting in this manner his enemies were not idle, and the agents of government, in order to injure him in the opinion of the public, not only vilified and abused and libelled him from day to day, in the public newspapers, but they actually caused a placard to be printed and posted all over the metropolis, which was headed "*Mr. Hunt hissed out of the city of Bristol,*" and contained all sorts of infamous falsehoods and scurrilous abuse. It appeared from the newspapers that a boy, of the name of Thomas Dugood, had been committed to prison, by a police magistrate, for having pulled down one of these posting bills. Mr. Hunt immediately set about an inquiry, to find out the poor boy, to endeavour to relieve him from his imprisonment, and to gain him some redress for the persecution which he had suffered. To discover where the boy was, Mr. Hunt went to the police office, and after a great deal of shuffling, he was directed to Coldbath Fields prison, which as he subsequently found, was the wrong gaol, the boy having been committed to the New prison. In the mean time, however, finding that Mr. Hunt was resolved



to go to the bottom of the business, they had released the boy. At length he found him out at his lodgings, and learned from him that he had been confined for several days among the vilest felons. He took him to the police office, to identify the magistrate that committed him, and there he caused the police officer, Limbrick, to be placed at the bar, for robbing the boy of his books and money at the time he was apprehended. The inquiry ended in the said police officer returning the boy his books and money, and confessing that he was ordered to attend the posting of the said bills, and to protect them from being pulled down, after they were posted. The bills were printed at the office of the Hue and Cry, near Temple-bar, and an agent of the government paid the bill-sticker a large sum for the posting of them in the night. Mr. Hunt finding he could get no redress for the boy at the police office, he took him into the Court of King's Bench, and appealed to the judges; but Lord Ellenborough could do nothing for him. By the stir which was made, however, the case got into all the papers, and the conduct of the government was completely exposed. Mr. Hunt then caused a petition from Dugood to be presented to the House by Lord Folkestone, and another petition of his own, by Lord Cochrane. The under Secretary of State, Mr. Hiley Addington, promised that the conduct of the police magistrate should be inquired into; but ultimately it was ascertained that Lord Sidmouth had no power to interfere. The magistrate, Mr. Sellon, who had committed the boy, was not a police magistrate, but a magistrate of the county of Middlesex; therefore, his lordship could not interfere, and the boy must, forsooth, proceed *at law* against the magistrate. We will here insert the petitions that were presented to the House, which will place this transaction in a clear point of view before our readers, and will show them to what meanness the government submitted, in order to injure the character of Mr. Hunt with the public, and to destroy the influence which they discovered that he had over the people. This transaction will speak for itself, without any further comment of ours.



“ To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

“ The petition of Thomas Dugood, of the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the City of Westminster,

“ HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“ That your petitioner is a parentless and friendless boy, seventeen years of age, who, until lately seized by two police officers and sent to prison by the police, obtained the honest means of living by the sale of religious and moral tracts, which he used to purchase of Mr. Collins of Paternoster Row.

“ That your petitioner has, for more than four months last past, lodged, and he still lodges, at the house of Keeran Shields, who lives at No. 13, Gee's Court, Oxford Street, and who is a carter to Mr. White, of Mortimer Street, and who is also a watchman in Marybone parish.

“ That your petitioner has never in his life lived as a vagrant, but has always had a settled home, has always pursued an honest and visible means of getting his living, has always been, and is ready to prove that he always has been an industrious, a peaceable, sober, honest, and orderly person.

“ That, on the 10th of January, 1817, your petitioner, for having pulled down a posting bill, entitled, “*Mr. Hunt hissed out of the city of Bristol*,” was committed by Mr. Sellon to the New prison, Clerkenwell, where he was kept on bread and water and compelled to lie on the bare boards until the twenty second of the same month, when he was tied, with about fifty others, to a long rope, or cable, and marched to Hick's hall, and there let loose.

“ That your petitioner has often heard it said, that the law affords protection to the poor as well as to the rich, and that if unable to obtain redress any where else, every subject of his majesty has the road of petition open to him; therefore your petitioner, being unable to obtain redress in any other manner for the grievous wrongs done him by the magistrate of the police, most humbly implores your honourable House



to afford him protection and redress, and to that end he prays your honourable House to permit him to prove at the bar of your honourable House all and several the allegations contained in this his most humble petition.

“ And your petitioner will ever pray.

“ THOMAS DUGOOD.”

“ To the Honorable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

“ The Petition of Henry Hunt, of Middleton cottage, in the County of Southampton,

“ HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“ That your petitioner, being ready to prove at the bar of your Honourable House, that there has been carried on a conspiracy against his character, and eventually aimed at his life, by certain persons, receiving salaries out of the public money, and acting in their public capacity, and expending for this vile purpose a portion of the taxes; and there being, as appears to him, no mode of his obtaining a chance of security, other than those which may be afforded him by Parliament, he humbly sues to your Honourable House to yield him your protection.

“ That your petitioner has always been a loyal and faithful subject, and a sincere and zealous friend of his country. That at a time, during the first war against France, when there were great apprehensions of invasion, and when circular letters were sent round to farmers and others, to ascertain what sort and degree of aid each would be willing to afford to the government in case of such emergency, your petitioner, who was then a farmer in Wiltshire, did not, as others did make an offer of a small part of his moveable property, but that really believing his country to be in danger, he, in a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, freely offered his all, consisting of several thousands of sheep, a large stock of horned cattle, upwards of twenty horses, seven or eight wagons and carts with able and active drivers, several hundreds of quar-



ters of corn and grain, and his own person besides, all to be at the entire disposal of the Lord Lieutenant; and this your petitioner did without any reserved claim to compensation, it being a principle deeply rooted in his heart, that all property, and even life itself, ought to be considered as nothing, when put in competition with the safety and honour of our country.

And your petitioner further begs leave to state to your Honourable House, that, at a subsequent period, namely, in the year 1803, when an invasion of the country was again apprehended, and when it was proposed to call out volunteers to serve within certain limits of their houses, your petitioner called around him the people of the village of Enford, in which he lived, and that all the men in that parish (with the exception of three) capable of bearing arms, amounting to more than two hundred in number, immediately enrolled themselves, and offered to serve, not only within the district, but in any part of the kingdom where the enemy might land, or be expected to land, and this offer was by your petitioner transmitted to Lord Pembroke, who expressed to your petitioner his great satisfaction at the said offer, and informed him, that he would make a point of communicating the same to his majesty's ministers.

“That your petitioner, still actuated by a sincere desire to see his country free and happy, and holding a high character in the world, has lately been using his humble endeavours to assist peaceably and legally in promoting applications to Parliament for a reform in your Honourable House, that measure appearing to your petitioner to be the only effectual remedy for the great and notorious evils under which the country now groans, and for which evils, as no one attempts to deny their existence, so no one, as far as your petitioner has heard, has attempted to suggest any *other* remedy.

“That your petitioner, in pursuit of this constitutional, and, as he hopes and believes, laudable object (an object for which, if need be, he is resolved to risk his life against unlawful violence) lately took part in a public meeting of the City of Bristol, of which he is a freeholder; and that though a large body



of regular troops and of yeomanry cavalry were placed in a menacing attitude near the place of our meeting, the meeting was conducted and concluded in the most peaceable and orderly manner, and the result of it was a petition to your Honourable House, voluntarily signed by upwards of twenty thousand men, which petition has been presented to, and received by, your Honourable House.

\* That your petitioner, who had met with every demonstration of public good-will and approbation in the said city, was surprised to see in the public newspapers an account of a boy having been sent to gaol by certain Police Officers and Justices, for having pulled down a posting-bill, which alleged your petitioner to have been hissed out of the City of Bristol, and containing other gross falsehoods and infamous calumnies on the character of your petitioner, calculated to excite great hatred against your petitioner, and to prepare the way for his ruin and destruction.

“That your petitioner, who trusts that he has himself, always acted an open and manly part, and who has never been so base as to make an attack upon any one, who had not the fair means of defence, feeling indignant at this act of partiality and oppression, came to London with a view of investigating the matter, and this investigation having taken place, he now alleges to your Honourable House, that the aforesaid posting-bills, containing the infamous calumnies aforesaid, were printed by *J. Downes*, who is the printer to the Police; that the bill-sticker received the bills from the said Downes, who paid him for sticking them up; that the bill-sticker was told by the said Downes, that there would be somebody to watch him to see that he stuck them up; that Police Officers were set to watch to prevent the said bills from being pulled down; that some of these bills were carried to the Police-office at Hatton Garden, and there kept by the officers to be produced in proof against persons who should be taken up for pulling them down; that Thomas Dugood was seized, sent to gaol, kept on bread and water, and made to lie on the bare boards from the tenth to the twenty-second of January, 1817, when he was taken



out with about fifty other persons, tied to a long rope or cable, and marched to Hick's Hall, where he was let loose, and that his only offence was pulling down one of those bills; that a copy of Dugood's commitment was refused to your petitioner; that your petitioner was intentionally directed to a wrong prison to see the boy Dugood; that the Magistrate, William Marmaduke Sellon, who had committed Dugood, denied repeatedly that he knew any thing of the matter, and positively asserted that Dugood had been committed by another Magistrate, a Mr. Turton, who Mr. Sellon said, was at his house very ill, and not likely to come to the office for some time.

"That your Honourable House is besought by your petitioner, to bear in mind the recently exposed atrocious conspiracies carried on by officers of the Police against the lives of innocent men, and your petitioner is confident that your Honourable House will, in these transactions, see the clear proofs of a foul conspiracy against the character and life of your petitioner, carried on by persons in the public employ, appointed by the Crown, and removable at its pleasure, and that this conspiracy has been also carried on by means of public money.

"And, therefore, as the only mode of doing justice to the petitioner and to the public in a case of such singular atrocity, your petitioner prays your Honourable House that he may be permitted to prove (as he is ready to do) all and singular the aforesaid allegations at the Bar of your Honourable House, and that if your Honourable House shall find the allegations to be true, you will be pleased to address his Royal Highness to cause the aforesaid Magistrate to be dismissed from his office.

"And your petitioner shall ever pray.

"H. HUNT."

The day of the third Spa Fields meeting arrived, and Mr. Hunt shall relate the particulars in his own peculiar style. "I drove to town in my tandem, and put up at the British Coffee-house livery-stables, in Cockspur Street, where I had for several years before gone with my horses. My trunk was, as usual taken into a bed-room, where I meant to change my dress pre-



viously to my going to the meeting. I had first to walk into Fleet Street on business, and when I got there, I saw *nine pieces of artillery* drawn over Blackfriars Bridge, which proceeded up Fleet Market towards Spa Fields, attended by a regular company of artillerymen from Woolwich. I had called on Major Cartwright as I drove into town, and he informed me that he had heard, from good authority, that a cabinet council had been held on Saturday, and that Lord Castlereagh *had proposed to disperse the intended meeting by military force*, but that the other cabinet ministers had opposed this measure, and that at length Castlereagh retired, muttering vengeance, and adding that he would take the responsibility upon himself. The Major spoke with great earnestness and feeling, while, if I recollect right, I treated his information rather lightly, saying, that if they killed me, I hoped the Major would write my epitaph. When, however, I saw the artillery pass up Fleet Market, in a direction for Spa Fields, the place of meeting, I began to think more seriously of the matter; but, as I was about to do that, which my conscience approved of, and as I knew that I should not violate any law, I returned towards my inn, certainly in a serious mood, yet determined to do my duty. Not one man that I knew in the whole metropolis would or did accompany me. I called at Cobbett's lodgings, in Catherine Street, and asked the young ones, rather sarcastically, if they meant to attend the meeting? to which they answered, that their father had left positive orders that they should not go over the threshold of the door that day. When I got to my inn, in Cockspur Street, I ordered my servant to get my horses ready, and I went to my bed-room to put on a clean shirt, but I was surprised to find that my trunk had been removed. I rang the bell several times before any one came; at length the *Boots* appeared, instead of the chambermaid, and I demanded the reason of my trunk being removed. He either knew or pretended to know nothing of the matter, but said he would inquire. After he had been absent for some time, I rang again, upon which a stranger appeared, a person whom I had never seen before. He said he was the master of the



house, and he had ordered my trunk to be removed ; to which he added, that I should not sleep in his house, as it would drive away his best customers. I told him I had slept there occasionally for many years, and was always treated with civility ; and drawing out my purse, I said that as he was a stranger, I would immediately pay him whatever he might demand for the use of the room. He still, however, persisted that I should leave his house. I demanded my trunk, and declared I would dress there first ; he swore I should not, and made an effort to hustle me out of the room. I then told him to keep his hands off, or I would thrash him ; upon which he put himself into a boxing attitude, and offered to fight me. He was a little insignificant creature, and I was just upon the point of kicking him out of the room, when I saw a fellow peeping round the corner of the door. It immediately struck me that this was a trap to get me into a scrape, and I paused and drew back in consequence. I told the little gentleman, who said his name was Morley, that I would meet him and talk over the matter at any other time ; but, as I was at present engaged, I asked him as a *favour* to let me have my trunk to dress, and I would leave his house in ten minutes. It was agreed that we should meet at Mr. Jackson's rooms, some day in the following week. Thither I went at the time appointed, with perhaps the worst second in the world, Mr. Cobbett. When I got there, each told his story, and Jackson proposed that we should go into the fields to settle the dispute, but this was not assented to by either Mr. Morley or myself, and Mr. Cobbett was vehement against my having any thing to do with my antagonist. The affair, therefore, terminated with some smart words, without either of us offering to fight. This affair was, however, blazoned forth in all the morning papers, which, in utter defiance of truth, asserted that I had behaved ill to a man of the name of Morley, who kept the British Coffee-house in Cockspur Street ; that we had met by appointment at Jackson's, and that I had refused to fight him. Supposing that I had done so, I should, under all the circumstances, have been perfectly justified ; but it was no such thing, the fellow never



offered to fight me at any other time but in his own house, where, if I had struck him, I am thoroughly convinced that a police-officer was in attendance, to take me into custody for assaulting a man in his own house; consequently, I should have been detained till the time of the meeting in Spa Fields had passed; and it would have been made a pretty handle of in the papers the next day, when the public would have been told that, instead of my attending the meeting in Spa Fields, I had been taken to Bow Street, and detained in custody, for assaulting the landlord of the inn at which I had put up. All that I shall add upon the subject is, that on no occasion in my life did I ever turn my back upon *two* such men as Mr. Morley and Mr. Cobbett.

“ At the time appointed I arrived at the meeting, which was much larger than either of the former meetings. Resolutions were passed, and a petition was unanimously agreed to, praying for reform, &c., which petition was placed the same evening in the hands of Lord Folkestone, by Mr. Clarke, who had been for the third time our chairman; and which petition was presented to the House of Commons the same night, by his lordship. I was accompanied by the people to Hyde Park Corner, where I took my leave of them, and returned to my house at Middleton Cottage; the whole of these three meetings in Spa Fields having been held in the most peaceable and orderly manner, without the least disturbance, or one single breach of the peace having been committed by any person that attended it, notwithstanding all the infamous falsehoods that were published in the newspapers to the contrary. The truth is, that I have seen ten times more disturbance, disorder, and tumult, at one Common Hall in the city of London, where the Lord Mayor presided, than there was at all these meetings put together.

“ While these things were going peaceably on out of doors, and petitions were daily and numerous pouring in from all parts of the kingdom, particularly from the North of England, and from Scotland, the two Houses of Parliament were in their way not inactive. The committees that were appointed



made their report; and bills were immediately brought in to suspend the Habeas-Corpus Act, and to prevent seditious meetings; which bills were, with very faint opposition, agreed to. It ought not to be forgotten, that the Whigs took a most prominent part against the people, and they were quite as loud and as violent against the reformers, as the ministers were. To be sure the people had committed one inexpressible crime. They had by their steady, peaceable, and persevering conduct, frightened the Whig leader, Mr. Ponsonby, out of his sinecure of £4,000 per annum, which he held in consequence of his having been Lord Chancellor of Ireland, during the Whig administration, in the year 1807. The cunning Scotchman, Erskine, who had been for the same short period Lord Chancellor of England, was also pressed very hard to follow the example of his Irish friend; but Sawney was of a more tenaciously grasping nature, and he *stuck to the ship*, determined to partake of the plunder as long as she could swim. It was for this that the Whigs wreaked their malice upon the reformers, and that Mr. Brougham and his confederates appeared to run a race every night which should most abuse and calumniate them.

“The plot being ripe, Watson, Thistlewood, Preston, and Hooper, were committed to the Tower for high treason. On the other hand, meetings were held in Westminster, and in the city of London, to petition against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The following petition of mine was also presented to the House of Lords, by Lord Holland, I was below the bar at the time his lordship presented it, immediately before Lord Sidmouth rose to move the passing of the Seditious Meetings Bill, and I shall never forget the look that his lordship, the Secretary of State, gave me; for I stood right in front of the bar, and within a few yards of him.

“To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.



**" The Petition of Henry Hunt, of Middleton Cottage in the County of Southampton.**

**" HUMBLY SHEWETH,**

**" That your petitioner, who had the honour to be the mover of the petitions at the recent meetings held in Spa Fields, one of which petitions has been received by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and two of which petitions have been presented to, and received by the Honourable the House of Commons, has read in the public prints, a paper entitled a Report of the Secret Committee of your Honourable House, and which report appears to your petitioner, as far as his humble powers of disentanglement have enabled him to analyse the same to submit to your Honourable House, as solemn truths, the following assertions; to wit:**

- " That the first public meeting in Spa Fields, which had for its ostensible object a petition for relief and reform, was closely connected with, and formed part of a conspiracy to produce an insurrection for the purpose of overthrowing the government.**
- " 2. That Spa Fields was fixed upon as the place of assembling, on account of its vicinity to the Bank and the Tower; and that, for this same reason, *'care was taken to adjourn the meeting to the 2nd of December, by which time it was hoped that preparations for the insurrection would be fully matured.'***
- " 3. That, at this second meeting, flags, banners, and all the ensigns of insurrection, were displayed, and that finally, an insurrection was begun by *persons collected in the Spa Field*, and that notwithstanding the ultimate object was then frustrated, *the same designs still continued to be prosecuted with sanguine hopes of success.***
- " 4. That a large quantity of pike-heads had been ordered of one individual, and that 250 had actually been made and paid for.**
- " 5. That *delegates from Hampden clubs in the country* have**



met in London, and that they are *expected* to meet again in *March*.

“ That, as to the *FIRST* of these assertions, as your petitioner possesses no means of ascertaining the secret thoughts of men, he cannot pretend to assert, that none of the persons, with whom the calling of the first Spa Fields meeting had originated, had no views of a riotous or revolutionary kind; but he humbly conceives, that a simple narrative of facts will be more than sufficient to satisfy your Honourable House, that no such dangerous projects ever entered the minds of those, who constituted almost the entire mass of that most numerous meeting. Therefore, in the hope of producing this conviction in the mind of your Honourable House, your petitioner begs leave to proceed to state; that he, who was then at his house in the country, received a short time before the 15th of November last, a letter from Thomas Preston, secretary of a committee, requesting your petitioner to attend a public meeting of the distressed inhabitants of the metropolis, intended to be held in Spa Fields on the day just mentioned; that your petitioner thereupon wrote to Thomas Preston to know what was the *object* of the intended meeting;—that he received, in the way of answer, a newspaper called the Independent Whig, of November 10th, 1816, containing an advertisement in these words; to wit: ‘At a meeting held at the Carlisle, Shoreditch, on Thursday evening, it was determined to call a meeting of the distressed manufacturers, mariners, artizans, and others of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent, in Spa Fields, on Friday, the 15th instant, precisely at 12 o’clock, to take in consideration the propriety of petitioning the Prince Regent and legislature, to adopt immediately such measures as will relieve the sufferers from the misery which now overwhelms them. (Signed) JOHN DYALL, Chairman, THOMAS PRESTON, Secretary.’ That your petitioner, upon seeing this advertisement, hesitated not to accept of the invitation; that he attended at the said meeting; that he there found ready



prepared, a paper, called to the best of his recollection, a *memorial*, which some persons, then utter strangers to him, proposed to move for the adoption of the meeting; that your petitioner, perceiving in this paper, propositions of a nature which he did not approve of, and especially a proposition for the meeting going in a body to Carlton House, declared that he would have nothing to do with the said memorial; that your petitioner then brought forward an humble petition to the Prince Regent, which petition was passed by the meeting unanimously, and which petition, having been by your petitioner delivered to Lord Sidmouth, that noble lord has, by letter, informed your petitioner was immediately laid before his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. And your petitioner here begs leave further to state, upon the subject of the aforementioned memorial, that, *John Dyall*, whose name, as *Chairman* of the committee who called the meeting (and of which committee, Thomas Preston was secretary,) having before *the meeting took place*, been called before Mr. Gifford, one of the police magistrates, *had furnished Mr. Gifford with a copy of the said memorial*, and that that copy was *in the hands of Lord Sidmouth at the moment when the meeting was about to assemble*, though (from an oversight, no doubt) neither the police magistrates nor any other person whatever gave your petitioner the smallest intimation of the dangerous tendency or even of the existence of such memorial, or of any improper views being entertained by any of the parties calling the meeting, though it now appears, that the written placards, entitled '*Britons to arms*,' are imputed to those same parties, though it is notorious that that paper appeared in all the *public prints* so far back as the month of *October*, and though, when your petitioner waited on Lord Sidmouth with the petition of the Prince Regent, that noble lord himself informed your petitioner that the government were fully apprized before-hand of the propositions *intended* to be brought forward at the meeting. So that your petitioner humbly begs leave to express his confidence that your Honourable House will clearly perceive, that if any insurrection had taken place on the day of the first



Spa Fields meeting, it would have been entirely owing to the neglect, if not connivance of those persons who possessed a previous knowledge of the principles and views of the parties with whom that meeting originated.

“ With regard to the SECOND assertion, namely, that ‘*care*’ was taken to adjourn the meeting to the 2d. of December,’ your petitioner begs leave to state, that it will appear upon the face of the proceedings of that day, that there was nothing like previous *concert* or *care* in this matter; for, that a resolution first proposed to adjourn the meeting to the day of the meeting of Parliament, and then to meet in *Palace Yard*, of course *not so much in the vicinity of the Bank and the Tower*; and that when this resolution was awarded so as to provide for a meeting on the 2d of December on the same spot, it was merely grounded on the *uncertainty* as to the time when the Parliament might meet. Your petitioner further begs leave to state here, as being, in a most interested manner, connected with this adjournment of the meeting, that, when your petitioner waited on Lord Sidmouth with the petition to the Prince Regent, *he informed his Lordship that the meeting was to re-assemble on the 2d of December*, when your petitioner had engaged to carry his Lordship’s answer and deliver it to the adjourned meeting, and that his Lordship, so far from advising your petitioner not to go to the said meeting, so far from saying any thing to discourage the said meeting, distinctly told your petitioner, that your petitioner’s presence and conduct appeared to his Lordship to have prevented great possible mischief. Whence your petitioner humbly conceives, that he is warranted in concluding, that there did, at the time here referred to, exist in his Lordship no desire to prevent the said meeting from taking place.

“ Your petitioner, in adverting humbly to the THIRD assertion of your Secret Committee, begs to be permitted to state, that the persons who went from Spa Fields to engage in riot on the 2d of December, formed no part of the meeting called for that day; that these persons came into the fields full two hours before the time of meeting; that they left the fields full



an hour before that time; that they did not consist, at the time of leaving the fields, of more than forty or fifty individuals that they were joined by sailors and others, persons going from witnessing the execution of four men in the Old Bailey; that your petitioner, who had come up from Essex in the morning, met the rioters in Cheapside; that he proceeded directly to the meeting, which he found to be very numerous; that there a resolution was immediately proposed by your petitioner, strongly condemning all rioting and violence, which resolution passed with the most unanimous acclamations; that a petition, which has since been signed by upwards of 24,000 names, and received by the House of Commons, was then passed; and that the meeting though immense as to numbers, finally separated, without the commission of any single act of riot, outrage, or violence. And here your petitioner humbly begs leave to beseech the attention of your Honourable House to the very important fact of *a third* meeting having taken place on the 10th instant, on the same spot, more numerous than either of the former; and that, after having agreed to a petition, which has since been received by your Honourable House, the said meeting separated in the most peaceable and orderly manner, which your petitioner trusts is quite sufficient to convince your Honourable House that if, as your Secret Committee reported, *designs of riot do still continue to be prosecuted with sanguine hopes of success*, these designs can have no connection whatever with the meetings for retrenchment, relief, and reform, held in Spa Fields.

“That as to the *pike heads*, your petitioner begs leave to state to your Honourable House, that while he was at the last Spa Fields meeting, an anonymous letter was put into the hands of your petitioner’s servant, who afterwards gave it to your petitioner; that this letter stated that one Bentley, a smith, of Hart-street, Covent Garden, had been employed by a man, in the dress of a *game-keeper*, to make some spikes to put round a fish pond; that the game-keeper came and took a parcel away and paid for them; that he came soon afterwards and said the things answered very well, and ordered



more to be made; that, in a little while after this, the said Bentley was *sent for to the Bow Street Office*, and, after a private examination, was desired to make a pike, or spike, of the same sort, and to carry it to the office, which he did. That your petitioner perceives that the information which it contains may possibly be of the utmost importance in giving a clue to the strict investigation, which he humbly presumes to hope will be instituted by your Honourable House into this very interesting matter.

“That as to the FIFTH assertion, that *Delegates* have assembled in London from *Hampden Clubs* in the country, your petitioner has first to observe, that these persons never called *themselves* Delegates, and were not called *Delegates* by any body connected with them; that they were called, and were, ‘*Deputies from Petitioning Bodies*’ for parliamentary reform, that your petitioner was one of them, having been deputed by the petitioners at Bristol and Bath; that these Deputies met three times, and always in an open room, to which newspaper reporters were admitted; that an account of all their proceedings was published; that they separated at the end of three days, *not* upon a motion of *adjournment*, but of absolute *dissolution*, which motion was made by your petitioner, who is ready to prove that your committee has been imposed upon as to the fact that these Delegates, or Deputies, are expected to meet again in March.

“That your petitioner is ready to prove at the Bar of your Honourable House, all the facts and allegations contained in this petition, and that he humbly prays so to be permitted there to prove them accordingly.

“And your petitioner will ever pray.”

“H. HUNT.”

As soon as this petition was read, Lord Sidmouth rose, apparently very much disconcerted, another petition having been presented previously from Cleary, the secretary of the Hampden club, denying and *offering to prove the falsehood* of many of the statements in the report of the committee. His Lordship



made a long and violent speech against the measures and views of the reformers, and called upon the House to put them down, or the constitution and government of the country would be soon overthrown. He never attempted to controvert or deny one word that was contained in my petition, just presented but he said, that the government of this country had often to contend with discontented and turbulent men; *but those who took the lead in these meetings, although their steps were directed with caution, yet* (turning round and looking me full in the face) **THEY WERE MEN OF MOST EXTRAORDINARY ENERGY, AND PURSUED THEIR COURSE WITH AN INFLEXIBLE PERSEVERANCE AND COURAGE *that was worthy a better cause.***" This was said in the most lofty tone, and so evidently directed to me, that it drew all the eyes in the House upon me; and it was with considerable difficulty that I could resist the inclination I felt to declare, that it was impossible there could be a *better cause* than that of contending for the freedom of the whole people. His lordship, in alluding to cheap seditious publications, such as *Cobbett's and Sherwin's Registers, and Wooler's Dwarf*, which at this time were published at twopence each, in great numbers, lamented that the law officers of the crown could find nothing in them that they could prosecute with any chance of success. *Cobbett's Register* alone, at this period, attained a sale of fifty thousand copies a week. The Bill was passed, with very little opposition, to prevent any public meeting being held to petition for reform, or any alteration in the government or constitution of the country, without its being called with the concurrence of the magistrates, &c. &c.; which was nothing more nor less than prohibiting all public meetings, except such as the corrupt tools of government chose to sanction.

"While the acts were in progress, a public county meeting was called by the sheriff of Hampshire, upon a requisition, signed by the Marquis of Winchester, the Marquis of Buckingham, old George Rose, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Sturges Bourne, Lord Malmsbury, Lord Fitzharris, and all the great Tory leaders of the county, 'to consider of an address to his



Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the outrageous and treasonable attack made upon his Royal Highness, on his return from opening the session of Parliament.' The meeting was held on the 11th of March. Sir Charles Ogle moved an address, which was seconded by Mr. Asheton Smith; both did this in dumb show, for not one word that they said could be heard. Lord Cochrane moved an amendment, which was opposed by Mr. Lockhart; and as the sheriff refused to put his lordship's amendment, declaring it to be irregular, Mr. Cobbett addressed the assembled thousands, and moved an amendment, which I seconded. This amendment merely proposed to add, after the word *constitution*, in the original address, 'as established by Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the Act of Habeas Corpus, for which our forefathers fought and bled.' This amendment, Mr. Lockhart and his gang declared to be most seditious and wicked, and the sheriff, a little whipper-snapper fellow, of the name of Fleming, absolutely refused to put it to the meeting. A show of hands took place upon the original ministerial address, and, as far as my judgment went, it was lost by a considerable majority. The sheriff, however, decided that the address was carried by *three to one*; but when a division was called for, the sheriff retired in haste from the meeting, amidst the yells and groans of the multitude, and the under sheriff actually threatened to take Lord Cochrane and myself into custody, if we offered to address the meeting any more.

The seditious Meeting act had not yet received the royal assent, but these worthies knew the clauses which it contained, and the perpetual under sheriff, a Mr. Hollis, appeared determined to act upon it by anticipation. Perhaps there never was such a disgraceful scene before exhibited at a public meeting in England. The most foul, the most unfair, the most outrageous, and most blackguard conduct was resorted to by the ministerial tools and dependants of the county, amongst whom were all the parsons, all the half-pay officers, and all the dependants of the corrupt corporations of Andover and Winchester.



A person of the name of Loscomb, and another, Feston of Andover, the former one of the Andover corporation, the latter a half-pay lieutenant, were eminently conspicuous as the brazen tools of those, who called the meeting. Such a scene of riot, confusion, and uproar had never, I believe, disgraced a county meeting. These ministerial dependants appeared determined to carry every thing with a high hand, now that they found laws were passing to justify and protect arbitrary and corrupt power.

In regard to the cause of the meetings which were at this time held in the country, it must be observed, that the people were almost goaded to madness by the consequences of the late war, which now began to show themselves in every relation of society. For many years the people had laboured under severe distress, caused by a long protracted war; but they were told that a glorious conquest of their enemies, and an honourable peace, would restore them to a state of prosperity and plenty. With patience and fortitude they struggled through these difficulties, panting for the happy days they had yet to see. The time arrived which was to crown their future happiness, with the blessed effects of a general peace. But alas! since that period the means that have been resorted to, only heightened their misery, and plunged them deeper into the abyss of wretched want and distress.



## CHAPTER II.

A system of terror was now the order of the day. The reader will bear in mind that a bill had passed both Houses of Parliament, and only waited for the royal assent, to make it death to attend any seditious meeting; at least to make it death not to disperse when ordered by any magistrate or public officer. It was under such auspices that a public county meeting for Wiltshire was called, and appointed to be held at Devizes. This meeting was called, as in Hampshire, by the great aristocratical leaders of both the Whig and Tory factions. It will be remembered that Mr. Hunt had given Mr. Cobbett a freehold, to enable him to take part in the Wiltshire county meetings, all of which, that had been subsequently held, he had attended with him, and at all these Wiltshire county meetings the resolutions and petitions proposed by Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett had been invariably carried. The meeting now in question was to be convened the latter end of March, or the beginning of April. On Mr. Hunt leaving London, Mr. Cobbett had promised to meet him at Devizes, on the day appointed. He went to Devizes, with his friend Mr. William Akerman, of Potney, at whose house he had slept the preceding night. When they arrived at the Castle inn, the place of rendezvous, he was surprised to find that, though it was rather late, his friend Cobbett had not arrived; yet, so thoroughly convinced was he, that he would not disappoint him, that he was determined to wait for him, and not to go to the Town-hall, the place of meeting, till he joined him. As Mr. Hunt wished to know what time the business was to commence, Mr. Akerman, at his request, went down to the Bear inn, where the sheriff and my Lord Pembroke, with all those who had called this meeting to address the Prince Regent upon his miraculous escape from the potatoe (which Mr. Hunt had now as-



certained was thrown by Mr. JOHN CASTLES), had assembled. He very soon came back, almost out of breath, to inform Mr. Hunt, that the party, with the sheriff at their head, were just proceeding to the hall; and with a loud laugh he informed him that the Courier newspaper, which had just arrived in the coffee room of the Bear inn, had an article in it which stated that "COBBETT WAS ARRIVED AT LIVERPOOL, AND HAD TAKEN HIS PASSAGE FOR AMERICA." "I at once," said Akerman, "declared this to be an infamous lie, and I offered to bet any of the party £50, which I put on the table, that Mr. Cobbett would be in Devizes, and attend the meeting, within one hour from that time." Fortunately for his friend Akerman, not one of the gang assembled had confidence enough in the rascally Courier to induce them to take the bet; had they done so, his friend would have lost his £50 note.

*Mr. Hunt was thunderstruck* for a moment, as Mr. Cobbett had never given him the slightest intimation of his intention, and till he saw the Courier he could not believe it possible that any man could act so treacherously towards one for whom he had expressed, not only in public but in private, the most unbounded confidence. For the first time, it now occurred to Mr. Hunt, that there was something *mysterious* in Mr. Cobbett's conduct when he last saw him, which was a few days before in London. It was, however, of no use to ponder or to despair, and therefore he jumped up out of his chair, in which he had been almost riveted by the unexpected intelligence, and earnestly inquired of Mr. Akerman, if he had actually made the bet. He replied, "No one would accept it, or I should most willingly have made it." Well," said Mr. Hunt, "I am glad that none of the villains had confidence in the rascally editor of the Courier, but whether it be true or false, I will go to the meeting." It is much more easy for the reader to imagine what were the sensations which Mr. Hunt felt as he walked to the meeting, than it is to describe them. He had for many years acted in strict union with Mr. Cobbett, both in Wiltshire and Hampshire, at all the public meetings that had been held in these counties, he had placed implicit and un-



bounded confidence in him, and he thought that on his part such feelings had been reciprocal; but a thousand occurrences which hitherto had made no impression on him, now rushed upon his mind, and half convinced him that he had been deceived.

They reached the Town-hall soon after the business of the day was begun; it was crammed to suffocation, and a great many persons who could not gain admission, were standing at the outside. By the assistance of his friend Akerman, Mr. Hunt contrived to get near enough to the entrance of the hall, to expostulate with the sheriff, for attempting to hold a county meeting in such a confined situation; adding, that a great number of people were totally excluded, and amongst that number was Mr. Richard Long, one of the members for the county. Upon this, Mr. Long replied, that he was very well off, and that he did not wish to gain admittance. This, to be sure, caused a great laugh, but Mr. Hunt persevered by moving an adjournment, and after a great deal of noise and squabbling, the sheriff agreed to adjourn the meeting to the Market place, whither they all proceeded, and Mr. sheriff Penruddock took his station upon the steps of the Market cross, where he was surrounded by such a gang of desperadoes as never disgraced a meeting of highwaymen and pickpockets in the purlieus of St. Giles'.

"This gang," says Mr. Hunt, "was headed by the notorious John Benett, of Pyt house, from whom they took the word of command, when to be silent and when to bellow, hoot, halloo, and make all sorts of discordant vulgar noises, such as would have degraded and lowered the character of a horde of drunken prostitutes and pickpockets, in the most abandoned brothel in the universe.—The plan of operations had been previously arranged, and a set of wretches had hired themselves, to play the most disgraceful and disgusting part. Lord Pembroke, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, had ordered and commanded all his tenantry, and even his tradesmen, to attend the meeting to oppose HUNT. A butcher at Wilton, who served his lordship's family with meat, pleaded his pre-



vious engagements on business of importance, as an excuse for his non-attendance; but he was informed by his lordship's agent that if he did not appear at Devizes, to oppose any proposition that was made by *Hunt*, he never should serve the family at Wilton house with another joint of meat.

“The gang thus raked together was led on by regular leaders; Black Jack, alias the Devil's Knitting Needle, was commander in chief; Bob Reynolds, a scamping currier of Devizes, who was a sort of lickspittle to old Salmon, the attorney, was bully-major; and a jolter-headed farmer, of the name of Chandler, who lived on the green, and was captain of a gang of little dirty toad-eaters of the corporation; in fact, every scamp who lived upon the taxes—every scrub who had an eye to a place—and every lickspittle of the corrupt knaves of the corrupt and vile rotten borough of Devizes, took a part in these un-Englishman-like, partial, cowardly, and disgraceful proceedings. Every expectant underling, every dirty, petty-fogging scoundrel showed his teeth, opened his vulgar mouth, and sent forth the most nauseous and disgusting ribaldry. A time-serving, place-hunting, fawning address to the Prince Regent was moved by some person. It was stuffed with all sorts of falsehoods, and was supported by John Benett, of Pyt house, in an address to the people, which contained nothing but a violent, dastardly, and unmanly attack upon me, attributing to me all the disturbances that had taken place in London, and roundly asserting that I was the cause of Cashman's being brought to the gallows. By the independent portion of the meeting, this harangue was listened to with considerable impatience; but he had, nevertheless, every sort of fair play shown him, from their natural conviction, that, as I was present, I should have an opportunity of replying to these infamous charges: it was this conviction alone that procured him a hearing, and gave him an opportunity of uttering such diabolical and premeditated falsehoods. But the fellow knew that he was safe, and that he could lie and abuse with impunity. He knew that his dirty hirelings would protect him against a reply from me, and he, therefore, gave loose to a most



malignant spirit. The moment that I attempted to speak, the yell began. About fifty or sixty, or perhaps one hundred, out of two or three thousand persons assembled, commenced a bellowing and braying like so many of their four legged brethren, and they were so well marshalled, and acted so well in concert, that it was impossible for the great majority of the people to gain me a hearing. At length the sheriff, Hungerford Penruddock, Esq., who looked ready to faint with shame at what he was about to do, dissolved the meeting, and ordered the Riot act to be read, which, I believe, little whiffing Mr. Salmon made a sort of dumb show, or pretence to do, and then immediately gave orders to have me taken into custody. Now began such a contest as was seldom if ever seen; the descendants of a *petty fogging attorney*, a *bankrupt tailor*, a *usurious split-fig* &c. &c. &c. *William H——s*, *William S——n*, *Stephen N——t & Co.*, who were members of the corporation, and now become *great men*, (good Lord, what would their forefathers have said to have heard this?) aided by Reynolds, Chandler, and Co., made a desperate effort to seize me, but all their attempts were in vain; the gallant, brave, and kind-hearted people of Wiltshire surrounded me with an impenetrable phalanx; they formed an irresistible bulwark with their persons, which proved an impregnable barrier against all the assaults of the constables, bullies, and blackguards, that were urged on by the mayor and his myrmidons—a “*matchless crew*.” I was hoisted up on the shoulders of those who stood in the centre of this brave phalanx, and had a perfect view of all their operations. The gang repeatedly returned to the charge upon the people, with staves and clubs, but the people stood as firm as rocks, upon whom they never made the slightest impression, the people all the while acting solely on the defensive.

At length, two ruffians, Reynolds and Chandler, seized my brother by the collar, one on each side; he was standing as a spectator, taking no part but that of looking on. My brother smiled at first, but finding them in earnest, and being surrounded by the whole gang, who began to drag him off, he let



fly right and left, and, as if they had been shot, the two bullies fell like slaughtered calves upon the ground, and before the people could get to his assistance, the whole cowardly gang had taken flight. This all occurred in the Market place, in front of the Bear inn, where the sheriff and the notable founders and supporters of the infamous time-serving petition were assembled, and from the windows of which they had the mortification of witnessing the defeat, the disgrace, and the complete routing of their hirelings, and the victory of the people, who, instead of taking advantage of their success, instead of inflicting summary vengeance upon those who had assaulted them in such a cowardly manner; instead of chastising those who had conducted themselves in such a partial, corrupt, unmanly, and disgraceful way; they peaceably bore me off to my inn. The pot valiant jack-in-office, Mr. Mayor, soon after followed us, with a fresh posse of constables, and repeated the reading of the riot act under my window, amidst the jeers, the scoffs, the hootings, and the execrations of the people, who had committed no act of riot or breach of the peace, to justify such a measure. From the window of the Castle inn, where I was dining with some friends, I addressed the people, and they peaceably dispersed, although they kept a good look out to see that there was no attempt made to annoy me, or interrupt me. Had any attempt of that sort been made, I believe, from what I have since heard, that the consequences might have proved very serious to those, who had been concerned in it.

“ One circumstance that occurred in the evening afterwards is worth recording. One of my tenants, Mr. George Jones, who keeps the George Inn, in Walcot-street, Bath, had driven his niece up to Devizes in the morning, for the purpose of seeing me on some business, and also to attend the meeting. As an Englishman, he of course wished for a fair hearing of both parties, and standing near the bullies Bob Reynolds and his brother, at the time they were conducting themselves so foully towards me, he admonished them in a way which they did not appear to relish. Mr. Jones drove home in his gig, in the even-



ing, with his niece, and just as they were entering Melksham they passed Reynolds' brother, who resided there at the time, in the capacity of a paid serjeant of the Melksham troop of yeomanry. As soon as Mr. Jones had passed him, Reynolds rode up to the back of the gig, and, without giving him any notice, coward and assassin-like, he struck him a heavy blow on the back of his head, with a thick bludgeon. Fortunately Mr. Jones wore a high-crowned stout beaver, which saved his head, but the crown of the hat was severed in two by the blow. Mr. Jones no sooner recovered himself, than he turned-to, and with his gig whip, he gave a sound flogging to the dastardly ruffian, who sued in vain for mercy, till the whip was completely demolished. Some gentlemen, who happened to be passing at the time, and saw the whole transaction, offered to give Mr. Jones their address, and recommended him to take legal proceedings against the villain, they volunteering their services, as witnesses. But Mr. Jones very coolly replied, "I have taken summary redress, and paid the fellow in his own coin; therefore it will be only necessary to give such a scoundrel *'rope enough and he will hang himself.'*" Mr. Jones' observation was not only very just, but most prophetic. *The loyal and the worthy Mr. Reynolds, a few months afterwards to save Jack Ketch the trouble, put an end to his own existence, by hanging himself in a malt-house.* If what I hear of another of them, be, true it is not very improbable that he may soon follow his example.

"As I drove home in the evening from this meeting, I could not avoid seriously reflecting upon the critical situation in which I was placed, by my friend Mr. Cobbett having deserted me, and stolen away to America. I had been constantly and faithfully acting with him for many years, up to the very hour of his flight, for I had now no doubt in my mind that the report in the *Courier* was true. I felt indignant and mortified in the extreme, at this desertion on the part of my friend, at such a moment, and, without his ever having given me the slightest reason to suspect him of any such intention. My



first resolve was this:—let what will come, I will never fly my country, never desert my countrymen in the hour of peril. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, the Seditious Meetings Bill had been passed and received the royal assent. Many of the brave reformers of Lancashire had, in consequence, been arrested and thrown into dungeons, particularly those who had attended in London at the delegate meeting; therefore I expected to share the same fate, but still I made up my mind to this, that I would never run from the danger; and, as I never secreted myself, but was always to be met with any day, and every day. I was also resolved that no one should with impunity treat me in the way in which Messrs. Knight, Bamford, Healy, and others had been treated. They had not merely been arrested, but their houses had been broken into, and they had been dragged out of their beds in the dead of the night, and hurried away in irons to the dungeons of the borough-mongers.

“When I reached home, I informed my family of what it was possible might happen, and this I did, not to alarm them, but to put them upon their guard, that they might not lose their presence of mind in case of any nocturnal assault being made upon my house. In my own mind I had firmly settled how to act: if any messenger from the Secretary of State's office came to apprehend me in the *day time*, I should attend him very quietly and peaceably; but if any nocturnal visit was intended me by the officers of the ministers, I was determined to resist and to defend my house to the last moment; because by so doing, they would leave themselves without the shadow of an excuse, as they always knew when and where I was to be found in the face of day. Desperate as this plan may appear in the eyes of many, it was that on which I was determined to act. I took with me every night into my bed-room a brace of loaded pistols, that never missed fire, and my double barrellled gun, charged and fresh primed; and any number of men less than four would not have gained admittance alive into my house in the *night time*. I had violated no law, I had committed no



breach of the peace, and I was resolved that I would maintain the right of an Englishman's house being his own castle, in spite of Seditious Meeting Bills, or the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Fortunately, my coolness and determination were never put to the test. I, however, never went to bed for many weeks without expecting the enemy, and cautioning my family not to be alarmed in case of any nocturnal visit being paid me.

“Mr Cobbett's leave-taking address was published, in which he pretty clearly intimated what would be the fate of every man that remained in the country, who had been an active leader of the people in promoting petitions for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot; and he avowed the dread of a dungeon to be the cause of his leaving the country! As he had never communicated the slightest hint to me of his intention, so he never made the slightest allusion to me in his leave-taking address, any more than as if he never had such a friend. This, at the moment, I considered as most unkind, unfeeling, and treacherous. But, upon reflection, I esteem it the highest compliment that he could have paid me; for it clearly proves that he knew the honesty of my nature too well, to expect that I should have ever sanctioned so dastardly, so thoroughly unmanly a proceeding as that of flying from my country, and abandoning the Reformers to the uncontrolled malice of their enemies, and that, too, at such a moment of difficulty and danger.

“Yet, doubly wounded as I was by the conduct of Mr. Cobbett, wounded both personally and as a friend of the people, I nevertheless, soon endeavoured to find at least some excuse for him, and I made up my mind not to act the same part towards him, which he had done towards me. Real friendship is not easily alienated from its object. On the very first opportunity, therefore, I rode over to Botley, to make inquiries about his circumstances, and, if possible, to serve my friend, notwithstanding his desertion of me. I found that Mr. Tunno, the mortgagee, had taken possession of his estate, and that the landlord of the farm which he occupied, and of the house in



which he had lived, had seized for rent; and, as might naturally be expected under such circumstances, every thing was going, or rather gone, to rack; and his family had abandoned the place, and were in London. I called upon the only person in Botley that used to be intimate with him, from whom I received such an account as made me form a worse opinion of mankind than I had ever before entertained. He spoke in approbrious terms of his former acquaintance, saying that he, Cobbett, had run away in every one's debt, and with an oath, (most brutally, as I felt it) he declared "hanging was too good for him." I never spoke to this man afterwards; neither was I deterred by his language from proceeding in my endeavours to serve my absent friend. I therefore rode on to Mr. Hinxman's, of Chilling, near Titchfield, who had been for some time a friend of Mr. Cobbett's; and when I got there I was much delighted to find him as zealous for him as he had been. He was not merely a professing friend, but he wished to show his friendship by deeds as well as words, and he had been devising the best means of showing his friendship. As the result of his reflections, he put into my hands an address, which he had drawn up, to the people of England, proposing a subscription of one shilling each person, to pay off the debts of Mr. Cobbett, and thus enable him to return to his country, free from pecuniary embarrassments. This address was penned in a masterly style, and in every sentiment which it contained, I fully concurred. I promised to do every thing that lay in my power to promote its object, and to attend a public meeting, which was to be called at the Crown and Anchor, for the purpose of promulgating it; and I agreed to take the chair upon the occasion, provided that Major Cartwright and Lord Folkestone declined the offer of it, which was, in the first instance, to be made to them. With the firm impression on my mind that this plan would be carried into full effect, I left Mr. Hinxman, perfectly satisfied with the result of my journey of three days to serve my friend. Mr. Hinxman sent his address to London, as proposed; but the parties applied to, immediately put a negative on the proposition, assigning as a reason, that



it would be establishing a very bad precedent, to raise a subscription amongst the reformers to pay the debts of a man who had deserted the cause of the people, by flying from the country at a moment of peril and difficulty; and thus at once was a stop put to the laudable intentions of Mr. Hinxman. There was, indeed, no possibility of giving any satisfactory answer to such a reason, and the project was in consequence altogether abandoned. By this time upwards of SIX HUNDRED PETITIONS had been presented to the House of Commons, praying for retrenchment, a reduction of the army, and for a RADICAL REFORM IN PARLIAMENT. These petitions were signed by nearly a million and a half of people. The only answer that was given to them was, as the reader has already seen, passing the Seditious Meetings Bill, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. These petitions were suffered silently to be laid upon the table of the House; nothing that they prayed for was ever granted, and so far from the Honourable House, or any of its members, ever answering the allegations contained in them, they never even condescended to discuss any of the matters contained in them.

Although Mr. Cobbett, the great literary champion of the radical reformers, had deserted and fled to America, yet others sprung up. About this period Mr. Wooler began to publish his *Black Dwarf*, and Mr. Sherwin published his *Weekly Register*. These were two bold and powerful advocates of reform, and Mr. Wooler, as well as Mr. White, of the *Independent Whig*, lashed Mr. Cobbett most unmercifully for his cowardice in flying his country, and abandoning the reformers at such a critical moment. Mr. Wooler was excessively severe, and he laid it on with an unsparing hand. I lost no opportunity to vindicate the character of my absent friend, and in doing this I attacked Mr. Wooler as violently as he attacked Mr. Cobbett, for which Mr. Wooler denounced me as a spy of the government."

On the 17th of May, Messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, Hooper, and Preston, were brought into the Court of King's Bench, to



plead to charges of high treason. Mr. Hone also appeared, and complained of the illegality of his arrest on Lord Ellenborough's warrant. On the 30th of May, the Right Honourable Charles Abbott resigned the situation of Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Manners Sutton was chosen in his place. On the 6th of June, Mr. Wooller was tried for a libel on the ministers; he was acquitted in consequence of doubts having arisen respecting the validity of the verdict of guilty delivered in by the foreman of the jury, although some of them were not agreed in the verdict.

On the 9th of June, Messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, Preston, and Hooper, were conveyed from the Tower, where they had been confined, to the Court of King's Bench to be tried for high treason. Watson was tried first. His trial lasted *seven days*, at the end of which he was acquitted. The attorney-general then gave up the prosecution against the others. The principal witness called by the crown was the famous Mr. *John Castle*, the worthy gentleman who feigned asleep in Mr. Hunt's room at the Hotel in Bouverie-street, on the evening after the first Spa Fields meeting, and the same worthy who met him in Cheapside, as he was driving to the second meeting on the second of December, and who kindly invited him to go to the Tower with him, which he assured him was in the possession of young Watson. What follows is curious and worthy of notice. It was publicly known that *Castle* was to be the principal witness against his former associates. Mr. Hunt therefore sent a gentleman, to inform the attorney for the prisoners, that he had become acquainted with certain circumstances, relating to this Mr. Castle, which would be of infinite service to his clients. This message was sent a fortnight before the time fixed upon for their trial; but the 9th of June approached without Mr. Hunt having received any answer. He sent a second a message, by another person; but, as no notice was taken of it, he sent a third person, on the 8th to say that he was in town, and unless it was intended to hang the prisoners, he expected that he should be subpoenaed, and that he was come



to town on purpose to give his evidence. In fact, this third message rather conveyed a demand than a request, and he was next morning subpoenaed.

Another very extraordinary circumstance made up part of this transaction. Mr. Brougham had been applied to, and Mr. Hunt understood had positively refused to become counsel for the prisoners, and Mr. Wetherell and Mr. Copley were retained; the former a most decided rank thick and thin supporter of the ministers; the latter, as he was informed, not only a decided opponent of the ministers, but an avowed republican in principle. Mr. Samuel Shepherd was attorney, and Mr. Gifford solicitor-general; and they of course were counsel for the prosecution. When Mr. Hunt saw Mr. Wetherell at his chambers, which was on the evening of the 9th, after the first day's proceedings were over, and stated to him what he knew of Castle, he at once declared that his testimony would be most important, and would most likely save the lives of the prisoners; and he expressed great astonishment that this had never been communicated to him before. From what Mr. Hunt stated to him, he was enabled to draw out of Mr. Castles' own mouth, in cross-examination, the full proof of his own infamy, which he never could have done without it. After Mr. Hunt had given his testimony in court, he saw plainly that the jury had made up their minds to acquit the Doctor, who was the first and only one put upon his trial. At the end of seven days, the time Watson's trial lasted, the jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, and the attorney-general then gave up the prosecution against the other three prisoners. It is very curious that it was never communicated to the prisoners that Mr. Hunt was in attendance to give evidence on their behalf but when they saw him in court, they actually thought that he was subpoenaed as an evidence for the crown against them.

As there are some circumstances which came out on the trial, which bear particularly upon the life and character of Mr. Hunt; we shall detail them in full, especially that part of Castles' evidence, which went a great way to prove the plot that was laid by him and his gang to involve Mr. Hunt in



their traitorous designs, and from which, he certainly did not escape from any prudence of his own, but from a total inability of the parties to carry their designs into execution.

It may be remembered that on the first day of the Spa Fields meeting, Mr. Hunt whilst about to sit down to dinner with Mr. Bryant, at his hotel in Bouverie Street, was surprised by the intrusive visit of Watson, Thistlewood, Castle, and others, who uninvited, presented themselves to join his dinner party. In the examination of Castle on the trial of Watson, he completely denied the statement of Mr. Hunt, as we have already given it in this work, and, therefore, in order to confront their testimony with that which was subsequently given by Mr. Hunt on his examination, we shall extract that part of the evidence which has an immediate reference to this very important period of the life of Mr. Hunt.

Castle was thus cross-examined by Mr. Wetherell.

Do you recollect going to dine at Bouverie Street?

Yes I do.

When was that?

The evening of the first meeting at Spa Field

Who dined there?

The two Watsons, Thistlewood, Hooper, and myself.

Was that the whole of your party?

Mr. Hunt, as I understood, Mr. Clark, who was the chairman and two or three persons that I did not know.

How came you to dine there?

We went after the meeting; knowing it was the place where Mr. Hunt put up, we went up there.

Did you stay there long?

We stopped there while evening, while dark, it might be very probably about six or seven o'clock.

Do you recollect any thing particular happening at Bouverie Street?

Yes.

What was it?

I recollect Mr. Hunt said he could not see the colours on account of the wind blowing, and he desired me to show them



to him, and I took them out, and Mr. Hunt took hold of one end, and I of the other.

Mr. Hunt said he had not seen them?

That he could not see them distinctly, and the motto on them, on account of the wind blowing the other way.

Do you recollect giving any particular toast at Bouverie Street?

Yes.

What was it?

“ May the last of kings be strangled with the guts of the last of priests.

Did you propose that toast?

I gave the toast, and Mr. Hunt desired me not to be quite so violent, and stopped me.

You proposed that toast yourself?

Yes, I did.

Was that all that Mr. Hunt said?

I believe it was.

You believe it was?

I do not recollect any thing particular.

You do not recollect any thing about turning out of the room?

No, nor nothing of the kind was ever mentioned about turning out of the room.

Only a little hint, that it was rather too violent.

Yes.

Nothing was said about the company leaving the room, if you were so violent?

No, not that I recollect.

Endeavour to recollect whether Mr. Hunt did not put it stronger, than not quite so violent?

I am not quite certain, whether Mr Hunt might not say, that he would leave the room, if we were so violent.

Perhaps it was, that if you were so violent, he must leave the room.



Perhaps it was.

What was said about turning you out of the room, or that he would leave the room?

There was nothing said about turning me out of the room.

Did Mr. Hunt say he must leave the room?

I am not certain.

Do you remember falling asleep; a little nap.

*No, I do not recollect it.*

What is commonly called a fox's sleep.

*I do not know that I was asleep at all there.*

That sort of sleep, when a man pretends to be asleep, and is not asleep?

*I was not asleep.*

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. You are asked, whether you shammed sleep?

No, I never pretended to be asleep nor was asleep.

MR. WETHERELL. You know what is the meaning of fox's sleep, or sham sleep. Did you ever hear of what is called a fox' sleep, do you know what is meant by it?

Yes, I do.

Did you not sham sleep?

No, to the best of my recollection, I did not.

Let us see whether you can recollect?

To the best of my recollection, I was not, neither do I believe I was.

You cannot positively deny, whether you shammed sleep or not?

I cannot positively deny, whether I was asleep or not: *I think I was not.*

Did you pretend to be asleep?

No, I did not.

Neither real nor pretended sleep;

No.

Had Mr. Hunt invited you to dine, or had you invited yourself?



Mr. Hunt asked whether all that were there intended to dine?

That is not an answer to my question, did Mr. Hunt invite you all to Bouverie Street to dine with him?

No, he did not.

What did you mean by saying that Mr. Hunt asked you to dine?

He asked, if all that were in the room intended to dine.

He had not asked you to come and dine?

No, he had not.

Then you went uninvited?

I went with the elder Watson and Hooper.

Did you ask yourselves to dinner, or did he ask you?

There was nothing of the kind said.

How came you to dine with him?

I walked up as many thousands did, and walked in, finding that Thistlewood, Hooper, and the two Watsons were there.

Did you not invite yourselves to dine at the same table with Mr. Hunt?

No.

How came you to dine there?

No, I did dine there.\*

Did you not say something to Mr. Hunt about it?

No, I did not.

What did he say to you, or you to him?

He said nothing particular to me; he and I had no particular conversation distinctly with each other.

Did Mr. Hunt desire you and the people with you to sit down at the same table with him?

No, he did not.

Did either of you, or some of those with you, propose to sit down with him?

Yes, I suppose so.

Was it you, or who was it?

I cannot tell.

\* There is evidently some interrogatory wanting here, but it is so given in the printed report of the trial.



Do you remember going up and ringing the bell, and asking what you could have for dinner there?

No, I do not.

What was the general subject of your discussion there?

Merely about the meeting, and the next meeting, there was very little said about politics the whole of the time.

Only your toast?

There were other toasts drank.

Do you remember saying any thing about the soldiers to Mr. Hunt?

No, I do not.

Do you remember Mr. Hunt reproving you for saying something about the soldiers?

No, I do not.

Try your recollection?

I really do not recollect.

You have admitted a little violence about the toasts?

I have admitted the truth.

Was there any violence about the soldiers?

No, not that I recollect.

Did he not give you a little reproof on that subject?

*I have not a recollection of any reproof, not about the toast.*

You recollect the toast now?

I gave you the toast.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Were there many toasts drank?

Yes, there were.

MR. WETHERELL. Did any person at table give the king's health?

*No, the king was left out of the question.*

The king's health was not drank?

No, it was not.

Do you swear that positively?

I never heard it drank.

Were you near enough?

I was in the room the whole of the time.

At the table where Mr. Hunt dined?

Yes, so I understood.



Was the king's health drank or proposed at the table at which you dined at or after dinner?

*No, it was not.*

Did you not tell Mr. Hunt, that you had assisted in getting French officers, or some French officer out of the country.

Yes, I did, I recollect there was something said about it there.

Do you recollect that you told Mr. Hunt you had assisted in getting French officers or some French officer out of the country?

*Yes, I did, I believe.*

Did you tell him you had got five hundred pounds for it, or some other sum?

I do not know.

You do not know the money that you mentioned?

No, I do not.

Is that true or false that you ever did assist in getting a French officer out of the country.

NEVER.

Why was this said?

It was on account of a number of them knowing that I had been taken up with an officer, and I told them I had assisted in taking the French officer away, though I had not.

Did you say nothing about having threatened to shoot the French officer, because he would not get along with you quick enough on horseback?

Not to the best of my recollection, I never did.

You never said at this dinner, that you had threatened to shoot the French officer?

There was no such conversation at dinner.

At dinner or after dinner did you tell Mr. Hunt, you had assisted this French officer out, and that you had threatened to shoot him, because he did not get on quick enough?

No.

Do you recollect the name of Colonel Lefebre Desnouettes?

Yes, I recollect his name being mentioned.



Did you not say you had assisted in getting Colonel Lefebre Desnouettes out of this country?

No. I do not think any thing of the kind was mentioned.

Are you certain you did not say, you had assisted in getting Colonel Lefebre Desnouettes out of this country?

I AM POSITIVE I DID NOT. \*

Did not Mr. Hunt correct you and say, you must not say such things?

I do not know.

Did he give you any other correction on account of your conversation, besides the toast?

I do not recollect.

Nor can you form a belief?

I cannot recollect whether I did or did not.

Nor can you form a belief?

I really cannot say, I had taken rather too much wine and spirits, and I cannot recollect all that passed.

Do you recollect any body shaking you there?

No, I do not.

Did any other persons, dining at the table, admonish you for your expressions besides Mr. Hunt?

No.

Were there any others dining at the table?

Yes, there were two or three others.

Can you mention their names?

No, I cannot.

Do you mean to say, you were in liquor at this dinner in Bouverie-street, or after dinner?

Yes I was.

I mean at this dinner, after the first Spa Fields meeting?

Yes, I was, I had drank a good deal of liquor up at Merlins cave, I believe.

\* We request our readers to pay particular attention to this fellow's evidence, as it will afterwards appear to have an immediate reference to the plot which was formed against Mr. Hunt, and which will be fully exposed in the speech of Mr. Wetherell.



You mean to say you were in liquor?

Yes, I do.

Before dinner or after?

Both before and after.

Do you mean to say, you were drunk before dinner?

No, I do not mean to say I was drunk, I was the worse for liquor.

What you call just primed. What quantity of liquor was drank in Bouverie Street?

That I cannot exactly say.

Do you mean to say the liquor you drank at or after dinner would have made you intoxicated?

No, it was the liquor I drank before.

This was the close of Castle's evidence, as far as regards Mr. Hunt, but in order to enter fully into the nature of the plot which was laid against Mr. Hunt, and which, but for a very trifling circumstance as afterwards related by Mr. Wetherell, would have placed him in the same situation as the men, who were then on their trial; it will be necessary to give such parts of Mr. Hunt's evidence, which not only exposed the perfidy and falsehood of Castle, but also fully discloses the narrow escape which Mr. Hunt had from being included in the indictment of Watson and others for high treason.

After some preliminary questions bearing immediately on the first Spa Fields meeting, where Mr. Hunt with great detriment to his character, first publicly indentified himself with a gang of desperate adventurers, and secret traitors, Mr. Wetherell examined Mr. Hunt as follows:

Do you know a gentleman of the name of Bryant?

I do.

Have you known him for some time?

Four or five years.

Did you expect to meet him at your Hotel to dinner?

He had engaged to order dinner for himself and me, to dine together at five o'clock, a day or two before. I expected to meet him there on private business.



Had you invited a person to dine there of the name of Castle; Mr. John Castle?

I had not invited any such person, nor did I expect any such person.

At what hour had you proposed to dine?

At five, I believe it was.

When you got to Bouverie-street Hotel, did you, in fact, see Mr. Bryant there?

I found him there with his son, a little boy.

Had the dinner been ordered by him, or did you ring and order it?

He told me he had ordered three whittings and chops for us three, the cloth was spread for three.

Before you sat down to dinner, do you recollect Mr. Castle coming into the room?

I do.

Was it a public coffee room, or dining room, or a private room?

A private room, not the public coffee room.

Did Mr. Castle come into that room?

He did.

Did any other persons come with Castle?

Many.

Who were they?

I did not know them all.

Be so good as to state who they were?

The two Watsons.

Those you did know?

Yes, Thistlewood, Castle, a young man of the name of Clarke, who presided as chairman of the public meeting, and I think several other persons.

Did Castle come into your room in consequence of your desiring him to come in?

Certainly not, I did not know him, *I only know now that he is Mr. Castle.*

Did all those persons come into the room with Castle?



They did.

Did you desire any of those persons to come into your room?

Certainly not.

When they came into your room, did Mr. Castle or any other person, say any thing on the subject of dinner?

If you will give me leave to explain it. I was not surprised to see the parties come into the room. I was not surprised to see Watson and Thistlewood come into the room, although I had not invited them, it being usual and common after public meetings, that those, who have taken a part in the meeting, should meet together afterwards.

You say, that you were surprised that this Mr. Castle made his appearance?

Yes, and several others, and remonstrated, as well as Mr. Bryant, and said, that this was our private room, and that our dinner was just coming, and gave them a hint, that it was necessary they should retire.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH. Did you desire them to retire?

No, not desire them to retire, but gave them a hint that our dinner was ready.

MR. WETHERELL. Be so good as to recollect, whether you had ever seen Mr. Castle before that day?

I do not think I ever had to my knowledge; I might have, but I never recollect seeing him, till I saw him with the flag in Spa Fields.

On that day?

Yes.

What did this same Mr. Castle do with his flag in Spa Fields?

The first time I observed him, he was unfurling a flag, and fixing it on a pole.

Did he do any thing else with the flag?

He brought the flag after I was in Merlin's cave, and fixed it on the side of the window. I believe it was he.

Having fixed the flag on the side of the window, where did Mr. Castle station himself afterwards?



I saw nothing more of Castle, to my knowledge, till he came into the room in the evening.

On their coming into your room, did they, in consequence of what has been stated by you, retire or not?

Possibly some of them might, but some one, I do not know which, proposed that they should have some chops. The answer of myself and Mr. Bryant, was, that we had got dinner provided for three, and therefore, so many of them could not partake of it. One of them proceeded immediately to ring the bell, whom I believe to be Castle, and said, we will order some beef-steaks or something of that sort, and upon the landlord or the waiter answering the bell, they immediately ordered, I think, fish and beef-steaks to be added to our dinner; the cloth laid, and we were soon seated.

Do you believe that the person, who rang the bell was Castle?

I believe so, to the best of my recollection.

Was Mr. Castle at this time in liquor?

As far as my judgment goes, not in the least.

Did his manner of speaking, or his gait, betray any symptoms of a man in liquor?

He was extremely officious, but not at all in liquor, he was very forward and officious indeed, but not by any means intoxicated.

This postscript being added to the dinner, how many of you sat down to dine?

I should think ten or a dozen; I do not swear to the number exactly, but I believe ten or a dozen, there were several persons there, whom I did not know.

Was the elder Watson one of those who sat down to the party?

He was.

Was the younger Watson one of the party?

He was.

Was Thistlewood one of the party?



He was: I had seen them the day before, and they had made me acquainted with their names. Those were the names they gave me, I had seen them for the first time the day before.

Mr. Castle, I presume, having invited himself, he sat down to table too?

Oh yes.

Was the king's health drank after dinner?

IT WAS. Mr. Bryant, who sat at the head of the table, as soon as the cloth was removed, drank the king, I added, *better not give any toast at all*, he gave the king, and it went round, till it came to Castle.

To the best of your recollection, did the prisoner, the elder Watson, fill a glass to the king, or take the bottle as it passed by?

I saw that it passed all round almost, all but one, Clark was next to me, on the right hand, Castle was next, so that it passed all round the table without any remark, till it got to Castle.

It performed the revolution of a circle till it got to Castle?

It did.

When it got to Mr. Castle, what occasioned the circle to stop with him?

Oh! it did not stop, not immediately, Castle began in a very loud tone, "May the last of kings be strangled"—I jumped up and stopped him, I rose from my seat, and stopped him in rather a determined way, saying no such language as that should be used in my company.

What said Mr. Castle to this?

He followed on by saying something about the guts of the last priest, this was reprobated apparently by the whole party, particularly by Bryant, myself and the elder Watson.

Did this same Mr. Castle, introduce any military subject at your dinner party?

I beg leave to add, that upon this, Mr. Castle made a sort of apology, he made an apology.\*

\* This part of Mr. Hunt's evidence does not coincide with the statement, which he has given us in his own memoirs. In the latter, it is stated, that no apo-



Did Mr. Castle introduce any military subject of conversation?

Sometime in the evening, afterwards, he burst out, Damn me, the soldiers are our friends; upon which I said, pray, sir, what have we to do with soldiers here? he intimated that he had had frequent conversations with them, my answer was, "More fool you," or something to that effect.

In short, you gave him a good smart hint, did you?

If you call that a smart hint, whether upon this occasion or not, I do not recollect, but upon one or more occasions, he was expostulated with, by the elder Watson for his violence.

Do you mean one or more occasions in the course of that evening?

Yes, on one or more occasions; whether on this occasion, I cannot recollect.

You speak of the same evening, not of any other evening?

Of the same evening.

Do you recollect whether *this good man* said any thing about French prisoners?

Yes he was the general spokesman for the evening; he was intruding himself on every occasion.

Do you recollect his saying any thing particular about French prisoners?

He related a story, that he had been concerned, and had been instrumental in taking two French prisoners out of the country.

Do you recollect the particular account which he gave of that business?

Yes, for which he said, he had been imprisoned two years in Maidstone jail. I intimated across the table to the younger Watson, "Pretty company you have introduced us here to, Mr. Watson," Bryant added, "yes, pretty society we have got into, indeed," or words to that effect.

Do you recollect Mr. Castle saying any thing?

I beg leave to say, that I recollect he said, he had received

logy was made at the time, but that Watson and Thistlewood called on the following morning to apologize for the conduct of their friend. See page 19, vol. ii.



five hundred pounds for carrying those French prisoners out of the country, or something to that effect. I think five hundred pounds was the sum he mentioned, and that he was to have had four or five hundred pounds more for taking another, for aiding in the escape of another French prisoner in Wales, but he was disappointed.

Is that all that you can recollect on the subject?

That his disappointment arose from this circumstance, that he could not get this man to ride on horseback: this French prisoner; that he carried him a considerable distance in a cart, when he found it necessary to place him on horseback. He refused to ride, upon which, said he with an oath, "I drew out a pistol, and I hesitated, or waited for some minutes, to know whether I should blow the bloody villain's brains out or not. I had a damned good mind to shoot him."

He said, "I had a damned good mind to shoot him?"

Yes, or words to that effect; that he hesitated for some time.

Do I understand, that he said, he did not succeed in getting him off?

He did not, and that was the reason he was obliged to give it up. Upon this, Bryant and myself, I believe both of us, appealed to Watson, or some of the party, and represented the necessity of their taking their friend out as soon as possible. I believe upon this occasion, the younger Watson, the first time, or the only time almost that he spoke in the evening, attempted in some measure to justify the carrying of French prisoners out of the country. I think it was the younger Watson, or some one of those, whom I did not know, attempted to justify his assisting in the escape of the prisoners. I have more reason to think it was the younger Watson, because the elder Watson reproved him.

After this, do you recollect whether this same Mr. Castle became less talkative than he had been?

He produced the flag, which I saw in court, that had been in Spa Fields; this flag he pulled from under his coat, with an exclamation—a vulgar exclamation, that that was his flag, and



he would part with it but with his life, that he would have his heart cut out, those were his words, before he would ever part with it.

Are you sure of the expression, that it was *his* flag

That it was his flag, or that he had carried it, but he said he had got it in his possession, and that he would part with his life before he parted with the flag that it was in his possession, and he would never part with it, and I think at this time, he told us the story about the Spital Fields weavers having made the silk, and his having prepared the rest of the flag. I think that was the substance.

Did you say any thing to him?

I said, "Pray, sir," for I did not know his name then, "pray, sir, who do you think would attempt to take this flag, let me see it;" it was then spread out, and I read the motto. "NATURE TO FEED THE HUNGRY." "TRUTH TO PROTECT THE OPPRESSED." "JUSTICE TO PUNISH CRIMES." I think that was the motto. It is the same motto as has been read, upon which I observed, I see no harm at all in this flag or the motto, and I am surprised at your violence about keeping possession of it, or words to that effect. I believe that this occurrence took place previously to the history of the carrying out the French prisoners; he then produced two or three knots of riband cockades, apparently of the same colour as the flag, and he offered me one of them; and I refused, saying, you had better give it to your sweetheart, if you have got one, sir, or something of that sort; he offered it then to Mr. Bryant, who said, "Oh yes, I will take it, it will do for my pretty little maid," or something of that sort, and put it into his pocket. After the history of the French prisoners, I got up, and declared he should go out of the room or me, and as I represented before, I stated to Watson, the necessity of taking this fellow away.

What did he do then?

I believe I should have proceeded to have endeavoured to have turned him out of the room, upon which either Mr. Bryant, or some other person said, we had better not make any bustle,



or something to that effect, upon which I declared, that if he uttered one more sentence while I was there, that he should go out of the room or I would, or words to that effect, if he uttered one more sentence of that nature; upon which he expressed contrition; in some way he expressed a sort of contrition and said no more: other conversation having then taken place in a very few minutes afterwards, I saw him rolled up in his chair, he seemed asleep.

Was this what is commonly called a fox sleep?

At first I expressed pleasure that he was silent: soon after this, one of his friends I observed endeavouring to awake him, by shaking him; upon which I said for God's sake let that fellow alone, he is best as he is; some of the company then proposed going, and I observed the first that went, that he might be awakened and taken out with them; his friends now endeavoured to awake him again, but without success, although considerable violence was used, upon which I got up to assist to wake him, and I used no gentle means, for at that time I was thoroughly convinced his sleep was a sham, and saying, "come this fellow shall go," I struck him a blow under the ribs, here, almost as hard as I could strike; quite enough to have knocked any common man down, but it made not the least impression upon him, he sat as still, as if he had been dead, I gave up the attempt to wake him, and with the full impression upon my mind, the thorough conviction in my mind that it was a sham sleep, I rang the bell, and ordered the bill; the bill was cast up by Bryant, the parties paying their money, which amounted the dinner and wine, to I believe, five or six shillings each.

Had Castle drank wine enough to make a man, what is commonly called, dead drunk?

The dinner was charged three shillings a head, and I will leave it to you, or to any man, whether the remaining two shillings, or two and sixpence would make a man drunk, but I will say upon my oath, that no man in that room appeared to me the least intoxicated. Upon my expostulating with the



elder Watson, about bringing such a fellow into the room, and upon his conduct; Watson said, *he was a very good fellow, that he was an excellent fellow*, and he hoped I would take no notice of it, and he appeared to have the greatest confidence in him, upon which the whole party got up, put their hats on, and assisted, and Mr. Castle was as wide awake as I am in an instant.

MR. JUSTICE ABBOT. They assisted in what?

They got up, and took his chair from under him, or something or another.

MR. WETHERELL. Then he came to himself again, did he? Perfectly.

Do you recollect coming to town to attend the second or adjourned Spa Fields meeting?

I would beg leave to say another word, the next morning, either Watson or some one of the party—

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL. My Lord, I apprehend that cannot be evidence.

MR. WETHERELL. Certainly not. Do you recollect coming to town to attend the Spa Fields meeting on the 2nd of December?

I do.

What was the proposed hour at which the meeting on the 2nd of December was to take place?

I came on the Friday, the meeting was to take place precisely at the same hour, by the resolution that had been unanimously carried at the meeting at one o'clock precisely, a resolution that had been passed at that meeting, and which was I think in most of the public papers I saw advertised, put in with the occurrences of the day.

In order to go to the Spa Fields meeting, did you pass along Cheapside? Do you recollect what day of the week the 2nd of December was?

On Monday. Yes I did, and I beg leave to account for that.

Be so good as to proceed.



I had reason to suspect—

MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL. We cannot hear what Mr. Hunt had reason to suspect.

To account for how I came into Cheapside.

MR. WETHERELL. It is the explanation why he was there.

MR. JUSTICE BAYLEY. It is no matter of enquiry here, why he was in Cheapside. Do you feel it to be material to your case, Mr. Wetherell?

No, my Lord.

It was in my way—

MR. WETHERELL. You need not give your reason, but in point of fact, were you passing through Cheapside on your way to the meeting?

I was. I came out of Essex.

Were you going from the Mansion House towards Newgate Street?

I was driving a tandem.

While you were passing along did Mr. Castle come up to you?

I observed a considerable crowd passing along towards the Mansion House on each side of the pavement.

Did Mr. Castle come up to you?

Castle left the crowd, and came out into the street to me, and stopped me, he ran up to the carriage.

In what part of Cheapside was this?

Fifty yards on that side, what I think is called Bow Church.

Now attend to the question, did you see or beckon to this man to come up to you, or did he come up to you of his own accord?

I certainly was driving rather slow, and looking out for information of what was the cause of the crowd

Did he come up to you?

He did come up to me, but I do not recollect that I ever beckoned to him, I met his eyes as he came out of the crowd; he came up and stopped me, I very readily stopped.

What did he say to you?



For God's sake how came you so late to day to the meeting, or so much after your time, or something to that effect.

What did you say to that?

"After my time." I turned round and looked at the clock of Bow-church, and I observed it wanted twenty minutes or nearly twenty minutes of one, I observed it wanted twenty minutes of one by the clock, and I pulled out my own watch, and observed that it wanted nearly a quarter of an hour by my own watch; I was all in good time.

What further said Mr. Castle?

He said, Oh, the meeting has been broken up these two hours, we are going to the Tower, which has been in our possession for more than an hour—come along—come along. I struck my horse and exclaimed, damned scoundrel! and went on, if he had not got speedily out of the way, one of the wheels would have knocked him down.

You drove then on to the Spa Fields meeting?

I passed on to the Spa Fields meeting, which was much the largest I ever beheld.

At that time?

Yes, at that time.

Mr. Hunt was now cross-examined by the Attorney General.  
MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL. I have only one or two questions to put to you, you have told my learned friend that you do not recollect all the persons that were at the dinner?

I do not.

Very likely Hooper was there?

I have reason to believe that Hooper was there, but I do not recollect it.

Do you know whether Preston was there

He was not. I had seen Preston the day before, and I knew him enough to say that he was not.

How many persons were there to dinner, about how many?

I should think about ten or twelve. There was a considerable room full, of whom, I knew Bryant and Clarke, and some others.



It is very likely you did not know them all?

I knew eight or nine of them by name.

How long was it from the time that you assembled at dinner, or that they came in, in the way you have stated, till you parted?

I should think nearly two hours and a half or three hours, as nearly as I can recollect, it was from half-past five, perhaps, to eight o'clock, I should think it was as late as that.

The adjourned meeting was to take place at one o'clock?

Yes, at one o'clock, which did take place at one.

It was known that it was agreed on the first day, that the adjourned meeting was to take place at one o'clock?

At the same hour as we had assembled on the first day, which was at one o'clock.

That was known?

Oh yes, it was.

Did the Watsons know that?

Oh yes, all parties knew that, from my own knowledge I have no doubt that they knew it.

It was so stated?

Yes, they heard it.

Did you state at the first meeting, that you should be there at one o'clock?

After the resolution had passed, I stated that I should be there precisely at the time.

At the first meeting, when the resolution had passed to hold a second meeting at the same hour as you had held the first, you said you should be there at the time appointed?

I did.

That was one o'clock?

Yes.

You held out an expectation to the persons, who were at the first meeting, that you would be at the second at the hour of one.

Yes, I have no doubt they understood it so, and the result proved it, that is the greatest reason I have.



What was generally understood and known?

I believe so, and my great reason for this belief is, that when I came there at that time, there was an immense assembly.

Very good. I have no doubt of it, were you alone when you were in a tandem?

I was not, I had my servant with me.

Where had you come from?

From Wanstead in Essex.

You had come from Whitechapel, I suppose, from that quarter of the town?

Yes. I do not believe I was ever that way before, I went out of town to avoid any communication with any human being.

I do not cast any imputations upon you.

I suppose not, but I took the liberty of mentioning that, for the purpose of preventing its being misunderstood.

The examination of Mr. Hunt here closes, and we shall now proceed to give those passages from the speeches of the counsel for the defendant, which bear particularly upon Mr. Hunt, and which go to show the imminent danger in which he stood, of standing in the same place as the accused parties, as accessory to their traitorous designs.

The evidence for the prosecution having closed, Mr. Wetherell commenced his address to the jury, dilating upon the different counts in the indictment, and then proceeds. "Now, gentlemen, if you will recollect who is the principal, I should say the only witness we have to deal with in this case, a man of the name of Castle, if you recollect what he is proved to have done in the course of this trial, if you recollect for whom he is a witness, from what place he comes, what he has before been and he now is, if you will give me credit here, for what I shall by and by prove to you, he has attempted to do in order to involve Mr. Hunt, you will be satisfied that the life of no man in this kingdom is safe, that no one can be half circumspect enough on the subject of treason. I should almost



say that no man can be safe, unless by throwing round himself a circumvallation of incessant care and vigilance, which will become absolutely necessary to protect him from the presence, or even the approach of every one whose character may be in the slightest degree liable to suspicion, and could by possibility be a witness against him, as to any one thing which he may do, or any one word, which he may speak. Unless I am mistaken, I shall be able to prove it to you, and to make it absolute demonstration to your judgment, that if the treasonable conspiracy, which rests upon the assertion of Castle alone, did really exist, it has been only by an accident, by the merest chance, as it were, that Mr. Hunt, whose name is so familiar to you and to the public, has not been drawn by this man into such a situation, as that he would be now at the bar of this court, an imputed co-conspirator with the unfortunate person, whose trial is now proceeding. I will say by anticipation, what no man, who hears me, can for a moment doubt, that an artifice most designed and diabolical was attempted by this man to draw in and intermix Mr. Hunt as a party apparently partaking in the transactions of the 2nd December, and so to involve him, as that he would infallibly have been standing here to day, to pass through the cold sweat of being tried for his life as an arraigned traitor."

Speaking of Mr. Hunt's speech on the 2nd of December, Mr. Wetherell said, "A speech was there and then made by Mr. Hunt, which in my opinion, was much more mischievous than any thing these persons said. If I were to compare notes of the speeches, I confess I should say, Mr. Hunt in mischievous tendency, bore away the palm in a considerable degree."

He then goes on to say, "I before said, that I should have occasion to state to you some very remarkable occurrences, which took place between Castle and Mr. Hunt. I have condemned Mr. Hunt's speech, thinking as I do, that the mischief on the 2nd of December, grew out of the irritation of feeling created by Mr. Hunt's speech on the 15th of November,



but against Mr. Hunt's veracity or general character, I have never heard any suggestions. Now I shall show you, that it has been by Mr. Hunt's circumspection alone, that he has not been equally made a victim to the indescribable villain, Castle. What I allude to more particularly is this, I asked Castle what passed between him and Mr. Hunt in Cheapside on the 2nd of December; I pressed him distinctly and particularly on the subject, I had my reasons for it. You will recollect that the meeting on that day was particularly appointed to be at one o'clock, and you will recollect that the Watsons went away between eleven and twelve o'clock. Now Castle stated that he had told Mr. Hunt that the meeting had been broken up, and that was all he mentioned to him. Now I shall call Mr. Hunt, a witness whom the crown has been afraid to call, who ought to have been called, who is one of the two hundred and thirty witnesses named in the crown list, because if the flag be evidence of treason against these low conspirators, it is equally so against Mr. Hunt. Why did they not call him to give an account of the prior meeting of the 15th of November? but, however, I will call him, and I will prove that Castle met him in Cheapside, at half-past twelve o'clock, when he was going in his tandem to the Fields. You will have the goodness to remember, that Castle, who had been at the Tower at an early hour, stated that he found the gates were shut, and that the sentinels were on their guard in consequence of the meeting. I will prove that he used an expression of this kind to Mr. Hunt, *the Tower has been in our possession for an hour, go along with us, my boy*, and if it had, if it so happened that Mr. Hunt had turned his tandem the other way, if he had been seen any where in the mob, in the Minories, or any other place, if he had gone there as a spectator from idle curiosity, Castle would have sworn he was a co-conspirator, and what is more, you would have found his name in the paper called the C. P. S., which I say is a fabrication of this man, and the paper, the C. P. S. would have been produced to verify the fact, that Mr. Hunt has be-



come one of the committee of public safety, as it is to be termed. Can you entertain a doubt that this detestable falsehood was uttered by this man, for any other purpose than that of drawing Mr. Hunt into such a situation, as that he might have been made a victim, as having apparently entered into this extraordinary plot.

“ There is another transaction, by which the infamous designs of this man will be equally manifest, and all of which, appear to have a tendency to include Mr. Hunt in the numbers of his victims. Do you recollect my pressing him very hard, to know whether he dined with Mr. Hunt in Bouverie-street, and whether he had not intruded himself in his company? there was a shuffle, but at last we got at the fact, that he did dine at the same table. Then I put another question, the drift of which he was aware of, whether he recollected falling asleep, or shamming a sleep, or in vulgar language, a fox's sleep. The trade of this man is to get hold of victims to be sacrificed, and I hope when this business is over, the attorney general will not suffer such a man to roam abroad any longer. I will prove that this man shammed sleep for a considerable time, and I will leave it to you to say, whether this could be done for any other purpose, than that of a hope, that Mr. Hunt might let drop some expressions, which might afterwards be used against him.”

In the reply of the Attorney-General, he makes some severe remarks on the conduct and evidence of Mr. Hunt, and particularly in the contradictions, which showed themselves in the evidence, as given by Mr. Hunt, when compared with that which was given by his friend, Mr. Bryant. It was certainly a matter of deep regret to the friends of Mr. Hunt, that he should have implicated himself so deeply with a set of low, unprincipled, designing fellows, whose ulterior aims must have been manifest to him, and who having no personal respectability whatever belonging to them, were anxious to mount to some eminence on the shoulders of the respectability of other people. On the acquittal of Watson, it might have been sup-



posed that Mr. Hunt would have been glad to have receded from any further communion with them, especially after the narrow escape which he had from the villany of one of the gang, denominated by Mr. Watson, "a very good, a very excellent fellow," but experience, which will sometimes even make fools wise, appears here to have lost its influence on Mr. Hunt, for instead of retiring to his cottage, rejoicing at his narrow escape, we find him on the 31st of July, taking the chair at a public dinner, given at the Crown and Anchor, to celebrate the acquittal of men, who afterwards brought themselves to the scaffold, and would have brought him there also, if they had not been foiled in their plans.



## CHAPTER. III.

IN the year 1817, the Common Hall of the city of London had petitioned against the passing of the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act, and they had instructed their members to support the prayer of their petitions, by opposing the measure. As usual, their members set the prayers of the livery at defiance and supported the bill; at least Curtis and Atkins did; and as for Alderman Combe, the Whig member, he was not in the House during any of the debates. When the Common Hall assembled the next time, the Waithmanite faction intended to move a vote of censure against Curtis and Atkins, for not attending to the instructions of their constituents; and of course they contrived to procure from Alderman Combe a letter to be read in the Hall, apologising for his non-attendance in his place in the House of Commons, in consequence of very ill health, which had prevented his attendance there ever since he had been last elected, and which, in all probability, would prevent his attending there any more. This game had been carried on for a long time by the Waithmanites, and Mr. Hunt had made up his mind, whenever an occasion should offer, to enter his protest against the city of London being represented by a person who never attended the House, and who was rendered incapable of doing so from ill health. Mr. Hunt had several times carried some resolutions in his pocket, to the meetings of the livery, but no opportunity had offered for him to bring the subject forward before. As soon as this letter was read from Alderman Combe, which stated his inability to attend in his place, &c. &c., he told Sir Richard Phillips, who was standing near him upon the hustings, that, as soon as the usual vote of thanks was moved to Alderman Combe, he should move some short resolutions, which he showed him, as an amend-



ment: "1st, thanking the Alderman for his past honourable services: 2nd, sympathising with him on his illness, and lamenting the cause of his incapacity to attend the House of Commons: and 3rd, respectfully calling upon him to resign his seat, to give the livery an opportunity of electing an efficient member of parliament as their representative, in his stead." Mr. Hunt asked Sir Richard if he would second these resolutions; he replied no, he could not, but he would ask Mr. Waithman to do it; and away he went in the honesty of his heart, and told Mr. Waithman that Mr. Hunt was going to move such resolutions as an amendment to the usual vote of thanks to Alderman Combe, and he very innocently asked him if he would second them? "I shall never forget the city hero's look, said Mr. Hunt, he turned round as if he would have bit Sir Richard's nose off, and in a *whisper* that I could hear all across the hustings, replied, "NO! *it is meant to cut my throat.*" Sir Richard, surprised and mortified at the mistake which he had unintentionally made, returned me the resolutions, without saying a word, as he saw that I had heard Waithman's answer, which I was laughing at most heartily."

Mr. Hunt knew that Mr. Waithman would not have joined him in any measure, even if it had been to save the city of London from an earthquake, or its citizens from the greatest of all calamities. a famine, but at the first view of the thing, he did not perceive how this amendment was calculated to injure or cut the throat of Mr. Waithman. The dread of this mighty sacrifice did not, however, deter Mr. Hunt from doing his duty. The vote of thanks having been moved to Alderman Combe, Mr. Hunt stepped forward and proposed his resolutions as an amendment; this was done in the most respectful and handsome manner towards the Alderman, giving him much greater credit for his past exertions, as their city member, than he, in fact, ever merited.

Mr. Hunt had never consulted one single individual as to the propriety or the policy of this measure, and it was by mere accident that he mentioned it upon the hustings to Sir Rich-



ard Phillips ; therefore he was not prepared with any one to second his proposition, but it was, nevertheless, received by the livery with strong marks of approbation. Never were resolutions more appropriate, or that came more pat to suit the occasion. He saw that this was a happy opportunity to appeal to the honest sentiments of the livery, and he seized it, as an act of justice to them and to the public, without the slightest intention to annoy or injure Mr. Waithman, and without the most remote intention of gratifying the factious views of any party. It certainly struck Mr. Hunt, and it had all along struck him, that if Mr. Alderman Combe could be prevailed upon to resign during the second mayoralty of his worthy friend Alderman Wood, the latter would be selected by the citizens of London as his successor, without the chance of a successful opposition against him ; but Mr. Hunt had never given him the most remote hint of his thoughts or designs, neither did he expect that the friends of Waithman, amongst the livery, would be prevailed upon to do any thing, that was likely to promote the election of Alderman Wood. All that under such circumstances Mr. Hunt ever considered was, how best to perform his duty, when he was before the public, either at a meeting of the people in Spa Fields, or in Palace Yard, or at a meeting of his fellow liverymen in the Guildhall. He never personally cared whether his motions were carried, or whether they were rejected, his main object being to perform his duty boldly and conscientiously. This he did on the occasion now alluded to, without knowing whether any one would second his proposition or not.

Before, however, any one could come forward as his supporter, Mr. Waithman presented himself to the livery, and endeavoured, by every art that he was master of, to prevail upon the citizens not to countenance Mr. Hunt's proposition. His own little gang attempted to get him cheered, but all their efforts proved fruitless. He coaxed, he wheedled, he begged, and he prayed ; when that did not take, he blustered, bullied, and threatened them, but all would not do ; he bullied one moment, and cringed the next, with equal ill success. He and



his friends began to feel for once, that the force of truth was likely to prevail over fraud, trickery, and cunning. At last, when he found that none of these had a chance of prevailing, he turned about and resorted to tactics. He declared that the proposition was irrelevant, that the livery were taken by surprise, that they were not assembled for any such purpose, and that another common-hall ought to be convened, on purpose to take Mr. Hunt's resolutions into consideration; and he boldly called upon the Lord Mayor, Wood, to prohibit the resolutions being put to the livery. Never did Mr. Waithman labour so hard in his life; if his existence had been at stake, he could not have shown more anxiety.

The Lord Mayor now came forward, and in the most unequivocal manner declared that the resolutions were not only perfectly in order, but that he considered them most proper to be submitted to the consideration of the committee upon that occasion. Mr. Hunt says. "I thought Waithman would have bursted a blood-vessel with rage and mortification at this decision of the Lord Mayor, who was not to be bullied out of doing his duty honestly, particularly when he saw that it received the sanction of so great a portion of his fellow-citizens." The question was at length put, and the resolutions were carried by a very large majority, amidst such a round of cheers as were seldom heard in the common-hall. Mr. Hunt then moved that the Lord Mayor be requested to convey the resolutions of the livery to Mr. Alderman Combe, as soon as he could conveniently do so, and also to call another common-hall, to communicate the answer of the worthy Alderman to his constituents. This likewise was carried, with a faint opposition from the puny faction that surrounded the mortified and discomfited great little man. The Lord Mayor then stepped forward, and promised that the wishes of the livery should be promptly executed; and, after he had given this promise, the meeting broke up.

"I must own," says Mr. Hunt, "that I gloried more in this successful single-handed effort of mine, spontaneously made, and so honourably carried into execution, than I ever did in



any public act of my life. When the alderman was elected, I addressed my brother liverymen, and I boldly predicted that he was elected for life; that his conduct in the House of Commons would be such, as would secure him a seat for the city of London, as long as human nature would enable him to attend his duty in Parliament. This was more than five years ago, and I believe that the prediction has not only been made good up to this time, but that it is more likely to be confirmed than ever it was. Such, however, was the prejudice of a certain party in the city against radicals, and particularly against me, that the worthy alderman never dared to thank me publicly for what I had done to serve him. In truth, I never looked for any such thing; I only did my duty, and I had full confidence, whenever the worthy alderman was called upon, he would not fail to do his duty. My confidence was not misplaced, as has been fully proved by the conduct of the alderman, in the case of the persecuted Caroline, the injured queen of England. Nor has the worthy alderman ever flinched from his duty during the persecutions of the "Captive of Ilchester."

In consequence of the diabolical machinations of the villain Oliver, the spy, who was imprudently introduced to the reformers in the north by Mr. Mitchell, one of the delegates who had attended the Major's meetings in London—in consequence of this infamous fellow's hellish plots, a number of the distressed inhabitants of Derbyshire and Nottingham were instigated to acts of violence and riot, which, although of a most contemptible nature, were magnified by the government into acts of treason and rebellion. In pursuance of what had been planned by the villain Oliver and his employers, these deluded men were immediately made prisoners, and committed to Derby gaol, upon a charge of high treason. Unfortunately, one Jeremiah Brandeth, who was at the head of those rioters very wantonly fired a shot at random through the back window of a farm-house, where the inmates had refused to admit them, or to deliver them any arms, which the rioters, scarcely one hundred in number, had demanded. It so hap



pened that a boy was killed by this random shot, which gave a colouring to the proceedings of the ministers, and created a great prejudice against these deluded men; and therefore, instead of indicting some of them for a foolish and contemptible riot, and prosecuting Brandreth for murder or manslaughter, the government proceeded against them for high treason. This petty riot, which was put down without any military force, was consequently blazoned forth and proclaimed through the country as an insurrection and open rebellion, and great preparations were making to bring the prisoners to trial for high treason, and a special commission was appointed to be held at Derby to try them. The ministers had failed in their attempt, in London, to spill the blood of Watson, Thistlewood, & Co. whose lives were saved by the honesty of a Middlesex jury. The despicable riot in London, ridiculous and contemptible as it was, yet it was ten times more like a premeditated insurrection than the Derbyshire riot; yet an honest Middlesex jury, with Mr. Richardson, of the Lottery-office, as their foreman, refused to find the instigators of it guilty of high treason. This having been the case, the ministers were determined to try their hands at a trial for high treason in the country. It was, in fact, necessary to bring forward at least some shadow of a pretext for the infamous measures which had been passed by the Parliament, and for the still worse conduct of the Secretary of State, who had thrown such a number of the reformers into dungeons, the secret dungeons of the boroughmongers, where they were lingering under the suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act, without any charge being brought against them, and without being brought to trial, there being nothing to prove against them. It may be repeated, that it was necessary to make a show, a pretence, a sort of justification, for these proceedings; and the riot which had taken place at Pentridge, in Derbyshire, was the thing fixed upon for that purpose as they could not trump up a better.

Brandreth, Turner, Ludlam, and thirty-five or six others, were accordingly thrown into prison, and indicted for high treason. These poor fellows, thus assailed and immured in



a gaol, were without a friend to protect them, and to see that they had a fair trial, and in fact were without the means of paying counsel and witnesses, to enable them to stand any chance of having a fair trial. In this forlorn and wretched situation, their attention, as a *dernier resort*, was directed to Mr. Hunt. He was a perfect stranger to every one of them, but they had heard of his exertions in the cause of the people, and they prevailed upon their attorney, Mr. Wragg, of Belper, to write to him, and inform him of their deplorable and forlorn situation, and to request that he would endeavour to raise a public subscription, to enable them to fee counsel, and to pay for bringing their witnesses to the trial, which Mr. Wragg assured Mr. Hunt they were totally incompetent to do, they being all poor men, without any money or friends to help them.

Mr. Hunt received this letter at Middleton cottage, where he had been for some time peaceably enjoying the sports of the field. He showed it to a friend, who was visiting him at the time, and he at once pronounced it to be a trap, to inveigle him into a participation of their crimes. At any rate, he thought the only prudent course for Mr. Hunt to adopt, would be, either to take no notice of the letter, or to reply that he knew nothing of the parties, and would have nothing to do with them. Mr. Hunt put the letter into his pocket, and said no more to him upon the subject, as his cold, calculating, prudent advice did not correspond with the feelings of his heart. His visitors and his family had retired to rest, when he deliberately sat down, and answered the letter of Mr. Wragg by the return of post.

"Those," says Mr. Hunt, "who are of the same opinion as my prudent friend will ask, why did you do so? I will tell them *why*. I said to myself, here are some fellow-creatures in distress, they have not a living soul to aid them; the whole power and weight of the government are mustered against them; and although they are totally unknown to me, and although I cannot countenance or approve of their foolish and wanton proceedings; yet, as the law of England presumes



every man to be innocent till he is convicted of guilt, and as they have appealed to me in their distressing situation, as the only man to whom they can look up for assistance; shall I, because there appears to be personal danger and difficulty in the undertaking, shall I refuse or neglect to do my best to enable them to obtain a fair trial? shall I abandon them, and refuse to obey the call of humanity, and because they are poor and defenceless, turn a deaf ear to the prayers of those that are in trouble and in prison? I asked myself these questions, and without a moment's pause, my tongue obeyed the impulse of my heart, and I exclaimed, 'forbid it, Heaven, rather let me perish this instant, than harbour a thought so base, so unfeeling, and so opposite to every act of my life!' I therefore acknowledged Mr. Wragg's letter, and told him that, although he was a perfect stranger to me, and although the prisoners were all strangers to me, yet my heart would not allow me to entertain any unworthy suspicions of him; and as the lives of our fellow creatures were at stake, I would do every thing in my power to enable them to obtain a fair trial. With this view I would by the same post, write to London, and endeavour to procure a public meeting, for the purpose of raising a subscription to assist them, lamenting, at the same time, my own want of the means to assist them."

Before Mr. Hunt went to bed, he wrote to Mr. Cleary, who was secretary to Major Cartwright and the Hampden club and also a sort of general secretary to the Westminster committee. He desired him to lay a copy of Mr. Wragg's letter before some of the patriotic friends of liberty, justice and humanity, in London, and to get them to call a public meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, on the following Monday, to raise a subscription, to enable the prisoners to fee counsel before their trial, which was to take place at Derby, in the following week. Mr. Hunt added, "if there should be any *hitch* or difficulty, still by all means call the meeting, and I will pay for the room and the advertisements, and take the chair myself, if no other person more eligible offers." He wrote also to



Mr. West, the wire-worker, in Wych-street, to the same effect, and to inform him of what he had written to Cleary. Mr. West was the person who had taken a very decisive, active, and manly part in assisting Dr. Watson and Thistlewood, in getting up their defence, when they were imprisoned under a similar charge; therefore Mr. Hunt thought him the most likely man he knew in London or Westminster to promote such a measure.

It must be borne in mind that Mr. Hunt did not get Mr. Wragg's letter, urging him to come forward in behalf of these poor fellows, till five o'clock in the afternoon, when he returned home to dinner from shooting; that before he went to bed he wrote an answer to the attorney of the prisoners, unhesitatingly promising to do all that lay in his power to serve them; and that he also wrote to Mr. Cleary and Mr. West, to procure a public meeting, and, without any reservation on his part, to call it in *his name*, in the metropolis; and it must be also recollected, that the HABEAS CORPUS ACT was still suspended, and that the Seditious Meeting Act was in full force.

Mr. Hunt received an answer from Mr. Cleary, to say that he had seen the friends of liberty in Westminster, and that the meeting would be appointed, to be held at the Crown and Anchor, as he wished it, on the following Monday, and he would take care to have it advertised, &c. Mr. Hunt also received a letter from Mr. West, who said he had seen Cleary, and that the meeting would take place, according to his request on the Monday. Mr. Hunt wrote by return of post, to Mr. Wragg, to inform the prisoners what had been done, and how far Mr. Hunt had succeeded; and that he had promised to be at the meeting, and to proceed to Derby in the mail, as soon as the result was known.

On the Sunday, just as Mr. Hunt was preparing to set off to London to attend this meeting, he received a letter from Mr. Cleary, to say that he had consulted the friends of liberty in Westminster, who were unanimously of opinion, that it would be highly impolitic to call a public meeting upon such



an occasion, in which opinion he fully concurred; and that the worthy Major Cartwright also thought it extremely improper for the reformers to identify themselves with HOUSE-BREAKERS AND MURDERERS. Mr. Cleary also added, that the Derby rioters had by their conduct done the greatest injury to the cause of reform, and that he felt so indignant at them, that, instead of assisting them by a subscription, he could almost GO DOWN AND HANG THEM HIMSELF. "I must do Mr. West the justice to say," says Mr. Hunt, "that he did every thing in his power to procure a meeting, and if he had not, as well as myself, been *tricked* into the idea that the meeting would be held, he would have called it himself."

Mr. Hunt was extremely mortified at being thus defeated in his plan, at being thus swindled out of the meeting. Cleary's first letter was evidently written with a view to prevent Mr. Hunt going to London, and personally convening the meeting; because he saw, from the manner of Mr. Hunt's first letter that he was in earnest, therefore it was necessary to deceive him into a belief that what he was desirous of would be done, as, otherwise, he knew that he would be instantly on the spot to carry it himself into execution. It was, however too late now to think of going to London to get a meeting, and, as Mr. Hunt had been thus disappointed, it might by most people have been thought sufficient for him to have written a letter to Mr. Wragg, to inform him of the circumstance, and there would have been at once an end to all trouble or expense on his part.

"Now," says Mr. Hunt, "I beg the reader to mark what was my conduct. Instead of abandoning these poor fellows to their fate, and merely writing a letter to say how I had been disappointed by the Westminster patriots, or rather pretended patriots, I ordered my servant to get my horses and gig ready immediately, and I started off the same evening across the country to Newbury, on my road through Abingdon and Oxford, towards Derby. I arrived at Leicester on the Tuesday evening, previous to the trials commencing on



the Thursday following; and what was very curious, Judge Dallas and myself were shown into the same room, at Bishop's, at the Three Crowns. Although we did not appear to know each other, great marks of civility were mutually exchanged and if I had not been otherwise engaged, it is possible we might have spent the evening together; and I have often thought how very curious the conversation might have proved, if we had compared notes. We were both going the next day, to Derby, both going to attend the trials of Brandreth and Co., but how widely different would it have been found was the object of our journey. He, a judge, going to hang the prisoners; I, an humble individual, going to do all that lay in my power to save their lives, by procuring for them a fair trial. We, however, did not remain in company; the fact was, it soon got wind at Leicester who I was; one of the waiters knew me, and to my surprise, as I was sitting with Mr. Thompson, of the *Chronicle* office. and Mr. Warburton, who had been one of the delegates at the London meeting, a deputation waited on me, to request that I would spend the evening with a number of gentlemen of Leicester, who had assembled in a public room in the inn, to receive me. This invitation I accepted, and, accompanied by my two friends, I spent a few hours very pleasantly, amongst an assemblage composed of the most respectable men belonging to all parties in Leicester."

"On the following day I reached Derby, where I found out Messrs. Wragg, of Belper, and Bond, of Leicester, the attorneys for the prisoners, and communicated my ill success as to collecting any subscriptions in London, by means of the public meeting which was proposed. I, however, offered my services in any way in which they might think that I could be useful; but I soon learnt from them that it was a hopeless case, that the men had been led into a disgraceful riot, urged on by the villain Oliver, and his accomplices; that they were worthy poor men; Brandreth, their captain, a mere helpless pauper, and that there was no chance of saving them. Those who had a little property, had sold their *little all*, even to their beds, as had also their relations, to raise money enough to pay



for the expences of the witnesses, who had been subpoenaed on their behalf; but the whole did not amount to enough to include the fees of counsel. For the fees, however, we calculated that the sum might be raised at some future time, as it was hoped that, under such circumstances, the gentlemen of the long robe would not press for their immediate payment.

“I saw some of the witnesses, and amongst others one, who had been acting in concert with Oliver, a regular hired spy, who described to us what passed between them and Lord Sidmouth, when he and Oliver presented their bill of expences, after they had performed their job. It appeared that his lordship abused Oliver for a great fool, for being detected by the people in his communications with Sir John Byng, who had the military command of the district. O, it was a horrible plot, to entrap a few distressed, poor creatures to commit some acts of violence and riot, in order that the government might hang a few of them for high treason! The projectors of it had been frustrated in London, by a Middlesex jury who had refused to find Dr. Watson guilty of high treason, although what was proved against him was ten thousand times more like high treason, than that, which was proved against these poor deluded men. But it was thought necessary to sanction the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the other infamous encroachments that had been made upon the liberties of the people, by the sacrifice of some lives for high treason, and the government paid the freeholders of the county of Derby, the disgraceful compliment of selecting that county as the scene of their diabolical operations; and, as it will be hereafter seen, they were correct in their calculations.

“The next morning I waited upon the attorneys, previous to their going into court, when I found them in rather an awkward dilemma. Mr. COUNSELLOR CROSS, who, by some unaccountable means or other, had been sent for from Manchester, to take the *lead* of Mr. Denman, who was the other counsel employed, had just sent to the attorneys to demand ONE HUNDRED POUNDS as his fee, before he went into court,



declaring, that he would not stir a peg till he received it. I knew nothing of this fellow at the time, and as the attorneys, particularly Mr. Bond, appeared to place great confidence in him, *Mister Cross* had the one hundred pounds paid into his hands immediately. Thus, by the cupidity of Mr. Cross, were these poor fellows deprived at once of those means, which ought to have been spent in procuring them witnesses for their defence. I immediately waited upon Mr. Denman at his lodgings, and sent up my name, to say that I had some particular information to communicate that might be of service to the prisoners; but I could gain no access to Mr. Denman. I had this information from the brother of Turner, who was afterwards executed. I returned to the attorneys, and I soon found that my interference was considered officious. They refused to take me into court with them, or at least they pretended that it was against the rules for attorneys to take any person with them into the court. I was, therefore, obliged to find another mode of admittance; and I ultimately, by dint of perseverance, got in with considerable difficulty, after having been violently assaulted and grossly insulted by the officers of the court, under the direction of a jack-in-office, who acted as under-sheriff, the real under-sheriff having resigned, *pro tempore*, on purpose to become solicitor for the crown, in the prosecution against the prisoners. I, however, at length succeeded in getting a seat in the front of the body of the court, and I heard the whole of the trial of Brandreth. The whole of the evidence merely went to establish the fact, that one of the most contemptible riots took place that ever deserved the name of a riot, whether with respect to the numbers engaged, or the total want of influence of those who took a lead in it. As for poor Brandreth, who was called the captain of the insurrection, he was nothing more nor less than a contemptible pauper, without power, or talent, or courage; and it was distinctly sworn that the whole gang fled upon the appearance of *one* soldier!

“The means taken to procure tractable juries were the most barefaced and abominable; and as the jurors were mostly selected from amongst the tenantry of the Duke of Devonshire,



the prisoners had not the slightest chance of escape, even if Mr. Cross had done his duty ; but, so far was he from doing it, that he actually confessed the guilt of his clients, and urged as a palliation, that they were led into the insurrection by reading the writings of Cobbett. The principal witnesses, in my opinion, for the prisoners, were never examined ; and, although Mr. Denman made an eloquent appeal to the jury, yet he could not remove the impression which had been left upon the minds of the jurors and of the whole court by the *precious pleadings* of Mr. Cross. Brandreth and four others were found guilty of high treason. Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, were executed shortly afterwards, and Mr. Cross was speedily promoted to a silk gown, as a king's sergeant at law."

Mr. Sergeant BEST, who was one of the members for Bridport, was appointed chief justice of Chester, a post which he had been long seeking for in vain. His client, Colonel Despard, had been executed for nearly fifteen years, yet Mr. Sergeant had only been promoted to a silk gown ; and in spite of every effort to become a judge, he had been frustrated, it is understood, by the objections raised by the Lord Chancellor. He, therefore, procured a seat in Parliament, and became a violent oppositionist to the government. At length, the Prince Regent, it is said, demanded his promotion, and he was appointed to the chief justiceship of Chester, which is the stepping-stone to the bench. He vacated his seat for Bridport, as a matter of course ; and, as it was expected he would be returned again for that borough without any opposition, Mr. Hunt thought it would be a good opportunity to remind him of the fate of Despard, and of his own apostacy, in quitting his pretended opposition as soon as he was offered a place of profit under the crown. Without further ceremony, therefore, he drove to Bridport, about three days before the election commenced, and announced his intention of opposing the election of the Welch judge, and former counsel for Despard. Though Mr. Hunt was not known to a single person in the town of Bridport, yet he was received with great kindness by a considerable portion of the electors, and was at once promised the



support of some of the most respectable of them. The Welch judge, however, did not make his appearance; but in his stead came a young 'Squire Sturt, the son of Best's former patron. As Mr. Hunt had avowedly attended only for the purpose of opposing and exposing the chief justice of Chester, he now, at the request of some of those whose support against Best he chiefly relied upon, declined to offer himself in opposition to the young 'Squire, who possessed a majority of the houses in which the small voters lived, and whose father had always been a great favourite in the borough. "I gained great credit says Mr. Hunt, for the manner in which I did this, in an address to the electors from the hustings, declaring that my only object was to expose the delinquency of their former member, the new Welch judge. The reader will observe that I had no acquaintance with Mr. Sergeant Best, nor had even in the remotest degree ever had any connection with him, or came in contact with him, either in the way of his profession or otherwise. I was solely actuated by public duty, without the slightest cause for personal dislike to the lawyer. Perhaps those who have read what I have written since I came here, (that is Ilchester jail) will not now be at a loss to account for the vindictive hostility of the venerable judge towards me, when I was brought up for judgment, and since I have been here. They may now account for that judge's voting for my having six YEARS imprisonment, and for his having afterwards come the western circuit, and signed an order drawn up by the junto of Somersetshire magistrates, for placing and keeping me in solitary confinement for the last *ten months* of my incarceration.

"The people of Bridport will never forget my visit, particularly *Mr. Denzelo*, the printer, who refused to print my address to the electors, after having taken the copy, and given his promise to do it, and a *Mr. Nicholets*, an attorney. I shall forbear to relate the circumstances, and the ridiculous figure which they cut, especially the latter, upon being detected and exposed before his own townsmen in their public hall. This exposure was ample punishment for such men, without my placing the particulars of their disgrace upon record. I was

---



invited to remain in Bridport after the election, which invitation I accepted, and before I left the town I waited upon every voter to thank him for his civility; and, with only one or two exceptions, I received the most polite attention and kind welcome; nearly two-thirds of the electors voluntarily promised to give me their votes at the next election, whenever it might happen. If I had gone there again I should have certainly had a considerable majority of votes, without making any promise whatever; but, as I learnt that it was expected that an after-bribe would be given, I declined the honour of deceiving them and disgracing myself.

“One curious fact which occurred I cannot avoid relating. I have since ascertained that the person whom I took from Salisbury with me to Bridport, treacherously communicated all my plans and movements to my opponents, every night before he went to bed; and, what is still more curious, I have learnt that he was actually in correspondence with my LORD CASTLEREAGH. I very soon afterwards obtained the knowledge of this latter fact, and of course as soon declined the honour of any farther connection with a person who had such high acquaintance.”

On the 18th of December, Mr. Hone, the bookseller, was tried in the Court of King's Bench, before Mr. Justice Abbott (who sat for the Chief Justice Ellenborough) and a London special jury. The offence which he was charged with was that of publishing a parody. After an animated and eloquent defence, made by Mr. Hone in person, which lasted seven hours, the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. The Chief Justice Ellenborough, who was ill at the time, was so enraged at this verdict, that he came into court the next morning, and presided when Mr. Hone was tried for a second parody. His lordship did every thing to intimidate, to interrupt, and to browbeat Mr. Hone, who, however, proved himself much the bravest as well as the most able man, and after a defence, similar to that of the day previous, which lasted eight hours, another jury of the city of London acquitted him. On the day following, the 20th of December, he was tried before the



Chief Justice and another special jury of the city of London, for a third parody, and after another defence, which lasted nine hours, he was a third time acquitted. What enhances the merit of Mr. Hone's courageous defence is, that during the whole of the time he was labouring under indisposition.

There is not the least doubt but these verdicts of acquittal, added to that of the acquittal of Dr. Watson, were the cause of Lord Ellenborough's death; at any rate, his decease was greatly hastened by the irritation arising from such repeated disappointments; for in all these cases, his lordship strongly charged the jury for a verdict of guilty, and no agent of the government ever worked harder to obtain a verdict than his lordship did. "Ultimately," says Mr. Hunt. "this great lawyer became an idiot, and I have understood from pretty good authority, that for some time before his death, he was in the constant habit of repeating the names of *Watson* and *Hone*, with the most evident symptoms of horror and dismay, which he continued to do till the very last, as long, at least, as he was capable of utterance.

Thus ended the year 1817, one of the most eventful of British history. The prospect was most gloomy; the poor were greatly distressed for want of employment; provisions were dear, the quartern loaf averaged about thirteen pence, and there was a general depression of trade. At the same time, every honest man in the kingdom considered himself as being injured and insulted by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and, indeed, a general feeling of disgust prevailed, as to the proceedings adopted by the government.

One public meeting was held by the people under the provisions of the Seditious Meeting Bill, and that was advertised to be held in Palace Yard, on the 7th of September, 1817. This advertisement was signed by seven householders, and a copy of it was delivered to the clerk of the peace, and the neighbouring magistrates, agreeably to the Act. Mr. Hunt was invited to preside at the meeting, which invitation he accepted and attended accordingly. The Seditious Meeting Act being still



in force, and the Habeas Corpus Act being still suspended, it was thought a very daring and hazardous proceeding, but he took care that the laws, rigid as they were, should not be violated, and all the provisions of the Act were strictly complied with. This meeting was held within hearing, and almost in sight of the Secretary of State's office. But as they acted according to law, not the slightest interruption was offered to the proceedings, or to those who attended the meeting. The persons who signed the requisition or advertisement, which was delivered to the clerk of the peace, were friends of Dr Watson; he it was, in fact, that got up the meeting. The Doctor proposed the resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Gast, and carried unanimously; they protested in strong terms against petitioning the House of Commons any more for reform, as being proved to be useless by the total disregard which that body had manifested to the prayers and the petitions of the people during the previous session of Parliament, when upwards of six hundred petitions, praying for reform, had been presented to the Honourable House. A strong declaration and remonstrance, addressed to the Prince Regent, were read and unanimously agreed to at the meeting; which remonstrance, Mr. Hunt carried and delivered to Lord Sidmouth, at the Secretary of State's office, the moment the meeting was dissolved; and he was attended to the doors of the office by five or six thousand of the multitude who had composed a part of the meeting. When he entered the office, which he did alone, he was instantly conducted to his lordship, amidst the deafening cheers of the throng without. He gave the declaration to him, and requested he would lay it before his royal master, as early as it was convenient. He promised him that he would read it carefully over, and if there was nothing improper, that he would present it the next day to the Prince Regent, and that he would write to apprise Mr. Hunt of the result.

"This was the first time, if I recollect right," says Mr. Hunt, "that a public remonstrance to the throne was



ever agreed to by the people; and, as might naturally have been expected, his lordship found much in it that he thought objectionable, as well as the manner in which it was conveyed; it being in the shape of a firm, though respectful remonstrance, instead of a creeping cringing petition; it demanded that the ministers, of whom his lordship was one, should be surrendered up to justice, and brought to condign punishment. It is, therefore, almost needless to say, that my Lord Sidmouth not only discovered very improper matter in the remonstrance, but that he consequently declined to communicate it to his royal master.

The year 1818 commenced with a great public dinner at the City of London Tavern, to celebrate the third centenary of the reformation, at which dinner one thousand five hundred persons attended. On the 27th of January the Parliament was opened by commission, and the usual speech was made, and its echo, the address, was voted without any opposition; a bill was now brought into the House to restore the Habeas Corpus Act. A great meeting took place at the City of London Tavern, Alderman Waithman in the chair, where a subscription was opened for Mr. Hone, which ultimately amounted to more than three thousand pounds. Than this measure, nothing can more clearly show the character of the city patriot, and those who took a lead in political matters in the metropolis. While Mr. Hone was under persecution, and even up to the day of his trial, he was totally neglected and deserted; neither Mr. Waithman, nor any of those, who afterwards came forwards to assist him in such a liberal way, gave him then the slightest countenance or support; nay, they even shunned and abandoned him, and he actually went into court almost alone, and probably without the means of hiring counsel, which was in fact, a most fortunate circumstance for him, as, had he placed his case in the hands of counsel, no doubt exists that he would have been found guilty upon each of the charges preferred against him; however, as soon as Mr. Hone had obtained a verdict of *not guilty*, these fair weather patriots began to flock round him in order to share the honour and popularity which they



now saw he was likely to obtain. This is too much the way of the world; and if Mr. Hone's jury had said guilty, instead of not guilty, if he had been tried by a country instead of a London special jury, he might have gone quickly to gaol, abandoned and ruined, before any of the above gentry would have stirred one inch to have saved him from rotting there.

A bill of indemnity was now brought in, to protect the ministers against the legal consequences of their horrid abuses of power, during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. Most of those who had been incarcerated were now released upon their own recognizance; but Mr. Benbow, of Manchester, bravely refused to enter into any recognizance, and he was liberated without it. The Messrs. Evans followed his example, and were also liberated without bail.

While the indemnity bill was pending, the livery of the City of London, met in Common-hall, and passed some strong resolutions, and petitioned the House of Commons not to indemnify the ministers against prosecutions at law for their illegal and cruel conduct during the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. This petition was presented by Alderman Wood, one of the representatives, but without producing any effect, for, on the 10th of March, the bill was carried through both Houses by large majorities. In the Commons, Sir Samuel Romilly made a brilliant effort to resist the passing of this Act, but there was, nevertheless, a majority of 190 for it, and only 64 against it. In the Lords it was sanctioned by 93 for it, while there were only 27 against it; but 10 peers entered a firm and spirited protest against the iniquitous measure. On the 23rd of March, a meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held in Palace Yard, when a petition to the House of Commons was adopted, praying for a reform of Parliament.

On the second of June, Sir Francis Burdett moved resolutions in the House of Commons, for Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. They were negatived by a majority of 106 to 2; the minority being Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane, the two members for Westminster. When, during



the preceding session of Parliament, that of 1817, there were petitions, signed by a million and a half of names, praying for Universal Suffrage, Sir Francis Burdett unfortunately refused to support Universal Suffrage; but now that the people had declined to appeal to the House, and consequently there was not a single petition lying upon the table, to support the hon. baronet's motion, it was negatived, as we have stated above, by an overwhelming majority.

On the tenth of June, the most infamous and servile Parliament that ever sat in England, after having passed a bill to continue the restriction upon cash payments at the Bank; after having passed a bill for building new churches, and appropriating one million of the public money to carry it into effect; after having passed a bill to add £6,000 a year to the incomes of the royal dukes, who had been married; after having passed a bill to continue the Alien Act; after having done all this, and far more, this servile, corrupt Parliament was DISSOLVED.

“ I will mention one curious fact,” says Mr. Hunt, “ with respect to this precious Parliament. My friend, Mr. William Akerman, of Patney, in Wiltshire, was upon a visit to me in London, and, as he was very anxious to go and have a peep at the proceedings of the House of Commons, I was prevailed upon to accompany him thither one evening, although I went rather reluctantly, as all the interest which I had formerly felt in hearing the debates had long since been banished from my breast. However, I went thither to gratify the curiosity of my friend, little thinking that I should hear or see any thing to amuse or gratify myself. The Hon. House was exceedingly thin, there not being more than about a score of our honourable representatives present: these careful trustees had voted away, as a matter of course, some hundreds of thousands of the public money. The chancellor of the exchequer moved the last reading of the bill for building the new churches. The bill was passed, and *one million* of the money raised in taxes from the sweat of the brow of John Gull was voted away, by the members of the Honourable House, with as little ceremony as an



old washerwoman would toss off a glass of gin, or take a pinch of snuff; there being no debate, no more present than THIRTEEN of the honourable members of the Honourable House. But the best joke was what followed; a bungling, hacking, and stammering gentleman got up, on the ministerial side of the House—(for if I recollect right, among the honourable guardians of our lives, our liberties, and our property, there were none present belonging to the Whig or opposition side of the House)—and after a considerable deal of beating about the bush, which I saw made the chancellor of the exchequer rather uneasy in his seat, I discovered that the prosing gentleman, whose name was Littleton or Thornton, was prattling about the *Savings' Banks*, into which it appeared that he had been inquiring rather more inquisitively than the little chancellor approved of. The result of his inquiry, he stated to be a discovery, that *three fourths* of the money placed in the banks belonged to persons of property, who placed it there for the sake of obtaining better interest than they could get elsewhere; and that the *poor*, such as servants and persons of small income, whose property it was intended by the legislature should be invested in these saving banks, scarcely made up a quarter of the number, and not a tenth of the amount. The gentleman was going on, when Mr. Vansittart jumped up, and in an under tone pretty plainly intimated to him, that although the benches on the opposite side were empty, yet there might probably be some of the reporters left in the House, and if what had been stated should get abroad, it would do incalculable mischief by exposing the humbug. These were not the words of the honourable chancellor, but I have described their import. Whether the gentlemen reporters were all absent, as well as the Whig members, or whether they took the hint of the worthy chancellor, or whether they did not hear what he said, I do not know; but the next morning I looked in vain in the newspapers for what had transpired, which appeared to me so curious, and which had appeared to the chancellor a matter of so much importance; not a word of the sort was, however, to be found in any of the papers."



It appears that a correspondence had taken place between Mr. Hunt and Mr. Cobbett, relative to the former opposing Sir Francis Burdett for the representation of Westminster, the result of this correspondence, will now show itself; and the narrative shall be given in Mr. Hunt's own words. "My friend Mr. Cobbett," says Mr. Hunt, "who had continued to write his Register, and had sent it home from America to be published in England, seemed to have almost entirely forgotten that there was such a person as myself in existence; for more than five months, from the 8th of May, the date of his first Register written in America, till that dated the 10th of October, he scarcely ever mentioned the name of *his friend*, even accidentally. However, in the Register of the 10th of October, 1817, it appears that he had at length discovered that I was neither literally nor politically dead; for in a letter to Mr. Hallett, of Denford, in Berkshire, dated Long Island, 10th of October, 1817, my name was again brought fully upon the carpet, relative to my opinion of Sir Francis Burdett, as it has been frequently expressed by me in confidence to him. Very soon afterwards I received a private letter from him, full of professions of friendship, which correspondence was continued up to the period of his return from America. He also addressed to me, in the Register, twelve public letters, beginning with "My dear Hunt," and ending with "*your faithful friend*," occasionally complimenting my zeal, courage, and fidelity in the cause of reform, and declaring that he was "in no fear as to the rectitude of my conduct, but always in anxiety for my health!" How faithful his friendship is, he has admirably proved!

"About the second or third letter which I had from him, he strongly urged me to oppose Sir Francis Burdett, for the city of Westminster; at any rate to offer myself as a candidate for that City, which would give me an opportunity of exposing the baronet's desertion of the cause of reform. I wrote for answer that I dreaded the expense of the hustings, and the exorbitant charges of the high bailiff, &c. These difficulties, however, he made light of, and assured me that, if it was not done be-



fore, he would take care to have me remunerated by a public subscription, as soon as he returned from America.

“ With this assurance, and from a conviction in my own mind that Sir Francis had deserted, or at least neglected, the cause of radical reform, I sent an advertisement to be inserted in the London papers, offering myself as a candidate for the representation of the city of Westminster. A meeting was called by my friends, in the great room of the Crown and Anchor, when my name was put in nomination, as a proper person to be one of the representatives of that city ; it having been publicly announced that Lord Cochrane, who was preparing to sail to the assistance of the patriots in South America, certainly meant to resign all pretension to sit again as the member for Westminster. At this meeting a very large majority voted that I was a proper person to represent that city. I believe it was nearly a fortnight before any other person was put in nomination by any of the electors of Westminster, and it was thought by many of my friends that Sir Francis and myself would be returned, without any opposition. I firmly believe that this would have been the case, had not the friends of Sir Francis Burdett, the Rump, proposed Mr. Douglas Kinnaird as his colleague. Major Cartwright was then put in nomination by some of his friends. The Whigs and Tories of Westminster perceiving that there was likely to be a great division amongst the reformers, and that Mr. Kinnaird and Major Cartwright had been both started, as it were, in opposition to me, Sir Samuel Romilly was proposed as a candidate by the Whigs, and Sir Murray Maxwell by the ministerial interest. There was a little band of very worthy and independent men, who stood forward as my supporters, namely, Mr. West, Mr. Dolby, and Mr. Giles, who were electors, and Mr. Carlile, Mr. Gale Jones, and Mr. Sherwin, who were not electors. Although at the outset I saw that, under such circumstances, there was no chance of my success, yet I was determined to keep open the poll to the last moment allowed by law, which is fifteen days. At a public dinner that was held





JACOB CARTWRIGHT.

1850







at the Crown and Anchor, my colours were produced, and consisted of a scarlet flag, with UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE as a motto, surmounted by the cap of liberty, surrounded with the inscription of Hunt and liberty. This flag was provided by Mr. Carlile; and I had the honour of being the first and only man who ever offered himself as a candidate for a seat in Parliament upon the avowed principles of Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, and Vote by Ballot.

“ The day at length arrived for the commencement of the election in Covent Garden. I had proclaimed that I would not, either by myself or by any of my friends, canvass or solicit a single vote—that I should go to the hustings, and act upon the constitutional principle of neither soliciting votes nor going to any expense. The high bailiff opened the proceedings, and the following candidates were proposed by their separate friends:—Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Murray Maxwell, Sir Samuel Romilly, Major Cartwright, Mr. Douglas Kinnaird, and myself. Upon the show of hands being taken, the high bailiff declared it to be in favour of Henry Hunt, Esq., and Sir Samuel Romilly. Sir Francis Burdett’s friends appeared dissatisfied with this decision of the high bailiff, and urged that a greater number had held up their hands for Sir Francis than for Sir Samuel; but no one disputed my having had a majority of at least ten to one, in my favour. The reader will see that this speaks volumes as to the opinion of the people. Though the people assembled could hold up their hands, yet when it came to the vote, the result clearly showed that the people had no share in electing those, who were chosen as their representatives.

“ During this contest I was baited like a bull; it was very different from any election that ever took place before, for I tore the mask from all parties, and all factions; in doing which I exposed myself to a combination of the whole press of England, all the managers of which, were leagued together to abuse, to misrepresent, and belie me. The *Tory*, the *Whig*, and the *Burdettite* press attacked me not only without mercy



but also without the slightest regard to truth or fair play ; and that portion of the press which was either under the influence or in the pay of these three parties consisted of more than nineteen twentieths of the press of the whole kingdom !

“ After the election had proceeded for a few days, it was found that upon the poll, Sir Francis Burdett was left considerably behind Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Murray Maxwell. Major Cartwright’s and Mr. Douglas Kinnaird’s names were, therefore, withdrawn from the contest, and the friends of both those gentlemen joined to support Sir Francis’ election, which appeared to be in great danger. As, however, I had no such views as they had, my exertions being daily and solely directed to open the eyes of the electors of Westminster to what I conceived to be the gross negligence of Sir Francis Burdett with respect to the cause of the people, I was determined to stand out the contest, especially as I had made an affidavit, before the Lord Mayor of London, previous to the commencement of the election, binding myself to keep the poll open to the last hour allowed by law. Notwithstanding this affidavit, which had been printed and posted all over London, a little impudent Irishman, of the name of Cleary, whom I have mentioned before, as a sort of writer or clerk, hired as such by Major Cartwright, came forward upon the hustings, and in a broad Irish brogue called upon me to tender my resignation, and to render all the assistance in my power to promote the election of Sir Francis Burdett, and took the liberty of insinuating that I could be no friend of the people, if I did not do so. Nothing could equal the impudence of this upstart, paid secretary, this hireling of the Major’s ; he was no elector of Westminster, and had no legal business whatever upon the hustings in Westminster. However, I treated this proposition with the silent contempt that it merited ; and this drew down the malevolence of the Rump, of which, this Cleary now formed a part. They denounced me as a *spy of the government*, and every thing that was base ; and they put no bounds to their abuse. In the evening, as I was addressing the electors, and defending my-



self against these assassin-like attacks from the Rump, I stated the circumstance of their having prevented the holding of a public meeting in the metropolis, which meeting I had proposed for the purpose of raising a subscription, to enable Brandreth, Turner, Ludlam, and others, who had been indicted for high treason at Derby to fee counsel, and pay the expenses of their witnesses, so as to obtain a fair trial; and I, of course alluded to the dirty trick which had been played me, in order to prevent the meeting, by writing me a letter, in the first instance, to say that a meeting would be called, and then putting it off, when it was too late for me to come to London to call the meeting myself. I did this in general terms, without mentioning any names; upon which Cleary came forward and unblushingly declared that what I had said was false, and that there was no letter whatever of the sort written to me. On this, there was a general call 'produce the letter, name name.' In reply I asserted, that not only was such a letter written, but Cleary himself was the writer, and that he had gone so far as to say, in the letter, that he was so offended with the prisoners who were charged with high treason, *that he could almost find it in his heart to go down and hang them himself.* Cleary again presented himself, and, in the most solemn manner, called God to witness, that what I had said, was totally devoid of truth. The clamour of the party of the Rump committee, now became excessive, they one and all bawled out, 'produce the letter!—you cannot, Hunt!—it is all false!' At length I vociferated that I would produce it the next day. I thought I had the said letter amongst some others in my trunk, but, upon looking them over, I found that it was left at Middleton cottage, with my other papers. I therefore despatched one of my family into the country, a distance of sixty one miles, to enable me to perform my promise, and the demand of the party. The next day I was obliged to state the fact, that the letter was in the country, but that I had sent an express for it, and it should be produced as soon as that messenger returned. Upon this the whole gang burst out



into a forced horse laugh, swearing that it was all false, that I had no such letter, and that I never could produce it.

On the following day, which was Sunday, I received the letter from the country. In the meantime, all the London papers had misrepresented this affair in the most scandalous and unprincipled manner, and every one of them agreeing that I had made a groundless charge against Cleary, and intimating that the story of the letter was a fabrication. The gang had, in reality, contrived to raise a general outcry against me. Monday, however, came, too soon for *them*, and on the hustings I then produced the letter, and offered to read it; but the tumult raised by the party, totally prevented it from being heard. This being the case, I promised to have it printed the next day, I kept my word, and one thousand copies were circulated; upon which Cleary produced a letter from Mr. Cobbett, said to have been addressed to a person of the name of Wright. In this letter, written, I believe, ten years previous to this epoch, Mr. Cobbett grossly abused me, and represented me as a *sad* fellow, and recommended to the *Westminster committee* to have nothing to do with me. As on the face of it, this epistle, appeared to have been written some years before I knew Mr. Cobbett, I felt no anger or resentment against him; although it certainly showed that he possessed a bad heart, to be capable of writing such gross and palpable falsehoods and malignant calumny against a man, whom he knew only by report; which man, report must at the same time have convinced him, was a zealous and persevering friend of liberty. The former cry was now dropped, and in its place was substituted another. It was impudently pretended that I had behaved very unhandsomely, in producing and publishing a private letter of Cleary's; though the fact was, that it was a *public* letter written upon public business, by a man who was a sort of public general secretary for all public matters debated on, and meetings held in Westminster, and who was also the paid secretary to Major Cartwright and the Hampden club! To bring forward a charge of this kind against me,



was stretching impudence and falsehood as far as they could possibly go.

“The next morning a note was put into my hands, which had been delivered open at my lodgings, on the preceding night, after I had retired to bed. This detestable composition contained a challenge from Mister Cleary, together with a great deal of vulgar Billingsgate abuse. I inquired who delivered it, and I was informed that between twelve and one o’clock, about two hours after I was in bed and asleep, some one knocked at the door, which was opened by my female servant, upon which three fellows rushed into the passage, and demanded to see me. The servant, however, informed them that I was gone to bed, and could not be disturbed. After behaving in a very boisterous and bullying manner, they gave her a letter, and informed her that it was a challenge for her master, to fight a duel, and they desired, or rather ordered her to give it me as soon as I rose in the morning. All three of them refused to leave their names. When I rose, rather late in the morning, I found that this famous challenge had not only been read by all the females of my family, but that all the people in Norfolk-street, in which I lodged, had been informed of it, and the intelligence had also been communicated to the Magistrates at Bow-street. Two Bow-street officers were likewise observed parading the street, apparently to watch me out. Now, I will candidly appeal to my readers, and ask if ever they heard of a challenge to fight a duel having been delivered in such a way before? A challenge, avowed as such, and delivered *unsealed*, to a female, by three drunken Irishmen (for such my servant described them), between twelve and one o’clock at night, after the person challenged had been in bed and asleep for hours, and not one of the party consenting to leave his name! To suppose that this poor creature meant to fight, or that those who brought his challenge, and gave it *open* to my female servant, ever intended that he should fight a duel, would be the height of credulity. Yet, to crown the joke, this very fellow, Cleary, was put forward upon the hustings, the next day, and actually *read* a copy of his blackguard challenge, which he said



he had sent to me the night before. This was done in the presence and hearing of Mr. afterwards Sir Richard Birnie, and other police magistrates. Was ever the like of this performed before in England, or any other country? The reader will perceive that this was a trick, and a very clumsy one, to endeavour to get me taken in custody, and bound over to keep the peace. Yet the venal hireling press blazoned it forth to the world, that I had injured and behaved very unhandsomely to Mr. Cleary, by publishing his letter, and that I had refused to give him the satisfaction of a gentleman, when he demanded it!! Every one knows this was done to create effect. If Cleary had ever meant to fight me, he would have taken a very different course; he would have sent some confidential friend to communicate with me in private.

“This stratagem, however clumsy as it was, had the desired effect, and such was the beastly and scandalous misrepresentation of the whole London press, that many very worthy and honourable men think to this day that I ill used Mr. Cleary. They say it was *unhandsome* to produce his letter. It is difficult to conceive on what moral ground they came to such a conclusion. Now, let us see what others, who were impartial, disinterested eye witnesses of the affair, let us hear what they say upon the subject; for no one perhaps, can be a thoroughly fair judge of the question who was not present. I will here insert an extract from a letter, signed “Leonidas,” and published in *Sherwin’s Register*, on the 26th of December, 1818. After stating that the only apology which was ever offered by any of the Rump for Cleary’s conduct was, that I had behaved *unhandsomely* in divulging Cleary’s letter about the prisoners at Derby, he says—

“But this unhandsomeness, what was it? The present writer was near the hustings on that occasion, and a plain tale, uninfluenced except by principle, will put the whole thing down.

“Mr. Hunt, whose elocution, though bad, is not attended with any embarrassment, a token either of a clouded intellect, or of conscious finesse, spoke, in order to set himself and those



who so nearly and furiously persecuted him in a clear point of view before the people assembled at the hustings, which he had a right to do, of the prisoners at Derby, of his own conduct towards them, which was most courageous and humane, and of the conduct of *the party* at Westminster on the same occasion, which was assuredly supine to a frightful degree, to speak in no stronger language. In the midst of the most horrid yelling of the *party*, from whom he was continually obliged to appeal to the *mob* below, as Mr. Kinnaird, unused to his new nomenclature, called them, Mr. Hunt mentioned that the *party* in Westminster had done less than nothing to save the lives of the Derby prisoners. So far from aiding them, *one* had written to him that *nothing could be done*, and the writer had declared his own indignation against the unhappy men for disgracing the cause to be such, that he *could almost go down and hang them himself*.

“This was all fair, quite unobjectionable. Whether it was judicious to introduce this topic, is quite another question. While Mr. Hunt was speaking in half sentences, on account of the clamour from the hustings, and from the stages in front of them, where *the party* usually took their station, there was an evident feeling of uneasiness prevailing, a consciousness that Mr. Hunt had more to say than it was pleasant to hear; and this feeling broke out in one burst of foolish interruption when he arrived at this point, and a din was raised of ‘*name, name*; it is all a lie, the scoundrel, the villain, *name, name*.’ Mr. Hunt seemed to pause. The present writer had not the least suspicion of *whom* he had to *name*. When the demand was often repeated, and the noise had somewhat abated, he came forward, and, with evident reluctance, pronounced, ‘It was Mr. Cleary, who by this time had placed himself in front of the hustings, and with writhing contortions uttered some most passionate exclamations.

“Well, this was not sufficient. The cry now was, ‘produce the letter, produce the letter; you cannot, you black-guard; it is a lie,’ &c. &c. Mr. Hunt could not, at the instant, produce the letter; but said it should be forthcoming



the next day. It was not produced the next day, when the grossest abuse was poured on him from the usual quarter. The party would not hear his explanation, that it was left in the country, and scarcely could this assurance reach the ears of the more indifferent spectators. An express was sent for it, who could not return without some delay. In the interval Mr. Hunt was assailed with every opprobrious epithet of *liar*, *scoundrel*, *base slanderer*, and exclamations, 'He cannot produce it, it is all a fabrication,' &c. &c. At last, the letter came, and an attempt was made to read it, without effect. Mr. Hunt was obliged to say, 'Well, you shall have it printed to morrow.'

"I am not conscious that I misrepresent a tittle of this most abominable scene, such as I hope never to witness again among human beings. This was the unhandsome way that is said to justify the production of a private letter of Mr. Cobbett, even if it had been written by him; a letter now, however, *proved* to be a forgery, and of the genuineness of which no evidence was sought even at the time, except that it was furnished by Mr. Place, the tailor.

"Now, nothing could be more justifiable than Mr. Hunt's conduct. It was absolutely forced on him. He could not avoid producing the letter. Those who complain of *unhandsomeness* themselves laid on him the disagreeable necessity. What did they say of his not having the letter ready to produce? Why, that it was a proof of his being *a liar and a scoundrel*. Of what *was* it a proof? Simply that Mr. Hunt had no previous intention to disclose that letter, that he was forcibly obliged to produce it to satisfy the clamour of the complaining party. If, after he had alluded to it, which might not be discreet, but which was not at all criminal because it was not on private, but *public* business—if after alluding to the letter, he had refused to produce it, let any man judge what would have been his treatment from the *party*. Their character demonstrates, to a certainty, that they would not have allowed the existence of such a letter, though fully conscious of it, and would have suffered Mr. Hunt to the end of time to be



considered, what they called him, *a liar, a scoundrel, and a slanderer.*

“This subject, which I had not anticipated when my last letter was written, and I did not mean, before the appearance of the confused and timid letter in Cobbett’s *Register*, to advert to, has occupied too much time to permit me to comprehend, in this communication, all the remarks which I announced. It must be granted me, who am of no party but that of truth to pursue my way, at leisure, and as free as possible from the mere forms of detail. Meaning to resume my pen, I am for the present, Sir, &c.

“LEONIDAS.”

“The reader will observe, that this letter was written in December, six months after the election; and I beg here to observe, that I never knew or spoke to the writer till some time after this letter was written; but I am proud to say, when I was introduced to him, that this fair advocate of truth, proved to be a gentleman and a man of the strictest honour, bred up and associating with the higher ranks of society, and who was a doctor (of divinity, I believe). He was altogether just such a man as I should have selected as an arbitrator to decide any dispute, a man of strict veracity and unimpeachable character. I have said thus much upon this affair, in order to clear myself from the imputation of unhandsome conduct, and the charge of cowardice, which was so lavishly bestowed upon me by the whole corrupt, hireling, partial London press, the falsehoods vomited forth by which, were re-echoed from shore to shore, by all the dastardly local press of the kingdom. This virulence arose from the following fact: In consequence of my exposure of the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, not more than 500 hands were held up for him out of 20,000 persons present, when his name was put in nomination; and now, on the eight or ninth day of the election Sir Francis stood THIRD upon the poll, and ultimately he was returned only SECOND upon it—Sir Samuel Romilly standing



several hundreds (three hundred) above him, and Sir Murray Maxwell only about four hundred below him. In fact, nothing but the foul play shown towards Sir Murray and his friends, together with the very bad management of his committee, prevented his being returned with Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Francis being rejected and thrown out altogether. This was what made the party so outrageously clamorous, and vindictive against me. Independent of the wound which their pride suffered, from the dread of being defeated, they had another reason to abominate me. They were compelled to make no trifling sacrifices of a certain kind. About the eight or ninth day of the election, a dreadful effort was made by the *party*, and *money* flew about in all directions; poor electors had their taxes paid up, others were paid for voting, public houses were opened, and all the sources of corruption and bribery were resorted to, by the friends and supporters of Sir Francis Burdett, which were employed by the ministerial faction for Sir Murray Maxwell. By these means there was at length an apparent spirit of enthusiasm revived for the baronet. Hundreds, who had viewed his conduct in a similar light to that, in which I had viewed it, and who had condemned him and given him up, and who had actually stood neuter hitherto, not meaning to vote at all at the election, as their votes could not have rendered me any service, now came forward and voted for *him*, under the impression that it would be better to return him, bad and indolent as he was, than to return the rank ministerial tool, Sir Murray Maxwell.

“At the end of the election, the numbers were declared by the high bailiff to be as follow:—Romilly 5,538, Burdett 5,239, Maxwell 4,808, Hunt 84. Upon the show of hands at the nomination by the high bailiff, when the election commenced, Sir Francis stood *third*, below myself and Sir Samuel; at the end of the election, Sir Francis stood *second* upon the poll, 300 *below* Sir Samuel Romilly. This was a sad blow to the baronet’s popularity, and still more severe blow to the upstart gentry who formed the Rump committee. When Lord Coch-



rane resigned his seat, at the dissolution of the Parliament, and I publicly offered myself as a candidate, if Sir Francis and the committee had stood neuter, even I should have been returned with him without any opposition; but this did not suit him, or the committee; they opposed me, and no one doubted their power to prevent my being elected, though, at the same time, they little dreamt that I had the power to endanger the election of their idol, Sir Francis, and by my exertions to cause the Whig candidate, Romilly, to be placed at the head of the poll 300 above him. Even all that, however, was easier to be borne than to have me in Parliament. Whether I acted right, or whether I acted wrong, in thus opposing and bringing down that man, who had but a few years before been returned at the head of the poll for Westminster (2,000 above all the other candidates), is a matter of great doubt with a number of good men; I can only say, if I erred, I erred from public and not from private motives. Sir Francis Burdett, has, since my imprisonment, acted the most noble part towards me, and I have no doubt but he is convinced that I was actuated in my opposition to him solely by public views; and if I was then deceived and mistaken as to his public conduct, he has shown that he has the nobleness of soul that knows how to forgive my hostility to him, because, he believes that I was his opponent, not to serve any selfish end, but from a sense of public duty.

“A few days after I had been so grossly mis-represented by the press, with respect to Cleary’s affair, another circumstance occurred. One of the gents belonging to the Observer newspaper, was a Mr. Spectacle Dowling, who appears to have written so many falsehoods upon the subject, that he actually believed at last that what he had written was true. I had, in one of my speeches, alluded to the evidence which this person had given, on behalf of the crown, upon the trial of Watson. The next morning, when I entered the hustings, a person at the door spoke to me, and while I was looking back to answer him, I felt the stroke of a small whip upon my hat, and, on turning hastily round to see what it meant



there was Mr. Spectacle Dowling flourishing a small jockey whip in a violent manner. I dashed up to him, and had just reached him a slight blow on the chin, when I was seized by the constables; but in his flight he received a blow in the mouth from my brother and another from my son Henry, a lad of eighteen. We were all three held by the constables, who were all prepared to favour his escape.

“ Mr. Dowling immediately summoned my brother before Sir Richard, then Mr. Birnie, for the assault. I attended to give bail for him, and I certainly never saw a person who more resembled ‘raw head and bloody bones’ than Mr. Dowling did, for he was bleeding at every pore; the marks of the three blows he had received were very evident upon his forehead, his mouth, and his chin. It appears that Mr. Dowling’s object was, not so much to get my brother held to bail, as it was to get *himself* bound over to keep the peace towards me; and Mr. Birnie, who had learned that Mr. Dowling was the first aggressor, urged me to prefer the complaint, and he would hold him to bail for the assault, as Dowling bravely protested before the magistrates that he should have given me a *good horse-whipping*, if the constables had not interfered. I, however, positively declined to make any charge against the gentleman, as I had resolved that the first time I met him, I would give him an opportunity of taking a belly-full. I own that I walked the streets many an hour afterwards, in hopes of meeting him, and I carried a good cane in my hand, in order to lay it smartly about his shoulders. It was, however, many months before I met the gentleman. At length, one day, I was standing in Mr. Clement’s shop, talking with Mr. Egan, the gentleman who at that time was the fashionable slang reporter of all the pitched battles and prize fights of the day, and who has since produced from his pen those characters which have made such a noise at the Adelphi and other theatres, namely, *Tom and Jerry*. While I was conversing with Mr. Egan, Mr. Dowling opened the door and walked in. I immediately addressed him, and said, ‘The last time I had the honour to meet you, Mr. Dowling, I believe was at Bow street,



when you stated to Mr. Birnie that you had struck me upon the Westminster hustings with a whip, and if you had not been prevented by the constables you would have given me a good horse-whipping.' 'Sir, (said he) I do not wish to have any thing to say to you.' But, (replied I) there is a little account to settle between us; you struck me a blow with a whip, and I gave you a slap on the chin, so far we were equal; but you informed the magistrates, that, if you had not been prevented by the constables, you would have given me a good thrashing; now, sir, there are no constables present to interfere, and I will give you an opportunity to carry your threat into execution.' 'Sir, (he again repeated) I do not wish to have any thing to say to you;' and he was making out of the shop as fast as he could shuffle; but as soon as he opened the door, and stepped upon the pavement, I said, 'Protect yourself,' and at the same time I gave him a slight blow in the face with my *flat hand*, which knocked off his spectacles. The gallant reporter picked them up very coolly, and putting both hands before his face, he sued for mercy, saying, that if I persisted, he should take the law of me. He kept his word, and I was indicted at the Middlesex sessions, and fined five pounds.

"So ended the horse-whipping affair and the Westminster election, with the exception of a *trifling* after-clap or two, such as the high bailiff sending me in a bill for my third share of the hustings, amounting to upwards of two hundred and fifty pounds (I think that was the sum). I refused the payment of it, and he commenced an action for the amount, and obtained a verdict for a great part of his charge. This brought me for the first time in contact with Mr. counsellor Scarlett, he having been employed by the high bailiff against me. I at once discovered, that this worthy barrister, although a very clever fellow, was cursed with a very irritable, waspish disposition, of which I always took advantage afterwards, as often as we met in the courts, which unfortunately for me, was much too frequently for my pocket."

About this time an action had been brought against Mr.



Hunt, in the name of his landlord, Parson Williams, of Whitechurch, of whom he had rented Cold Henly farm for three years, at a loss of about two thousand pounds, which he sunk in cleaning and improving the estate. When Mr. Cobbett fled from England to go to America, in 1817, some of the Winchester attorneys and parsons openly said that they "had driven Cobbett out of the country, and they would try hard to make Hunt follow him." They were as good as their words, for they tried all sorts of ways to injure his credit, and not succeeding to their wishes, an action was commenced against him by a man who was clerk to the magistrates, a Mr. Woodham, an attorney at Winchester, in the name of Mr. Williams for breaches of covenants while Mr. Hunt occupied Cold Henly farm. He called on Mr. Williams, who denied having ever given any orders to Woodham to commence the action; he said that Woodham had urged him to do it, but that he refused to do so, and he wished every thing to be settled amicably. Mr. Hunt relied upon the word of the old parson, who said he would write and stop any further proceedings; but his confidence was very soon betrayed, as he had notice that he had suffered judgment to pass by default, and a writ of inquiry was to be held at the next assizes to assess the damages. The writ of inquiry was executed at Winchester, and a verdict was obtained against Mr. Hunt for nearly £250. The breaches of covenant were easily proved, although they had been assented to by the parson, which assent Mr. Hunt had carelessly and confidingly neglected to obtain from him either in writing or before witnesses.

On the 2nd of November, Sir Samuel Romilly put an end to his existence, by cutting his own throat with a razor. This event excited a very considerable sensation throughout the whole kingdom. Sir Samuel Romilly, although a lawyer, was very generally beloved and respected. By his death, a vacancy occurred for the representation of the city of Westminster, and, within ten minutes after Mr. Hunt heard of the deed which had been committed by Sir Samuel, he determined upon an opposition against whoever might be nominated by



Sir Francis and the Westminster committee. Mr. Hunt did not, indeed, himself, choose to encounter a repetition of the expenses which he had recently incurred, by standing a contested election for Westminster, but he was, nevertheless, determined to have some one put in nomination, to prevent, as far as lay in his power, the great and powerful city of Westminster from being made a rotten borough, under the influence of Sir Francis Burdett. But he found all the little staunch phalanx who had supported him during his own contest, now declined supporting an opposition in favour of Mr. Cobbett, whom Mr. Hunt proposed to put in nomination. In fact, he could not get a single elector of Westminster either to propose or second the measure.

It ought to have been noticed before, that, at the former contest, Mr. Hunt was manfully and ably supported by Mr. Gale Jones, who never deserted him, and who stood boldly by him to the very last day of the election. It ought also to have been noticed, that his colours, surmounted by the cap of liberty, with the mottoes of "*Universal Suffrage*" on one side, and "*Hunt and Liberty*" on the other, were every day, during the first general election in this year, carried to the hustings, and there nailed to the same, where they remained proudly floating in the air the whole day, till they were taken down, when the polling was closed, to proceed with his carriage every night into Norfolk-street.

"I beg the reader," says Mr. Hunt, young or old, not to forget this fact, that at the general election in June 1818, for the *first* time in England, a gentleman offered himself as a candidate, upon the avowed principles of '*Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot*'; that at this election, which lasted fifteen days, the cap of liberty, surmounting the colours with that motto, was hoisted and carried through the streets morning and evening, preceding my carriage to and from the hustings in the city of Westminster; and that these were the only colours that were suffered by the people to remain upon the hustings, all other colours that were hoisted being torn down and trampled under the feet of the multitude,



elapsed, during which there was a pause, as every one was in expectation of Mr. Wooler, or some friend of Major Cartwright putting that gentleman in nomination; but, as no one came forward, Mr. Hunt mounted the table. After some time he obtained a hearing, and he began by inquiring who and what Mr. Hobhouse was? He demanded if he was any relation to the under Secretary of State, or if he were any relation of that Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who had formerly professed in that very room the same sort of general principles of liberty which were now professed by the youth, whom they had just heard? whether he was any relation to that same Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, who afterwards accepted a place in the Addington administration, and who had for so many years annually received £2,000 of the public money, for doing nothing, as a commissioner to inquire into the state of the Nabob of Arcot's debts? The truth was, that Mr. Hunt thought this young gentleman was a brother of the then under Secretary of State, and that he was a nephew of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, and not his son. He followed up these questions, which were well received, and made a considerable impression upon the meeting; and at length he proposed his friend, Mr. Cobbett, as a fit and proper person to represent the enlightened citizens of Westminster, and he put him in nomination accordingly. There was a pretty general cry of no! no! and a loud laugh from the gentlemen of the Rump Committee; however, some persons in the crowd seconded my nomination. Mr. Wooler was then called for, as it was understood that he was to propose Major Cartwright. After a short parley, Sir Francis Burdett stated, that Mr. Wooler was not an elector of Westminster, and that he had nothing to say. But, though Mr. Wooler had nothing to say, it appeared that Mr. Gale Jones had something to say. But Mr. Jones was not permitted to express his sentiments; for, as usual, the impartial gentlemen of the committee cried him down with the most horrible yell, howling out that he was no elector. Mr. Bruce, who proposed Mr. Hobhouse, was no elector. Mr. Hunt was no elector, who proposed Mr. Cobbett.



This Mr. Hunt stated ; but the answer was, "we did not know but you were going to propose yourself, which you had a right to do." "Well," said Mr. Hunt, "hear Mr. Jones. How do you know that *he* is not going to propose himself?" But all that Mr Hunt could urge was fruitless. "No man," says Mr. Hunt, "who has not been an ear-witness, knows, nor can any man imagine, what sort of a thing is the howl which is set up by the party who attend those meetings, it would disgrace a conclave of fiends. I have always seen Mr. Jones hooted down by these worthies, and I never knew them give him a single fair hearing in my life." However, Mr. Jones had taken ample revenge upon them at the late election ; during that fortnight he paid them off in full, for all the dastardly foul-play that they had shown towards him for many years, and now, when they got him upon their own dunghill, they retaliated, not by answering him, or controverting what he had to say, but by refusing to hear him at all. Mr. Gale Jones, who was a most eloquent and powerful speaker, was always too independent in spirit for these gentlemen ; he could neither be purchased nor wheedled out of his opinion. Every art had been tried to seduce him from the path of honour, but the humble walk of life in which he always moved is the best proof of his sincerity, and that his noble mind stood far above the reach of all corruption's dazzling temptations. A man, who possessed his eminent talent and very superior eloquence, might in this venal age have been elevated to wealth and power, if he would have condescended to speak a language foreign to his heart, and become the slave and tool of the government, or of one of the factions. "I believe Mr. Jones, says Mr. Hunt, to be one of the most amiable, virtuous, and truly humane men in the kingdom. Those who have been envious and jealous of his talents, are the only persons who speak ill of him. In his profession of a surgeon, he is skilful and assiduous, but his modesty has always prevented him from pushing his practice to any extent, so as to render it lucrative, How many unfeeling, stupid blockheads are there in London, who ride in their carriages, and keep elegant establishments, clearing thousands a-



year as surgeons, who do not possess a tenth part of the talent and skill of Mr. Gale Jones ! It may be asked, why then is he not rich, like other men in his profession ? This question is very easily answered by me. Alas ! his humanity and his modesty have been the cause of his poverty. Some people will laugh at the idea of the retiring modesty of a man who could stand forward upon the hustings, and address twenty thousand of his fellow-creatures, with so much ease, and with so little embarrassment ; but my assertion is, nevertheless, not only perfectly true, but also perfectly consistent ; he is a *lion* in the cause of freedom and humanity, but a *lamb* in all other cases. He is bold and fearless when contending for public liberty ; but he is no less modest, meek, and humble, in private life. This has assisted to keep Mr. Jones poor, but his poverty has principally arisen from his great benevolence. I have known Mr. Jones run a mile, and gratuitously devote hours to assist a poor and friendless fellow-creature ; I have known him to do this, and share the shilling in his pocket with the sufferer, and return weary and pennyless to his wife and family, when he might have obtained a rich patient in the next street, and a guinea fee, with a twentieth part of the trouble and time he had gratuitously bestowed upon the poor and helpless.

“ I have said thus much of Mr. Gale Jones, as a matter of common justice ; and, as a public duty, I call the attention of my readers in the metropolis to the situation of this worthy man, this real friend of liberty, who has been neglected and insulted by that venal band of mercenary and time serving politicians, those flippant summer flies of the metropolis, those fair-weather patriots, which, when compared with the steady sound, and inflexible patriotism of Mr. Jones, are like the dross of the vilest metal put in competition with the purest gold. In doing this justice to Mr. Jones’ character (and it is but bare justice), I do not, however, mean to say that all the members composing the Westminster committee are quite the reverse of what he is ; on the contrary, I know many of them to be worthy and most respectable men in private life, and perhaps they have very unintentionally been instrumental in



making Westminster a rotten borough, in the hands of a particular circle. Probably there did not live a more honourable, upright man, in private life, than the late Mr. Samuel Brooks; and, as to his public exertions, I believe that his intentions were equally honourable, although he was frequently made the instrument to promote injustice, partiality, and foul play, by some of the designing and unprincipled knaves who surrounded him, some of whom had great influence over him, and frequently urged him on to do that which in his heart I know he very much disapproved.

Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Cobbett were, has already been stated, put in nomination, and the chairman took the sense of the meeting, which, certainly, was very evidently in favour of Mr. Hobhouse; those who held up their hands in his favour being more than ten to one. Upon this occasion, Mr. Hunt produced a letter, which he had received from his friend Mr. Cobbett, from America, and likewise a New York newspaper, wherein was inserted a letter, which he had written to the editor of that paper. In his letter to Mr. Hunt as well as his letter in the New York paper, he solemnly declared that the letter which was read by Cleary upon the hustings, at the late Westminster election, which Cleary stated to be written by Cobbett, was a FORGERY, and, of course, was never written by him. Upon this Cleary went to Brooks' and produced the letter, which, when it was shown to Mr. Hunt, still appeared to be forged, as it was written in a much stronger hand than Mr. Cobbett usually wrote; and Mr. Hunt also observed the post-mark was different from that of the office where he knew he always sent his letters, when at Botley. These circumstances, and his having implicit reliance upon the word of his friend, who in the most solemn manner declared it to be a forgery, made Mr. Hunt have no hesitation in pronouncing it as his belief that it was such.

As the show of hands was so decidedly in favour of Mr. Hobhouse, and as Mr. Hunt could not get a single Westminster man to join him, it was in vain to persist in forcing Mr Cobbett's claims upon the electors; but he was nevertheless de-



terminated to look out, to use his own words, for some other cock to fight; so satisfied was he that it was necessary to oppose the schemes of that party who appeared determined to make Westminster a rotten borough; it being very evident that Mr. Hobhouse was the mere nominee of Sir Francis Burdett. There was plenty of time to look about for another candidate, but Mr. Hunt felt quite sure that no one would oppose him, if he did not bring forward that candidate. The Whigs had no chance whatever, unless some popular character stood forward to oppose the Westminster faction; and as for the ministers, they had no relish to start another man, after the failure of Sir Murray Maxwell. Nothing could indeed, have more forcibly shown their conscious weakness, and the thorough detestation in which they were held by the public, than that they did not even dare to start a candidate in the very hot bed of corruption, the very citadel of court influence.

The election was not to take place till the spring; in the meantime Mr. Hunt did not fail to sound all the men that he thought likely to assist him, but he did this quite privately, while every possible exertion was made by Mr. Hobhouse and his friends, aided by the powerful influence, and still more powerful purse, of Sir Francis. The Westminster committee now found it necessary to exert their utmost, and to strain every nerve. Canvassing committees were formed in every parish, and meetings were called, at which Mr. Hobhouse attended in person, to solicit the favour of the electors. The reports of these meetings were watched by Mr. Hunt very narrowly, and in all the speeches of Mr. Hobhouse, he never could discover any one pledge given by him, to show that he was a friend to a real constitutional and efficient reform. He dealt in general terms, such as his father Sir Benjamin, or Burke, or any other apostate from the cause of liberty, might have used with perfect safety. There, nevertheless, appeared great enthusiasm amongst the party, and a general committee was formed, consisting, as it was said, of three hundred electors, selected from the different parishes. Those who were not in the secret, were astonished to hear of



such extraordinary exertions, such seemingly overwhelming preparation; and the general opinion was, that the election of Hobhouse was placed far above the chance of a failure. In fact, he did not appear to have any opponent; no one had offered himself—no one had been proposed but Mr. Cobbett, who was named by Mr. Hunt under such circumstances as made any opposition from such a quarter worse than futile, absolutely ridiculous. Apparently there was but one person who even insinuated any opposition to Mr. Hobhouse, but that one person was Hunt. The Rump knew him too well to treat his opposition lightly. They had so very recently experienced his power, that they saw with dismay that he had been the sole cause of endangering the election of Sir Francis, and that by his exertions alone, he, their idol, *Westminster's pride and England's hope*, had been placed SECOND upon the poll. having received three hundred votes less than Sir Samuel Romilly. The Rump committee and Sir Francis knew all this perfectly well: they knew that if it had been a contest between Romilly and Burdett, without any interference of Mr. Hunt's, that Burdett would have had a thousand or fifteen hundred votes more than Romilly. Hence all the preparations and exertions that were now made.

Seeing all this, Mr. Hunt was obliged to act with great caution. He had applied, over and over again, to those that he thought the stanchest friends of Major Cartwright, but he found them wavering and insincere; desponding and exclaiming "it is all no use! it is impossible to return the Major!" Mr. Hunt had taken care to get a friend to sound the Major, and he found that the old veteran was exceedingly well pleased at the thought of being once more nominated for Westminster, for which city he certainly ought to have been the member long before. "*This was the Old Game Cock, then,*" says Mr. Hunt, "I had determined to set up against the young *Bantam*, although I found that I should have great difficulty in bringing his seconds, or rather his proposers, up to the mark. I had therefore solemnly made up my mind as a dernier resort, that if my effort to have the Major proposed



should ultimately fail, I would once more offer myself, and stand the contest in person, so convinced was I of the absolute necessity of exposing the conduct of the electors of Westminster, who constituted what was called the Rump committee. They had treated me at the late election in the most foul and unhandsome way such as was totally unbecoming the character of the very lowest of those who had set up any pretension to honour or honesty. I had made them feel the weight of my opposition, and I was determined that they should a second time experience the effect of my single handed hostility. I well knew that Major Cartwright was by no means popular amongst the Westminster electors, and that he would not stand the slightest chance of being elected; but I was also thoroughly assured, that, as soon as the Whigs were quite certain that I had determined to stand forward against the Burdettite faction, they also would start a candidate. This was the state of the parties in Westminster at the close of the year 1818."

The middle of February was fixed for the Westminster election and not a breath had been heard about any opposition to Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Hunt, however, put an advertisement in the *Sunday Observer*, signed with his name, assuring the electors that an independent, real friend of reform would be nominated at the hustings on the day of election. Before this letter appeared in the paper alluded to, the Westminster committee were so satisfied in their own minds that, by their great and overwhelming show of preparations and canvassings, they had deterred any one from offering any opposition, and that their candidate would be returned on the same day, without going to the poll, that the high bailiff had not taken the usual precaution of erecting a hustings, a temporary scaffold being thought quite sufficient. Nay, so thoroughly convinced of this was the Rump, that they actually ordered the car, and got it prepared for chairing their candidate, Mr. Hobhouse, and every necessary preparation was made for this ceremony being performed on the first day of the election; but as soon as Mr. Hunt's letter appeared in the papers, it was all consternation and



confusion amongst them, and the party were running about from one to the other like so many wild men! In the meantime, Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Northmore had been written to, and had arrived in London. A meeting was called at the Russell coffee-house, under the Piazzas, overnight; Sir Charles and Mr. Northmore subscribed £50. each, and a few other subscriptions were entered into, making in the whole about £120., which was placed in the hands of Mr. Birt, of Little Russell-street, who was appointed treasurer; and with this sum Mr. Hunt undertook to conduct the election of the Major for *fifteen days*, if the arrangements were left to him. This was agreed to, and a placard was issued, and posted immediately, merely stating "*that the gallant Major was in the field.*"

A friend of Mr. Hunt's that evening communicated to the Whigs, who were assembled at Brooks' in St. James'-street, what had been done, and what was decided upon, and that Mr. Hunt had pledged his life for a fifteen days opposition to Sir Francis' nominee, Mr. Hobhouse. This intelligence was not communicated to the Whigs till late in the evening preceding the day on which the election was to be held; but they instantly assembled a council of war, to decide upon what steps ought to be taken. At length it was agreed upon by them to start Mr. George Lambe, the son of Lord Melbourne. He was instantly sought for, and, as Mr. Hunt was credibly informed, he was called out of bed, to hear the news, so late as one o'clock in the morning; the election being to commence at eleven the same day. Mr. Hunt immediately agreed for a committee room, at the Russell coffee-house, where, as he has said, they had a previous meeting of some half dozen the evening before, to settle who was to propose and second the nomination of the Major in the morning. The only two electors of Westminster who attended, besides Mr. Birt, were Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Bowie. These gentlemen hesitated about performing this office, and they separated without any thing being decided upon as a certainty. However, Mr. Hunt knew that Mr. Birt



was to be depended upon as a man of strict honour and integrity; and looking forward to the probability of the other two gentlemen failing to attend, he had taken care to provide against any contingency of that sort. It was necessary to take every precaution, for Mr. Hunt was aware that he had to contend with the greatest tricksters of the age; he knew Mr. Morris, the high bailiff, to be one of the Rump faction; and he knew Master Smedley, the deputy of the high bailiff, to be a cunning, sly, intriguing fellow; and it was therefore certain that he should have to watch their motions narrowly, being quite sure in his own mind that they would take advantage of any little informality to close the election—a step on their part, which he was determined, if possible to frustrate.

The morning arrived, and Mr. Hunt attended the committee room early; but he found no one there except Mr. Birt and Dr. Watson, from whom he learned that Messrs. Bowie and Nicholson, the professed friends of the Major, had appointed to meet, to breakfast, at a coffee-house at the top of Catherine-street, in the Strand. Thither Mr. Hunt repaired, and found them still wavering and undecided. When, however, he gave them to understand that it did not depend upon them *alone*, whether the Major should be proposed or not, as he had procured two electors, who were ready to propose and second the nomination of the Major, if they failed to do so, their doubts and hesitation vanished, and they immediately agreed to go upon the hustings and perform the task.

At this moment Mr. Hunt received a message from the Major, who wished to see him at Probat's hotel, in King street, Covent Garden, where he was waiting. He found the Major very anxious to know how matters were going on, he having heard of the difficulties which had been started; Mr. Hunt assured him that all was going on well, but he strongly remonstrated against his taking any part in the election, and censured his coming so near the hustings as Probat's hotel, as he knew that the Rump would have been delighted to have saddled the Major with a heavy share of the expences of the



hustings, &c. The Major agreed to return home, and not interfere any further, and he also assured Mr. Hunt that he had positively prohibited the little upstart Irishman, Cleary, from going near the committee room, or interfering at all in the election on his account, as he knew that Mr. Hunt had an objection to place himself in the power of such a fellow, by being even in the same room with him. Cleary, who upon such occasions was always a very busy, officious, meddling marplot, felt very much mortified at this prohibition, so much so, that Mr. Hunt was informed, he immediately offered his services to the Rump, to act in opposition to his patron and friend, the Major. But, however, basely the Rump might have acted in other respects, they acted very properly in this instance; for they declined to accept this treacherous offer, and poor Mister Cleary sank into his original nothingness.

When Mr. Hunt returned from visiting the Major, he found that the high bailiff had proceeded to Covent Garden, mounted the scaffold, and with unusual haste had proceeded to have the writ read, and to open the proceedings of the election. He got as near as possible to the hustings, upon which he observed that Mr. Bowie and Mr. Nicholson had taken their stations; and with considerable difficulty he also contrived to mount them. Mr. Hobhouse was proposed, Mr. Lamb, was proposed, and the Major also was proposed and seconded in due form; and the high Bailiff, upon a show of hands, declared the election to have fallen upon John Cam Hobhouse, Esq., by a very large majority, which was evidently the case, in the proportion of eight or ten to one.

As soon as this ceremony was over Mr. Hunt found Mr. Lambe and his friends, Lambton, Macdonald and Co., hastening off the hustings, apparently to prepare for the polling, without ever taking any steps to *demand a poll*. Now was the moment for Mr. Hunt to exert himself, and, as no time was to be lost, he made his way through the dense crowd upon the scaffold up to Messrs. Nicholson and Bowie, and requested them immediately to *demand a poll*, as he saw that the high bailiff was preparing to declare Mr. Hobhouse duly elected.



him he did it in the most unequivocal terms of suspicion and distrust—and moreover, that for many years the late Samuel Brooks never would have any communication with this said tailor. These things with many others, came to the knowledge of Mr. Hunt, and he never failed to speak of them in the language which they merited, both to the face of the said tailor and behind his back; the friends of Mr. Hunt will therefore at any rate not be surprised at the malignant and cowardly hostility of this part of the Rump, in order to be revenged upon him. The exposures that he has made, the hundred times that he has frustrated the dirty plots of this gang, have entitled him to, and secure to him, the honour of their everlasting hatred, and a high honour did Mr. Hunt esteem it.

After the poll had been demanded by Mr. Lambe, the high bailiff adjourned the election till the next morning, to give time for the workmen to erect a proper hustings. The polling commenced under the most vindictive and malignant feelings towards Mr. Hunt on the part of the Rump, in consequence of the disappointment and the defeat which they had sustained, in not carrying the election of Mr. Hobhouse without opposition; which opposition they very justly attributed to Mr. Hunt alone, who stood upon the hustings the avowed advocate of the Major, but at the same time the openly avowed opponent of Mr. Hobhouse, because he was the nominee of Sir Francis Burdett, whom Mr. Hunt was determined to convince that he was nothing without the support of the people, that people which Mr. Hunt contended he had deserted in 1816, when he refused to present their address and petition to the Prince Regent and when he declared himself hostile to Universal Suffrage. The baronet felt his situation to be such that he must either retire for ever from politics, or make a desperate effort to carry his point; he had set the die upon the election of Mr. Hobhouse, and his failing to carry that election would be a death blow to his popularity throughout England, and to his future influence in Westminster. Mr. Hunt thought the baronet had deserted his post, by refusing his aid and protection to the



suffering people, in the years 1816 and 1817, and upon *public* grounds alone was Mr. Hunt determined publicly to bring him to a sense of the relative situation in which he stood with the people. Whether he was right, or whether he was wrong, is not the question. Mr. Hunt believed, that Sir Francis had neglected his public duty, and he took this public occasion, even as it might be said upon his own dunghill, to convince him of his error. Mr. Hunt solemnly declared, that he was actuated solely by a sense of what he owed to the public, and that he never in his life felt any private enmity towards Sir Francis; on the contrary, he always entertained a personal regard for him. But no influence on earth could induce Mr. Hunt to abandon what he thought a public duty, to gratify any private or personal considerations. Mr. Hunt now met Sir Francis Burdett openly upon his own ground, where he had been always idolized, in the midst of his friends, and surrounded by his constituents. He did not go behind his back to attack, him, he met him face to face, and he boldly charged him with having deserted the cause of the people. Mr. Hunt was indeed urged on to do this in a less courteous manner than he should otherwise have done, by the cowardly and blackguard attacks which he was daily experiencing from the dirty members of the Rump, by whom he was assailed with all the malice, filth, and falsehood which that august body could rake together, and fabricate against him. In fact, when Mr. Hunt began to speak, he was baited like a bull, by a set of as cowardly caitiffs as ever disgraced, by their presence, the face of the earth; and, in addition to these, towards the latter end of the election, ruffians and assassins were regularly hired to attack him in a body.

The baronet attended daily on the hustings, and he went round and visited the committees, and addressed them at night; his purse-strings were thrown open, and, in truth, if the baronet's life had depended upon the event, he could not have laboured harder or have done more to have saved it, than he did to secure the election of Mr. Hobhouse;—but all would not do! The gang composing the Rump also attended every



evening, with their hired myrmidons. As the only object of Mr. Hunt was to expose them and their corrupt system, so their only apparent object now appeared to be to vilify and abuse Mr. Hunt, and when, at length, the election of Mr Lamb seemed to be almost certain, they became desperate. Mr. Hunt was not only hissed and hooted, but he was pelted with sticks and stones by their hired agents, and although the people appeared excessively indignant at these outrages, they could not altogether prevent them. A little gang of desperadoes was always placed to open on Mr. Hunt as soon as he began to speak, to endeavour to drown his voice in the most vulgar, brutal, and beastly manner. Amongst this gang, generally some of the reporters to the Burdettite newspapers took up their station, and in such beastly abuse, as has been alluded to, much too coarse and horrid to mention in print, these worthies freely indulged. The commencement of their attack was, "Hunt, where's your wife?" And then followed a volley of such beastly and disgusting ribaldry as would have disgraced the most abandoned inmates of the lowest brothel in the metropolis.

It had been frequently suggested to Mr. Hunt that none but wretches of the most profligate character could be guilty of such atrocious conduct, in which opinion he fully concurred. One day, when he was about to address the people at the close of the poll, this gang began their accustomed attack and vociferated the most revolting, obscene, and truly horrid observations relating to his wife; upon which he turned round and asked, if it were possible for such language to proceed from the mouth of any one who possessed the character of a man? And he added, that it did not appear to him more than probable, that no one would resort to such cowardly, base, and horrid language, but some monster who was connected with a gang like that of Vere-street notoriety. This silenced the scoundrels for a moment, but at length some fellow among them took this to *himself*, and demanded if Mr. Hunt meant to accuse him of unnatural propensities? Mr. Hunt replied that he did not allude to any one individual, but that it did seem clear to him



that none but monsters of the worst description could be guilty of such conduct as had been exhibited daily before the hustings when he addressed the people.

This circumstance, which occurred exactly as has been stated was, nevertheless, grossly perverted in a great number of the newspapers the next day; they falsely asserting that Mr. Hunt had accused a person of being guilty of an unnatural crime, and pointed him out to the vengeance of the multitude before the hustings; and this has frequently been repeated and harped upon since by some scoundrels, who know the utter falsehood of the accusation.

“I remember,” says Mr. Hunt, “at the time of the general election, in 1812, when Mr. Cobbett offered himself a candidate for the county of Hants, a drunken, vulgar blackguard, was abusing him in a most beastly and insufferable manner, whereupon Mr. Cobbett seriously informed the people that he was a maniac, and that his opponents had suffered him to escape for the purpose of abusing him; and he made a most feeling appeal to the people, and expostulated, in the most grave and serious manner, upon the baseness and cruelty of suffering the poor maniac to come amongst the crowd to expose himself without his keeper. This appeal had the desired effect, for the drunken ruffian was led away out of the crowd per force, under the impression that he was actually a madman who had just escaped from his keeper; yet no one thought of abusing Mr. Cobbett for this trick to get rid of an intoxicated beast, who was unwarrantably abusing him.”

Mr. Hunt attended the hustings daily till the last day but one, when the success of Mr. Lamb, and the defeat of the baronet and Mr. Hobhouse, were certain. Mr. Lamb was declared duly elected at the end of the fifteenth day, to the great mortification of Sir Francis Burdett, and the total discomfiture of the Rump; and the CAR which had been provided for the chairing of Sir Francis' disciple, was laid by for another occasion.

On this subject, Mr. Hunt egoistically remarks. “For



this defeat of the Rump they have solely to thank *me*. I made them a second time feel the power of courage, honesty and truth when opposed to fraud, trickery, and pretended patriotism; and this great lesson was read to Sir Francis Burdett, that he was nothing without the support of the people; that all his immense wealth, that all his great and profound talent, and all his influence, were nothing in the scale of political power without the people. The baronet is, I believe, truly sensible that my exertions have taught him this useful lesson, and, like a truly great and good man, he bears me no malice for performing this painful duty—for I have no hesitation in saying, that it was the most painful, the most trying public duty that I ever performed in the whole course of my life."

The numbers polled at this election were, for Lamb 4465, for Hobhouse 3861, for Major Cartwright 38,—so that Mr. Lamb polled 604 more electors than Mr. Hobhouse. As for Major Cartwright, he had not the slightest chance from the beginning. No real reformer, no friend of Universal Suffrage, can have the slightest chance to be returned for Westminster, while that rotten borough continues in the hands of a particular family, or while any considerable portion of the electors suffer themselves to be led by the nose by a gang of the most contemptible, as well as most corrupt men, under the face of the sun. As a body of men, the electors of Westminster are, perhaps, as enlightened and intelligent as any body of men in the universe; but the little faction called the Rump, are as contemptible and as corrupt as their brother electors are free and impartial. The great mass of the electors do not take any trouble to inquire about these matters; they are industrious tradesmen, every one of them having business of importance of his own to attend to, and consequently when an election comes they suffer themselves to be led by the nose by a little junto, who have no more pretensions to patriotism than they have to talent and integrity, of which it is plain that they are totally destitute. When Mr. Hunt stood the contest for Westminster, at the general election, and only obtained eighty-four votes, it was urged



against him how few friends and supporters he had amongst the real electors of Westminster; it was said that he had disgusted and displeased all parties; and counsellor Scarlett, (the present Lord Abinger) one of the licenced libellers of the Court of King's Bench, had the impudence to state this fact in the court, as a proof in what little estimation the character of Mr. Hunt was held; and he added this unblushing, bare-faced falsehood, that "wherever Sir Samuel Romilly offered himself, there Mr. Hunt went to oppose him, merely because he was a good man;" while, on the contrary, he well knew that, had not Sir Francis Burdett and his nominee been opposed by Mr. Hunt, Sir Samuel Romilly, far from being elected for Westminster, would never have been even nominated for that city. But what answer will these trading politicians give to the fact, that Major Cartwright obtained only thirty-eight votes during a contested election of fifteen days? Mr. Hunt had made thousands of personal enemies, yet he obtained eighty-four votes; while the Major, who never in his life made a personal enemy, could only obtain thirty-eight votes, not half the number that polled for Mr. Hunt although he was amongst all his friends, where he had resided for many years, and where he was universally and justly respected, both for his private and his public virtues. The fact is, that of the Major's politics, as of Mr. Hunt's, the honesty and sincerity are hated and dreaded by the whole of the Rump faction, who would soon be reduced to their native nothingness, if once a really independent man were to be chosen for Westminster; that is, a man independent, as well of Sir Francis Burdett, as of the ministry and the Whigs. Till that time arrives, the representation of Westminster will be upon a level with the rottenest of rotten boroughs.

"We know," says Mr. Hunt, "Sir Francis Burdett to be a profound politician, a real and steady friend of liberty,\* and a truly great man, yet in the House of Commons he carries no more

\* What would Mr. Hunt say of the baronet of the Rump at this period, when he has thrown off his wolf's clothing, and shown himself as the first of political renegadoes.



weight from his being the representative of the great city of Westminster, than he would do if he were only the representative of Old Sarum, or any other rotten borough. Such is the abject state to which, by their dirty intrigues, the Rump have reduced this once great and high-minded city, by the exertions of which the whole kingdom was wont to be agitated! Mr. Hobhouse is an active member of the Honourable House, but he dares not quit the leading strings of the worthy baronet; and let me ask the honest part of mankind to point out any one great political question which he has brought before the House? What has he done for the people, or for the cause of liberty, since he has been elected? I am not speaking personally; for I personally feel that Mr. Hobhouse did his best to serve me, when I was in bondage in Ilchester gaol, for which I shall always feel personally grateful; but still, looking at the question on public grounds, I must ask what has he ever done in the House, such as we might and should have formerly expected from one of the independent members of the city of Westminster? We know that he always votes with the Whigs against the ministers; but how is it, if he is in earnest, that he has never created any great sensation throughout the country, by some grand exposure of those ministers, and of that system of which his father, Sir Benjamin, forms so prominent a part? It has often been asked, what can *one man* do in the House? I think I can give a silencing answer to such a time-serving question: What could *not one man* do in the way of exposure, if he were honestly disposed to do it? I think, after the exposure that I made while I was locked up in a gaol, I am entitled most triumphantly to make this answer."

We are disposed to think that many of our readers will not accuse Mr. Hunt of an extreme attachment to royalty, when they read the following:—

"In consequence of the death of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge disposed of their mistresses, and got married, in order, as it would seem, to secure a heir from the precious stock of



the Guehps, to fill the British throne; to accomplish which desirable purpose, there appears to have been a hard race, for on the 26th of March, in this year, 1819, the Duchess of Cambridge brought forth a son—on the 27th the Duchess of Clarence was delivered of a daughter—on the 24th of May the Duchess of Kent was delivered of a daughter—and on the 5th of June the Duchess of Cumberland was delivered of a son. So that this worthy family presented John Gull with an increase to their burdens in one year of *four great pauper babes*, to be rocked in the national cradle, and to be bred up at the national expense. Oh, rare John! what a wonderfully happy fellow thou must be! On the 29th of March, the conscientious guardians of our rights and liberties, the faithful stewards of public property, the worthy members of the Honourable House of Commons voted an allowance of TEN THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR to the Duke of York—for taking care of his poor old mad father's person; and it is a very extraordinary fact that, on the 12th of April, on one of his early visits to Windsor, to enable him to *earn* this large sum of money from John Gull, his Royal Highness fell in one of the rooms of Windsor Palace, and BROKE HIS ARM. All the old women in the nation, and many of the young ones also, swore that this was a judgment upon him, for extorting such a sum from John Gull's pocket, for such a purpose.

On the 21st a reform meeting was held in Smithfield. This meeting was called by some of the inhabitants of the metropolis, and Mr. Hunt was invited to attend and take the chair. Dr. Watson and his friends were particularly active in procuring this meeting, and when the committee invited Mr. Hunt to take the chair, he did not hesitate a moment to accept it, though, at the same time, he made up his mind to be particularly careful as to what resolutions were passed, &c. and by no means to be led into the scheme of electing any legislative attorney, as they had done at Birmingham, especially as this scheme had been denounced as illegal by the proclamation in the Gazette the week before. When Mr. Hunt came to London, the night before the meeting, he was met by Dr. Watson



and the committee, and he desired to see what resolutions they had prepared to be submitted to the meeting the next day. He found, however, that they had only a few very vague and imperfect resolutions drawn up; but the Doctor produced a letter from Joseph Johnson, the brush-maker, at Manchester, saying, that it was the wish of the people of Manchester, that Mr. Hunt should, at the Smithfield meeting, be elected the representative and legislative attorney for the unrepresented people of the metropolis, &c. He also alluded to the great public meeting, which was to be held at Manchester in the beginning of August, and stated, that it was the intention of the people on that day to follow the example of the people of Birmingham and the metropolis. It was very easy to discover that the motive of Mr. Johnson for advising the people of the metropolis to elect Mr. Hunt their legislative attorney, was, that he might be elected for Manchester at the ensuing meeting. On this proposition Mr. Hunt at once put a negative, by referring to the Gazette, and to the proclamation, adding, that it would be worse than folly to run their heads against such a post; and he further declared, that he saw no good that was to be derived from such a measure. In this the committee at once concurred, and it was agreed, that every intention of that sort should be abandoned, that other resolutions should be drawn up, and that the same DECLARATION which had been passed at the meeting held in Palace Yard and at the Manchester meeting, at which Mr. Hunt presided in the early part of that year, should be proposed to the Smithfield meeting. It was also decided, that certain conciliatory resolutions, and an address to the Catholics of Ireland, should be submitted to the meeting. Of these resolutions Mr. Hunt highly approved.

The next morning, just before the time fixed for the meeting, Mr. James Mills, late of Bristol, called at the lodgings of Mr. Hunt with a string of resolutions, which he wished to be submitted to the meeting. Dr. Watson, was present. These resolutions were read over in a hasty manner, and as hastily adopted, to be made part of the proceedings of the day. It must be confessed that this was acting very differently from the



usual cautious manner of Mr. Hunt; but, as Mills gave them to understand that they had been laid before Major Cartwright, and had been approved of by him, and as he led them also to believe that he would attend at the meeting to move them, they were accordingly sent off to the *Observer* office, to get slips set up, that they might be given to the different reporters who attended the meeting.

Great military preparations were on this occasion made, under the pretence of quelling some tremendous riot, or some apprehended insurrection. The then Lord Mayor, John Atkins, was a corrupt and devoted tool of the government, and he made himself particularly officious in this affair. Six thousand constables were sworn in the day before, and in the city all was hurry and bustle; and all this was done in order to work upon the fears of the timid and foolish part of the community, to create a prejudice in their minds against the radicals. When the hour of meeting arrived, an immense multitude was collected, which was computed to consist of not less than seventy or eighty thousand persons. The Rev. Joseph Harrison, from Stockport, attended, and either moved or seconded some of the resolutions; but Mr. Mills, the author of them, never came near the place; or at any rate he never showed himself upon the hustings. A warrant had been issued against Harrison, by the magistrates of Cheshire, with which the officers had followed him up to town, and having got it backed by the Lord Mayor, he was apprehended upon the hustings by the city officers.

This was evidently done with the view to work upon the feelings of the multitude, and to create an appearance of tumult, that the military might be called in and let loose upon the people, with some apparent show of necessity. Had not care been taken to frustrate it, this plot of the worthy John Atkins would have succeeded; for some one cried out a rescue, and the multitude was spontaneously pressing towards the officers for that purpose; but here the natural presence of mind of Mr. Hunt in emergencies was exercised promptly and with full success. He came forward, and stated to the people what



had occurred, and he cautioned them not to be led away by any such plot, to excite them to a breach of the peace; and he demanded of them, in case of a warrant having been issued against him, that they would let him go with the peace-officers quietly, for nothing would delight their enemies so much as to work up the people to tumult and disorder, that they might have a pretence for bloodshed. This had the desired effect. Harrison was taken away peaceably, and the business of the meeting proceeded with the greatest regularity, as if nothing had occurred of a nature to disturb it. This was certainly one of the most cold-blooded attempts to excite a riot that was ever made in this or in any other country. But fortunately Mr. Hunt had influence enough over the people to frustrate this plot. The resolutions were passed, and the declaration was carried unanimously, as well as the address to the Catholics; the meeting was dissolved, and the people retired to their homes in the most peaceable manner, after having conducted Mr. Hunt their chairman, to his lodgings.

The slips, which had been printed at the *Observer* office, had been sent to Mr. Hunt while he was on the hustings, and he delivered them to the different reporters, who applied for them. Mr. Fitzpatrick, the reporter of the *New Times*, was the only one who had the baseness treacherously to betray this confidence, by voluntarily coming forward in the court, at York to swear to the fact of his having furnished them upon the hustings. Thus ended the great Smithfield meeting held on the 21st of July, 1819.

On the 26th of the same month, at a common-hall, the livery of the city of London passed a strong vote of censure upon their Lord Mayor, John Atkins, "for his officious and intemperate conduct on the day of the Smithfield meeting."

Mr. Hunt had been invited to attend and preside at a great public meeting, held at Manchester, in the early part of this year. Which meeting had been convened by public advertisement. He slept at Stockport the night before, and was accompanied from that town to the place of meeting by thousands of the people. When he arrived there, none of the parties who had



invited him to Manchester, Messrs. Johnson, Whitworth, and Co., accompanied him upon the hustings; but they attended a public dinner, which, in the evening, after the meeting, was provided at the Spread Eagle Inn, Hanging Ditch, at which, upwards of two hundred persons sat down. Mr. Hunt found a number of good men at Manchester, and amongst that number he esteemed his worthy friend Mr. Thomas Chapman of Fannel-street, one of the very best men and most honest advocate of liberty in the kingdom. He ever found him the same man in principle, sincere and bold in public, and kind, generous, and open hearted in private. "To know during one's political life," says Mr. Hunt, "and to possess the friendship of two or three such men as Mr. Chapman, is more than sufficient recompence for the treachery, cowardice, and baseness of hundreds, that one must as a matter of course become acquainted with." Here Mr. Hunt first saw Johnson, the brush-maker; he had not courage to accompany Mr. Hunt upon the hustings, although he was one of the most officious to invite him to preside at the meeting. John Knight and Saxton were the men who attended him upon the hustings, and addressed the people, &c. &c. Mr. Hunt had never seen either of them before. Mr. Wroe and Mr. Fitton, of Royton, also were upon the hustings. Mr. Hunt had seen the latter, as a delegate from Royton, at the meeting of delegates called by Major Cartwright and the Hampden club, in the name of Sir Francis Burdett, in the year 1817.

As this meeting passed off without any difficulty or danger, Johnson, the brush-maker, who was very young in the ranks of reform, professed a determination to take a more active part at a future opportunity. In conformity with this resolution, he wrote to invite Mr. Hunt to attend a public meeting to be held at Manchester, on the 9th of August, which invitation was accepted. The intended meeting being publicly announced in all the London papers, excited a very considerable sensation throughout the country, and particularly through



the north of England. As Mr. Hunt strongly suspected that his letters to Manchester, about this time, were opened at the post office, he sent them by other conveyances than by the post. His family appeared to dread his second visit to Manchester, and to forebode some fatal accident, and they endeavoured to persuade him not to attend; but although he did not anticipate a very pleasant journey, yet he had given his word, and that was quite enough to insure his attendance.

On his road, he stopped to bait his horse at Wolseley bridge. As soon as he arrived, the landlord of the inn addressed him, and begged to know if his name was Hunt. He answered in the affirmative; upon which he delivered an invitation from Sir Charles Wolsely, requesting him to call on him. He lived only about a hundred yards from the inn. The fact was, he had slept at Coventry the night before, where he met Messrs. Goodman, Lewis, and Flavel, and one of them had written to Sir Charles Wolseley, to say that Mr. Hunt would pass Wolseley bridge in the morning, and this induced him to leave the message which has been mentioned. Mr. Hunt accepted his invitation, and this was the first time that he ever met the worthy baronet in private. He spent a few hours very pleasantly with Sir Charles, who had also, he understood, been invited to attend the meeting at Manchester; but some family reasons prevented him from complying. When Mr. Hunt arrived at Bullock Smithey, near Stockport, he heard that the meeting was put off, and that another meeting was advertised to be held on the 16th of August, the following Monday. The cause of this was, that Mr. Johnson and those concerned in calling the meeting had, in their advertisements, stated one of the objects to be, that of electing a representative or legislative attorney for Manchester. This foolish proposition, directly in the face of the late proclamation, was seized on by the magistrates of Manchester, and they issued hand-bills, and had placards posted all over the town, denouncing the intended meeting as illegal, and cautioning all persons "*to abstain at their peril from attending it.*"



This protest was published in the **MANCHESTER OBSERVER** for August 7th, 1819.

The requisitionists, on finding the meeting which they had announced to be holden on Monday the 9th, denominated **ILLEGAL**, proceeded to re-examine the clauses of their advertisement. The objectionable expressions could not long escape their observation. They were those which related to the right which they had arrogated to choose representatives. Some, however, were not fully satisfied that the measure was illegal; but others entertaining serious doubts on the subject, it was determined that Mr. J. T. Saxton should be immediately despatched to Liverpool, where the county quarter sessions were then holding, for the purpose of obtaining counsel's opinion on the legality of the notice which they had issued. This prudential measure operated in its issue, as a corrective of their former indiscretion.

On Mr. Saxton's arrival at Liverpool, he applied to Mr. Denison, a solicitor of celebrity in that place, who drew up his case, and gratuitously rendered him his own personal assistance, in submitting it to the examination of Mr. Raincock; who was decidedly of opinion, that "the clause which suggested the propriety of choosing representatives without legal authority, was contrary to the usage and practice of the existing establishments of the country."

As the mission of Mr. Saxton was considered by some as of no minor importance, he found, on his return to Manchester, some thousands of inquirers, waiting with anxiety to know the result. To many of these he communicated the information he had obtained; but as it was impossible to satisfy all, early on the ensuing morning he issued the following **ADDRESS TO THE REQUISITIONISTS**, which was posted throughout the town, and widely distributed in every direction.

"FELLOW CITIZENS,

"On my return from Liverpool, with the result of the important mission, which you did me the honour to confide into



my hands, and in the faithful discharge of my duty towards you, and the rest of my fellow citizens, I deem it necessary thus publicly to inform you, that after taking counsel's opinion upon the legality of your public notice, I am instructed, by Mr. Raincock, to say, 'That the intention of choosing representatives, contrary to the existing law, tends greatly to render the proposed meeting seditious; under those circumstances it would be deemed justifiable in the magistrates to prevent such meeting.'

"In recommending you to withdraw your notice, and relinquish your intention of meeting your neighbours on the important subject intended to have been discussed on Monday next, I deem it necessary to state to you and to the public, that in the opinion of the most enlightened friends to liberty, resident in Liverpool, your requisition is perfectly legal and constitutional; they are, nevertheless, induced to recommend this pause in your proceedings, merely in consideration of the cruel threats of violence issued in a paper from the bench of magistrates, since the publication of your notice, and of the evident preparations now making to carry those threats into execution. I am acquainted with your necessities,—I know the honesty of your intentions,—and the lawful means you are desirous of pursuing; but in a question of absolute right, you are not prepared to defend yourselves; I therefore do not deem it advisable, under the present circumstances, to subject the persons of yourselves or your friends to the illegal and unconstitutional violence which your oppressors and their contemptible tools have prepared for the occasion.

"The formidable preparations which your tyrants have made to meet you, their unarmed and suffering victims, is the highest compliment in their power to bestow upon you; it is more even than you could hope to gain by the meeting: you therefore may relinquish the objectionable parts of your requisition without regret, or even the shadow of a defeat.

"Colonel Williams, a county magistrate, had the honest boldness, on Monday last at the Liverpool quarter sessions, to advocate your cause, and the cause of the Lancashire reformers,



before his brother magistrates; he confounded the whole bench not one man being disposed to reply to the constitutional arguments of this faithful and sincere friend of his country.

“ I beg leave to conclude with reminding you, and all the friends of liberty and justice, that our cause grows and gathers strength with the plunderings of our enemies; whilst their rapacity must not only destroy the means of their own existence, but must ere long turn them to the destruction of each other.

“ I am, very faithfully,

“ Your obedient servant,

“ J. T. SAXTON

“ *August 4th 1819.*”

This address of Mr. Saxton was succeeded, on the 4th of August, by the following article, announcing the intention of the requisitionists to abandon the former meeting altogether, and expressing their design to request the boroughreeve and constables to convene another.

### “ PUBLIC MEETING.

We, the undersigned inhabitant householders of Manchester having given notice of a public meeting, intended to have been held here ‘ On Monday the 9th of August, 1819, on the area near St Peter’s Church,’ which notice was published in the Manchester Observer of Saturday last, 31st July, do hereby respectfully inform the public, that after a mature consideration of all circumstances, we deem it prudent to acquaint the public, that such *meeting will NOT at that time take place*, and respectfully recommend to our fellow-townsmen and neighbours, to relinquish their intentions of ATTENDING THAT MEETING, for the specific purpose expressed in that advertisement.

“ Our guardians of the public peace having in massy placards and large letters declared the said meeting to be illegal, and commanded the people to ‘ Abstain from attending the said meeting at their peril,’ although these guardian angels did not deign to inform the public wherein such illegality con-



sisted ; yet in compliance with their mandate, and to give them no just ground of opposition or offence, it has been deemed advisable, not to hold such meeting ; but to request the boroughreeve and constables, to convene another ; which requisition *now lies, but will only lie this day*, for signatures at the Observer office, and at No. 49, Great Ancot's-street.

“ WILLIAM OGDEN, 26, Wood-street.  
 JAMES BROADSHAW, 32, Newton-street,  
 WM. DRINKWATER, 29, Loom street.  
 THOMAS BOND, 7, John-street.  
 JAMES LANG, Spinning-street.  
 JAMES RHODES, 46, Henry-street.  
 EDWARD ROBERTS, 2, Ancot's-street.  
 TIMOTHY BOOTH, 1, Little Pitt-street.  
 THOMAS PLANT, 18, Oak-street.  
 JAMES WEIR, 11, Gun-street.  
 NATH. MASSEY, 2, School-street.”

The following is a copy of the requisition to the boroughreeve and constables of Manchester.

“ We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, request that you will convene a meeting at as early a day as possible, to consider the propriety of adopting the most *legal* and *effectual means* of obtaining a *reform* in the Commons' House of Parliament.”

In reference to the “ names hereunto subscribed,” a singular article made its appearance in the Manchester Observer for August 7th, 1819. The language of this document, to men uninfluenced by the spirit of party, cannot be considered as cool and dispassionate ; and little doubt can be entertained, that its violent intemperance, by provoking irritation, tended to injure that cause which it was designed to promote. Of this article the following is a literal copy ; but of the genuine effects which it was calculated to produce, every reader must form his own opinion.

“ The new requisition, thus formed, was opened for signatures at the Observer Office, and in three hours nearly one



thousand householders enrolled their names. The doors of the office were surrounded by hundreds who could not have access to sign the requisition. The pimps of authority witnessed this spontaneous movement of the people; here was no begging for signatures—no scouring the streets, and alleys, and wretched brothels, for the dependents and alarmed minions of power—no reminding servile publicans with the approaching license-day—no discharging of servants—no promises—no bribes—no threats—no undue influence—no renewing accommodation paper—no Nadin's hypocritical smiles to coax, nor frowns to intimidate—or promises of bushels of potatoes to the hungry and dying poor, to enable them to linger another week under the scourge of oppression—all, all, was fair above board.—THE HEART AND SOUL OF THE PEOPLE were with us, and with their honest hands they placed on record their honourable names—names that shall live in glorious memory—names that posterity shall cherish, and little children exalt their uplifted arms, while their tongues lisp in accents of praise and thankfulness.

“It cheers us to say, that the gilded reptiles were unable to overawe this simultaneous expression of public opinion.—Here then is once more food for triumph;—let the friends of radical reform but persevere; let them be firm and fear not!—the victory is their own—their enemies will shrink before the voice of all powerful TRUTH, and eventually gnaw the file, flowing with blood, from their own envenomed tongues.”

The requisitionists having waited a reasonable time for a reply to their request, but receiving no answer, announced their intention in the following advertisement, of having a public meeting held on the 16th of August, in an extended area near St. Peter's Church.

#### “MANCHESTER PUBLIC MEETING.

“A requisition having been presented to the boroughreeve and constables of Manchester, signed by above 700 inhabitant householders in a few hours, requesting them to call a PUBLIC MEETING, “*To consider the propriety of adopting the most LEGAL*



*and EFFECTUAL means of obtaining a REFORM in the Commons' House of Parliament,"* and they having declined to call such meeting, therefore the undersigned requisitionists give NOTICE that a public meeting will be held, on the area, near St. Peter's Church, for the above-mentioned purpose, on Monday, the 16th instant—the chair to be taken by H. Hunt, Esq. at twelve o'clock.

"Major Cartwright—Mr. Wooller—Mr. Pearson—Mr. Carlisle—Dr. Crompton—Edward Rushton—Mr. J Smith—Mr. Thos. Smith—will be invited to attend this meeting.

*" Manchester, 6th August. 1819."*

The general wish to have a public meeting as expressed above, was signed, we understand, by about 1300 persons.

The magistrates in the meanwhile, on finding the intended meeting on the 9th of August abandoned, and another announced for the 16th, which they did not presume to denominate illegal and which it was not in their power to prevent, exerted themselves to give publicity to the following proclamation, to deter the people, if possible, from assembling.

"GEORGE P. R.

*" By his Royal Highness the PRINCE of WALES, REGENT of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, in the name and behalf of his Majesty ;*

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS in divers parts of Great Britain MEETINGS of large numbers of his majesty's subjects have been held upon the requisition of persons, who, or some of whom, have, together with others, by seditious and treasonable speeches, addressed to the persons assembled, endeavoured to bring into hatred and contempt the government and constitution established in this realm, and particularly the Commons' House of Parliament, and to excite disobedience to the laws, and insurrection against his majesty's authority :

"And whereas it hath been represented unto us, that at one



of such meetings the persons there assembled, in gross violation of the law, did attempt to *constitute and appoint*, and did, as much as in them lay, constitute and appoint, a *person then nominated to sit in their name and on their behalf in the Commons' House of Parliament*; and there is reason to believe that other meetings are about to be held for the like unlawful purpose:

“ And whereas many WICKED and SEDITIOUS WRITINGS have been printed, published, and industriously circulated, tending to promote the several purposes aforesaid, and to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects:

“ And whereas we have been further given to understand, that with a view of the better enabling themselves to carry into effect the wicked purposes aforesaid, in some parts of the kingdom men, clandestinely and unlawfully assembled have PRACTISED MILITARY TRAINING and EXERCISES:

“ And whereas the welfare and happiness of this kingdom do, under Divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just reliance on the integrity and wisdom of Parliament, and a steady perseverance in that attachment to the government and constitution of the realm, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: And whereas there is nothing, which we so earnestly wish as to preserve the public peace and prosperity, and to secure all his majesty's liege subjects the entire enjoyment of their rights and liberties:

“ We therefore, being resolved to repress the wicked, seditious, and treasonable practices aforesaid, have thought fit, in the name and on behalf of his majesty, and by and with the advice of his majesty's privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation; solemnly warning all his majesty's liege subjects to guard against every attempt to overthrow the law, and to subvert the government so happily established within this realm, and to abstain from every measure inconsistent with the peace and good order of society; and earnestly exhorting them, at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid



and discountenance all proceedings tending to produce the evil effects above described.

“And we do strictly enjoin all his majesty’s loving subjects to forbear from the practice of all such military training and exercise as aforesaid, as they shall answer the contrary thereof at their peril.

“And we do charge and command all sheriffs, justices of the peace, chief magistrates of cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other magistrates throughout Great Britain, that they do, within their respective jurisdictions, make diligent inquiry in order to discover and bring to justice the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid, and all who shall circulate the same; and that they do use their best endeavours to bring to justice all persons who have been, or may be guilty of uttering seditious speeches and harangues, and all persons concerned in any riots or unlawful assemblies, which, on whatever pretext they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the most important interests of the kingdom.

“Given at the court at Carlton House this 30th day of July, 1819, in the 59th year of his majesty’s reign.

“GOD SAVE THE KING.”

Among those who were invited to attend the public meeting on the 16th, the name of Mr. John Smith, of Liverpool, appears, but this gentleman conceiving that the general sentiment of each town ought to be expressed by its own inhabitants, declined the invitation in the following letter, addressed to Henry Hunt Esq. who was expected to preside on the approaching occasion.

*Liverpool, 14th August, 1819.*

“SIR,—I have had the honour to receive through Mr. Knight, an invitation to attend the public meeting at Manchester on Monday next. for the promotion of parliamentary



reform; and I hereby acknowledge that invitation, to you, as the intended chairman of that meeting.

“ But, for reasons which have always actuated my conduct in political matters, I must decline taking any part on that occasion, even if business, which is more than probable, should induce me to visit Manchester about the time. Those reasons, I assure you, are perfectly free from any disrespect towards the meeting, or its conductors; and as I declined a similar invitation in the very sunshine of our cause in 1816, it will not be supposed that my motives are disgraced by any thing like fear. I disregard alike the recent blundering threats of the magistrates, and the nonsense of the late ministerial proclamation, as much as I despise all the principles of those, who would employ cannon to answer argument.

“ As a sincere constitutionalist, advocating every improvement in our political system which truth and justice may dictate, I heartily wish success to the peaceable endeavours of my fellow countrymen to obtain their right of representation; and the warmest hope of my political feelings is for such a reform in parliament, whether founded on householder or more extended suffrage, as will make the people the real constituents of the democratic branch of the state. Then, indeed, our government will be formed, as it ought to be, of King, Lords, and People. To obtain this object, all constitutional means should be adopted; and until it be obtained, the people, I trust whether in prosperity or adversity, will never rest satisfied.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your obedient servant,

JOHN SMITH.

“ *Henry Hunt, Esq. Smedley Cottage.*”

It was not to be supposed but that the enemies of Mr. Hunt would scour every nook and corner, and sift every part of his public and private character, with the view of prejudicing the minds of the people against him, and accordingly the fol-



lowing article was posted in the streets of Manchester not many days before the public meeting took place.

“ HUNT’S GENUINE BEER.

“ Hunt’s first appearance in public life was a *public brewer*. In January, 1807, we find him advertising in the Bristol Gazette, that he has established a brewery at Clifton. — “ The families of Clifton and Bristol,” says he, “ are respectfully informed, that they may now be supplied with *genuine* table beer, produced from the best malt and hops, and wholly exempt from *any other ingredient whatever*.” He afterwards offered to make a voluntary affidavit to the same effect. On consulting the records of the court of Exchequer, however, we find that a very few months after the date of the above advertisement, seventy gallons of *other ingredients* were seized from HENRY HUNT, of “ the Clifton *genuine* brewery ;” and were *condemned* Michaelmas term, 1807. This awkward little accident, it seems gave the Bristol men a sort of distaste for Mr. Hunt’s *genuine* beer, and no great relish for his affidavits ; and the consequence was, that he shut up his brewery, and turned *genuine* patriot.

“ I never heard such a tale !!! Surely this can never be our orator, Henry Hunt. He, good man !! is honestly labouring day and night to keep our constitution pure and unadulterated. The *brewer* was day and night infusing poison into the *constitution* of all his fellow subjects.”

The following was also placarded in the streets, though the copies were almost all pulled down or defaced by Mr. Hunt’s partizans.

“ TO THE FRIENDS OF REFORM.

“ There is a diversity of opinions, as to the *means* of effecting a reform, and it behoves you to pause before you adopt the proposition of any one, lest that person should happen to be ‘ A tub to amuse a Whale ;’ and by directing your minds to *his* ideas, prevent the exercise of your *own*.



“I was led to this reflection by the regularity which marks your conduct, which has furnished your opponents with arguments against the wisdom and justice of your cause. They say, You embrace the cause of popular and universal representation, and yet you pin your faith on the opinions of a person of whom you know little or nothing, but what he chooses to say of himself.

“I do not wish to insinuate any thing against the character of your intended chairman; but, certainly, there are some suspicious circumstances attached to his connection with your cause. I would not by any means have you treat him unkindly, but I would put you on your guard, so as to induce you to satisfy yourselves that all is right, before you implicitly confide in him. In giving you this caution, I do not advert to his private character, for it is nothing to us, whether he is a good husband or a bad one; whether he does, or does not, live in open adultery with the wife of another person;—though, to be sure, it would strengthen your cause, if you could with truth boast of the virtues of your leaders. It is nothing to you, if he did make oath that he used nothing but malt and hops in his brewhouse, or that, almost on the eve of the oath, he should stand convicted of using unwholesome drugs in the fabrication of the beer which he sold to the inhabitants of Bristol;—for though he might be a little careless in what he *swore*, he may be very conscientious in what he *says* to you; and you know, *you* did not drink the beer which the law pronounced to be pernicious. You must not therefore suspect him, because his *private life* is said to have been a little incorrect.

“But I must say, it behoves you to consider one thing in his *public* character. He has repeatedly told you, that he will devote his fortune and his life to the cause of reform; and yet has he not given you to understand that he expects to be reimbursed for the expense of attending your meeting?—Really this makes his character doubtful; for the expense can be of little importance to him, if he is what he declares himself to



be—an independent man of property and estate. However, we should not judge him too harshly on that account; for if, as we have been given to understand, he has not been immaculate in his private life, he may have injured his fortune by irregularities, and it may be necessary for him to have recourse to your generous credulity. But there is another point worthy of cool deliberation, In his absence he writes boldly, and urges you to *action and resistance*; and yet when he speaks in public, he advocates *peaceable demeanour and obedience to the laws*. This looks like personal fear, if it is not double dealing. Is this the result of a white feather?—or, rather has he not some secret understanding? Is it not, moreover, strange that Sir Charles Wolseley, the Rev. Mr. Harrison, Mr. Fitton, and Mr. Knight—to say nothing of Messrs. Baguley, Drummond, Johnston, &c.—should be apprehended for words spoken at public meetings and that Mr. HUNT, who, at the late meeting in Smithfield, recommended you to resist the payment of taxes should escape?—He may be a very honourable man; but on the face of these truths, which are so well known to be correct, there is just ground for hesitation; at least so it appears to

“ *Manchester, 14th August, 1819.*

A PATRIOT.

By what motives the writers of the preceding articles were actuated, it is not in the power of a mere observer to determine. One fact, however, is obvious; namely, that whether the allegations were true or false, they were directly calculated to provoke Mr. Hunt's friends, and to strengthen the dislike of his enemies. These effects seem to have been produced in both instances in a considerable degree; and, as might be naturally expected, retaliation was the almost immediate result. Mr. Hunt and his friends, irritated at the personal attacks thus attempted on his character, proceeded to counteract the impression they were calculated to make on the public mind, by giving publicity to the following articles, which appeared in the Manchester Observer for August 14th 1819.



IMPORTANT COMMUNICATION TO THE PEOPLE  
OF ENGLAND.

“The mean and pitiful efforts, which are now making throughout England, to throw contempt upon the honest patriot of the age, Mr. Hunt; and to excite the worst passions of mankind against this independent benefactor of an impoverished and degraded people, shall recoil with dreadful retribution on the heads of their authors. The *character* of Mr. Hunt rises every day in the horizon of liberty: his firm and manly conduct; his unshaken perseverance; the coolness of his head, and the warmth of his heart, have set all their insidious attempts at defiance, and **THE PEACE OF MANCHESTER SHALL BE PRESERVED** by the prudence of that man whom the two contending borough factions have equally endeavoured to ruin in the estimation of the world, not caring at accomplishing their wicked purposes, by butchering thousands of their fellow countrymen, culpable only, because they are using every peaceable and legal means of relieving themselves from the horrors of starvation.

“The fanaticism and madness which destroyed the valuable apparatus of a Priestley’s well-spent life, which drove the first of philosophers, and the best of men, to a land where the domination of priests and tyrants is unknown, which hurled (as an impious government hireling of that day expressed it)

Sedition’s temple smoking to the ground,’

still lurks in the envenomed bosoms of those men, who have succeeded to a little ‘*brief authority*’ in our day; but **THE TIMES ARE CHANGED**; the revolution of reason which Priestley appeared to see and foretell, has already taken place, and the bulk of mankind have thrown off their shackles of civil and religious slavery; and, in a voice of thunder, appalling to their oppressors, and as irresistible as the tempests of Heaven, exclaim ‘**WE WILL BE FREE.**’

“The same fell war-whoop of these base hirelings of power is sounded from the extremity of the empire, and the good



men who dare to stand forward as the champions of the people, would again fall victims to those blood-thirsty wretches, who are wishing to tread in the steps of those, who in the year 1791 wrapped Birmingham in flames, and sent her artizans and her wealth to enrich the inhabitants of another hemisphere. But the TIMES ARE CHANGED, and the villainous machinations of these REAL TRAITORS TO THEIR COUNTRY will prove abortive.

“ We announced the postponement of the Manchester meeting in our last journal, and on the day of publication we received from Mr. Hunt the following communication, which we had no doubt had been obstructed in its delivery by the agents of power, purposely to keep it from the public, through the extensive medium of the MANCHESTER OBSERVER. The bold—the manly—the noble spirit which it breathes, prompts us to lay it, without comment before the public.”

The communication from Mr. Hunt, alluded to in the preceding paragraph is dated “ Coventry on my road to Manchester, August 5th, 1819 ;” but it was not received until the 7th. It is entitled “ PROCLAMATION THE THIRD,” and is addressed “ *To the reformers of Manchester and its neighbourhood.*” At the time when this *proclamation* was written, it appears that Mr. Hunt had not been apprized that the intended meeting of the 9th had been postponed ; or rather, that it had been abandoned altogether, for reasons already assigned, and that another, for the 16th, had been appointed in its stead. Without keeping this in view, some of its passages will be quite unintelligible.

“ Since I last addressed you, I see by the newspapers that the ministers have published *their proclamation*, in the name of the *Prince Regent*, vowing vengeance against all future meetings for reform.—I now see by this day’s Courier, that the magistrates acting for the counties of Lancaster and Chester have also published *their proclamation*, denouncing



our meeting on the 9th for reform as an *illegal meeting*, and they caution all persons to abstain AT THEIR PERIL from attending such illegal meeting; as the chairman appointed to preside at that meeting, I do hereby publish this *my proclamation*.

“ First, I shall attend at the time appointed to preside at the said meeting, under the full impression that the meeting is not only legal, but perfectly constitutional, it being called for the purpose of considering the best means of promoting that great object, reform of the Commons' House of Parliament.

“ Second, If any proposition should be offered which is illegal, as the chairman of that meeting I hold myself responsible, and therefore I certainly shall not submit it to the meeting.

“ Third, There is no law that empowers a magistrate to disperse a meeting convened for such purpose, unless the magistrates of Manchester intend to act upon the law that expired in July 1818.

Fourth, The magistrates have ordered all persons *to abstain at their peril*, which means in plain English that those who stay away from the meeting will do it at their peril, of course all those who are under the influence of the said magistrates, will certainly attend under pain of their high displeasure.

“ Fifth, If any thing seditious or illegal should take place at the said meeting, surely the law in the hands of the present attorney general, aided by a packed Lancashire special jury is quite strong enough to meet such an offence, unless the magistrates mean to dispense with all law, and resort to open force at once; which should they do, the reformers will at all events know what they have to trust to.

“ Your's, &c.

“ H. HUNT.

“ *Coventry, on my road to Manchester,*  
*August 5, 1819,*

Mr. Hunt reached Manchester on the evening of Sunday,



August 8th, and his escort, and manner of entering that populous town, have been thus described.

“ On Sunday evening, the inhabitants of Stockport, hearing that Mr. Hunt was on his way to Manchester, and that he had alighted at Bullock Smithy, immediately resolved upon escorting him into the town; and between six and seven o'clock, the road for the space of two miles towards the entrance of Stockport, was literally jammed with spectators. On his approach to this great body of the people, it was with the utmost difficulty he could restrain them from filling the air with shouts of exultation; but by the wave of his hand he succeeded in prevailing upon the multitude to pay due respect to the solemnity of the day.—IT WAS THE SABBATH! and if ever a people's prayers were sincerely lifted up to the all-wise Disposer of events, it was on that day. ‘GOD BLESS AND PROSPER YOU,’ was vociferated from every tongue, with thousands of good wishes for the success of the cause in which he had embarked. He proceeded in his gig, accompanied by their friend and neighbour Mr. Johnson, at a very gentle pace through the crowd to Stockport Union Rooms, where a supper was provided for him and about 100 of his friends, and where a band of the best musicians in the country were stationed to welcome him with appropriate tunes. Mr. Hunt addressed the people from the door of the Union Rooms; ‘he sincerely thanked them for their good wishes, and requested them peaceably to depart and afford their enemies no opportunity to censure their conduct, which had been so highly praiseworthy and commendable.’ The people instantly complied, and departed peaceably to their own homes. Several attempts were made during the evening to disturb the orderly conduct of Mr. Hunt and his friends, but all to no effect; and about ten o'clock Mr. Hunt retired, along with Mr. Johnson and several other gentlemen. He slept during the night at the house of Mr. Moorhouse; and as it was understood that he would leave Stockport about eleven o'clock on the ensuing morning, a large concourse of people assembled. Their joy surpassed every description, when they were informed of the arrival of Sir Charles Wolseley, at the



**Bulkley Arms**, whose intention it was to have accompanied Mr. Hunt to the Manchester public meeting. A very great assembly proceeded with these patriotic gentlemen to Manchester. About Ardwick Green, they were met by an immense multitude of people, who rent the atmosphere with shouts of exultation, loudly crying out 'Hunt for ever!—'Hunt and liberty,' &c. &c. — Sir Charles Wolesley alighted from Mr. Hunt's gig, and took his seat in a post-chaise, in company with two gentlemen from Stockport. Mr. Johnson then took his seat by the side of Mr. Hunt. The crowd increased with the acclamations of the people, and Mr. Hunt proceeded at a slow pace down Market-street, till he arrived at the office of the Observer newspaper, when three times three cheers were distinctly given. The cavalcade then moved on; and when they arrived at the Exchange, the same burst of exultation was again repeated. They then proceeded through Old Millgate, Hanging-ditch, up Shudehill, and when they arrived at the manufactory of Mr. Johnson, the people spontaneously halted, and saluted their fellow-townsmen with loud and continual huzzas. The route was then continued towards Smedley Cottage, the residence of Mr. Johnson. When they arrived on the open space of ground near St. Michael's church, Mr. Hunt addressed the people, exhorting them to peace and good order; which we are sorry our limits, in this department of our work, precludes the possibility of a report. They were then conducted all the way to Smedley; and the people delivered these brave and intrepid champions of freedom safe at Mr. Johnson's house, amidst the reiterated shouts and huzzas of thousands of their friends. Mr. Hunt then published the following address, which we present our readers, as a specimen of the nobleness of his mind, and the purity of his motives."

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Hunt, on reaching the vicinity of Manchester, remained long in ignorance of the changes which had taken place, respecting the postponement of the public meeting. His friends, and himself, were deeply interested in the alteration that had been made; and on his



becoming acquainted with the occasion, he published the following letter.

TO THE  
REFORMERS OF MANCHESTER AND NEIGHBOURHOOD,  
"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

"Our enemies are exulting at the victory they profess to have obtained over us, in consequence of the postponement *for a week* of the *public meeting* intended to have been held on Monday last.

"The editor of the London Courier (although he admits that we are only *checked*, not *subdued*,) appears to be as much rejoiced as if *he* and his *coudjutors*, had for a time escaped unhurt from the effects of an earthquake, or some other great national calamity; his *blood-thirsty imitators* of the local press of Manchester cannot disguise the fears of their employers, although I am informed they attempt to do it, by resorting to the most vulgar and impotent abuse. To reply to any of their malignant and contemptible efforts, would only tend to drag them forth, for a moment, from their natural insignificance and obscurity; therefore, you will bestow on their petty exertions the most perfect indifference; for as they are beneath your anger, so you will not even suffer them to attract your notice.

"You will meet on Monday next, my friends, and by your *steady, firm, and temperate* deportment, you will convince all your enemies, that you feel you have an *important*, and an *imperious public duty* to perform; and that you will not suffer any private consideration on earth to deter you from exerting every nerve, to carry your praiseworthy and patriotic intentions into effect.

"The eyes of all England, nay, of all Europe, are fixed upon you; and every friend of real reform, and of rational liberty, is tremblingly alive to the result of your meeting on Monday next.

"Our enemies will seek every opportunity, by the means of their sanguinary agents, to excite a *riot*, that they may have a pretence for *spilling our blood*, reckless of the awful and certain retaliation that would ultimately fall on their heads.



*“ Every friend of real and effectual reform is offering up to Heaven a devout prayer, that you may follow the example of your brethren of the metropolis ; and, by your steady, patient, persevering and peaceable conduct on that day, frustrate their hellish and bloody purpose.*

*“ Come, then, my friends, to the meeting on Monday, armed with no other weapon but that of a self-approving conscience ; determined not to suffer yourselves to be irritated or excited, by any means whatsoever, to commit any breach of the public peace.*

*“ Our opponents have not attempted to show that our reasoning is fallacious, or that our conclusions are incorrect, by any other argument but the threat of violence, or to put us down by the force of the sword, the bayonet, and the cannon. They assert, that your leaders do nothing but mislead and deceive you, although they well know, that the eternal principles of truth and justice are too deeply engraven on your hearts, and that you are at length become (unfortunately for them) too well acquainted with your own rights, ever again to suffer any man, or any faction, to mislead you.*

*“ We hereby invite the boroughreeve, or any of the nine wise magistrates, who signed the proclamation, declaring the meeting to have been held on Monday last, illegal, and threatening, at the same time, all those who abstained from going to the said meeting ; we invite them to come amongst us on Monday next. If we are wrong, it is their duty, as Men, as Magistrates, and as Christians, to endeavour to set us right, by argument, by reason, and by the mild and irresistible precepts of persuasive truth ; we promise them an attentive hearing, and to abide by the result of conviction alone. But, once for all, we repeat, that we despise their threats, and abhor and detest those, who would direct or control the mind of man by violence or force.*

*“ I am, my Fellow Countrymen,*

*“ Your sincere and faithful Friend,*

*“ H. HUNT.*

*“ Smedley Cottage,  
Wednesday, August 11, 1819.”*



If credit may be given to the public prints, respecting the events, which preceded the day of the meeting, we can easily gather from the whole, that the contending parties frowned upon each other;—that insult was repaid with insult;—that reproaches were mutual;—that authority was repelled with contempt;—that threats were received with the indignity of scorn;—and that the brandishing of the sword, only gave new vigour to the language of provocation. Nor were these seeds of hostility merely confined to the placards which were issued. Each party recriminated the other. Such as were partial to reform were represented as the friends of anarchy, and the advocates of sedition; while those, on the contrary, who were averse to innovation, were represented as the minions of arbitrary power the creatures of a despotic government, the enslavers of their countrymen, and the enemies of mankind.

The bills which each party had posted, were occasionally destroyed by their opponents; and accidental circumstances, were sometimes attributed to motives which never existed. Debates roused the angry passions; and arguments on either side, instead of producing conviction, only generated a fiercer determination in all cases, for each individual to adhere more tenaciously to his political creed. In this unhappy contest, between unmitigated power and unyielding resistance, a spirit of mutual animosity was cherished, which took the field on Monday the 16th. and produced events, the history of which is written in blood.

Prior to this eventful day, a report had long been circulated that many of the Reformers were in the habit of meeting together to learn military exercise and discipline. To ascertain this fact, two men repaired to the reputed place of their rendezvous; the particulars of which are thus detailed in the "British Volunteer, and Manchester Weekly Express," for August 21st, 1819.

"The circumstance of parties going out to drill, having been much talked about here, two persons, viz. Mr. John Shawcross, of Blossom-street, Salford, clerk in the police office, and Mr. James Murray, of Withy-Grove, Manchester, confectioner,



set out on Sunday Morning, about one o'clock, for the purpose of ascertaining this fact. On their way towards Middleton, these two persons passed several squads, who were in regular marching order, and heard a great many more parties calling to each other; and from the answers being more distant every time they were repeated, suppose the fields for some extent contained different parties. The place appointed for a general muster was White-moss, between Middleton and Oldham. When Murray and Shawcross arrived at this place, there were at least 500 men at drill: the greater part were drilled in a body; there were also detached squads of 15 or 20 each. It was now half-past three o'clock *a. m.* and nearly daylight; Shawcross and Murray were within 50 yards of the main body, a boy of the name of Rayner, who had been sent by Shawcross and Murray to hear what was passing came back to them, and said, "The persons at drill say, here is Gingerbread Jack coming," (meaning Murray,) "d—n him, we'll pay him, if he comes here." Shawcross then wished to go away, seeing the eyes of the persons at drill fixed upon them;—the crowd, on seeing them both go away, said, "D—n 'em, at 'em;" and some of them came after them, and said, "come back, come back." Being still pursued, Murray and Shawcross fled toward a lane, where they were overtaken, and asked what they were doing there? Murray said it was curiosity brought them.—Nearly 100 persons then attacked Murray and Shawcross with sticks, stones, and their feet. Some one knocked Shawcross into the ditch by a blow on the head; and they called out, "Kill him—murder him." While in the ditch, one of them kicked Shawcross, who for some time remained senseless; when he recovered, he found them still beating him, and on his calling "Murder," they said, "D—n him, finish him." After a few more blows, he was left apparently dead, but he was enabled to get over a hedge, and with some difficulty crawled to Middleton, and has since been got to Manchester. Mr. Ollier who has examined him, is of opinion, that a deep cut on Shawcross's lip had been done by some sharp instrument; the back and loins of Shawcross have been beaten to a jelly, and he is



now confined to his bed, and likely to remain there some time Murray was abused, if possible, more than Shawcross, and was brought home in a chaise. His thighs and legs were dreadfully beaten by bludgeons. The depositions of both of them have been taken by the magistrates. They are now convalescent, and able to attend to their individual occupations."

Of the fact itself, that many persons had been engaged in learning the military discipline, we have a corroborating evidence in a letter written by Mr. Hunt. But as this admission is connected with some observations on another circumstance, not calculated to allay the ferment that every where prevailed, it will be necessary to take a momentary retrospect of another transaction, before the letter is introduced.

"Mr. Birch, a police-officer of Stockport having apprehended a Mr. Harrison, in London, returned to Stockport with him on Friday evening, July 23rd, 1819. On their arrival, which was about eight o'clock, a considerable sensation was excited in the town, vast crowds of people assembling near the house in which the prisoner was confined; and from the menacing tone which some among them assumed, serious apprehensions were entertained, that a rescue would be attempted. About ten o'clock, as Mr. Birch was passing from his own house, where Mr. Harrison was confined to wait upon the magistrates, three men from among the multitude joined him, and entered into conversation. Scarcely, however, had they begun, before one of them drew a pistol, which he discharged at the breast of Mr. Birch. The ball struck against the breast bone; and taking a direction near the heart, lodged in the body. Surgical aid was instantly called; but, from the nature of the wound, it was generally thought to be mortal. Diligent search was instantly made after the perpetrator of this deed, and considerable rewards were offered for his apprehension; but he has succeeded in eluding justice. Mr. Birch afterwards recovered; and according to the public papers. £100 per annum, has been settled on him for life.

Having stated these preliminaries, we now proceed to introduce Mr. Hunt's letter, which has an immediate bearing on



the fact itself; and also a direct reference to the military exercises, which multitudes in Manchester stand charged with practising, as stated in the preceding article. This letter appears in Cowdroy's Manchester Gazette for Saturday August 21st, 1819.

*LETTER from Mr. HUNT*

*" Smedley Cottage, near Manchester, August 12, 1819.*

" SIR,—As the editors of the daily London papers appear to be very imperfectly informed of the situation of this part of the country, permit me through the medium of your paper, to lay a few facts before the public, that have come to my knowledge since my arrival here. On my reaching Stockport, on Sunday evening, the first thing I did was to inquire after Birch, the constable. I was informed, with a smile, that he was convalescent. From all that I could collect on that evening and the next morning, I found that the general impression was, that he had not been wounded at all by a loaded pistol; but if any pistol, or other explosion of squib or cracker had injured him, it was from the effect of \* \* \* \*

" Another report is, that Birch's father has said, that when Birch jumped over the wall and paling, the bullet dropped out of his bowels. Mr. Harrison, who called to see him the day after the disaster, saw all but the wound; Birch's wife having lifted up the plaister that covered it, within an inch, as he told me, of the very mark where the ball entered. She also shewed him the shirt, which had a hole, and some blood upon it. Mr. Harrison also saw his waistcoat, which had a hole near the fifth button-hole; but, although he examined it minutely, there was not any blood whatever upon the waistcoat, although Birch had run two hundred yards and jumped over a wall and some pales after the supposed ball had been fired.

" It is a remarkable fact, that the only surgeons that have seen this wound are those connected with Government; and it is said that Birch and them are at issue. They declare it their opinion that he has a ball lodged in some part of his bo-



dy ; he insists that he has no ball, and objects to have the wound probed. Altogether it is a most mysterious affair ; but at all events Birch is now out of danger, as he was seen on Saturday last performing the sword exercise with a stick, which, by the bye, is not very improbable, as playing at soldiers is said to be very much the fashion in this part of the world. Nine-tenths of the persons that I have conversed with do not believe that Birch was ever in danger, notwithstanding all that has been said about him ; and the pity that has been excited throughout the country is very little felt in this neighbourhood. Sir Charles Wolseley was very anxious to call upon Birch when he came to Stockport, but declined to do so in consequence of these reports \* \* \* \*

“ With regard to the distresses of the weavers, they have increased instead of diminished since I was here last ; and, for the want of better employment, I believe it is too true that they, many of them, pass a considerable portion of their time in what they call playing at soldiers ; or in other words, learning to march, wheel, &c. and other manœuvres practised by the military. The parties ( one-third of them at least ) having either served in the militia, the local militia, or the regulars, I am informed, make a respectable drill, in the most orderly manner possible. As this fact is notoriously known in this neighbourhood, I am well convinced the Government agents ( of whom there are a sufficient number here ) must have long since informed their employers, and I am surprised that it is only hinted at in the ————— and other ministerial papers. A Gentleman informed me yesterday, that he saw 1,400 men formed in line, marching, &c. &c, on Sunday morning last, and that 800 of them marched a considerable distance before they were dismissed. This was all done in open day, and not secretly: they have drums, fifes, and bugles, but no arms whatever ; nor do I believe that they know or think that they are offending any law whatever. All this is known to the magistrates, who appear, in their wisdom, to be providing arms, at least for their armed associations.

“ I have no doubt that those who are instructing these poor



men are in the employ of the \* \* \* \* \* of Bolton, as well as his compeer, the gallant \* \* \* \* \* I am supposed to have some influence in these parts over this description of persons, and you may rely upon it; I have done, and shall continue to do all in my power to dissuade them from continuing any such foolish measures. I have been invited to take a ride on Sunday to review them: no one but a Manchester spy would give me credit for walking with my eyes open into such a trap. At a reform meeting held at Leigh yesterday, it was reported, two of the speakers had warrants issued against them by Mr. Fletcher, of Bolton, and they were arrested without opposition. We have our meeting here on Monday next, and the preparations for a riot (to be produced, if any by the agents of the police) are equal to those made by the Lord Mayor previous to the meeting in Smithfield. I have no doubt but we shall conduct the proceedings with great quietness and order, although I dread any mad attempt to produce disturbance, as the people here, although disposed to peace are much more determined to resist any illegal attack made upon them: however, I shall do my duty, and I hope to keep them firm and quiet.

“ I am, Sir, your's, &c.

“ H. HUNT.”

The 16th of August will be as dreadfully memorable in the annals of Manchester as 1780 has been for the commotions in London, or the year that marked the progress of desolation in the streets of Birmingham; and the name of Mr. Henry Hunt, like that of Lord George Gordon, will be connected with the multitude that he raised, while it will descend to posterity associated both with the applauses and the execrations of mankind.

On Saturday the 14th, it was observed, that strangers of a low description began to drop into town, particularly towards the evening, when their numbers visibly increased; but of these no notice would have been taken, were it not for the anticipations which the intended meeting of Monday had excited. On the



Sunday morning the event occurring, which we have already given at large, respecting the two men who were severely beaten for repairing to the place where a large body were engaged in learning their military exercise, created, with some degree of alarm; it being considered as a presage of what might be feared, when the many thousands who were expected should actually assemble. Through the influence of these dreadful forebodings, the Sabbath was passed with many in terrible anxiety, especially, when night drew on, as strangers pressed into the town in accumulated numbers. Nothing, however disturbed the common tranquillity of the inhabitants, but their own fearful apprehensions of what might take place on the ensuing day.

Monday at length arrived; and early in the morning the various responsible authorities were on the alert. "The magistrates, the boroughreeves and constables of Manchester and Salford, an immense body of special constables, many of them men of the first consideration and the various force of military and artillery, were in motion for their appointed duties. The latter consisted of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, under Major Trafford; the Prince Regent's Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, under Lieutenant Colonel Townsend; the 15th Hussars from the barracks, under Lieutenant Colonel Dalrymple; a detachment of the 88th foot, now stationed in the King-street barracks, under Colonel M'Gregor; some pieces of Royal Horse Artillery, under Major Dyneley; and a detachment of the 31st foot, under Lieutenant Colonel L'Estrange, who commanded the whole, and made all the necessary arrangements for the occasion. At an early hour, the following notice, printed on a very large sheet of paper and in bold characters, was carefully posted upon the walls of the streets:—

"*August 16th, 1819;* The boroughreeves and constables of Manchester and Salford most earnestly recommend the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants of those towns, as much as possible to remain in their own houses during the whole of this day, Monday, Aug. 16th instant, and to keep their children and servants within doors."



“ At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the following magistrates assembled at a gentleman's house in Mount-street which commands an immediate and uninterrupted view of the, whole area of ground near St. Peter's church, in which the meeting was to take place ; viz, the Rev. Mr. Hay; the Rev. Mr. Ethelston; Mr. Wright; Mr. Marriot; Mr. Norris; Mr. Trafford; the Rev. Mr. Mallory; Mr. Hulton; Mr. Tatton; Mr. Fletcher; Mr. Silvester, and Mr. Feilden.—The special constables assembled on the ground soon after: the military were halted in various suitable stations, retired from the public ground.”

In the Manchester Gazette for August 21st, the proceedings of this eventful day are thus stated.—“ At ten o'clock there were a few small groupes of persons on the ground at St. Peter's, but no appearance of preparation for the intended meeting. About half-past eleven, large bodies, marching four or five abreast, and attended with music and flags bearing inscriptions of the places from which the parties came, such as ‘ Rochdale Union,’ ‘ Leeds and Saddleworth Union,’ ‘ Royton Union,’ &c. and also others with the mottoes, ‘ Universal Suffrage,’ ‘ Annual Parliaments,’ ‘ Election by Ballot,’ ‘ No Corn Laws,’ ‘ Freedom is the Birthright of Man,’ &c. passed some through the Market place, down St. Mary's Gate, and along Deansgate, towards the place of meeting. Other's came along Piccadilly, down Mosley-street and Peter's street, to the same point.

“ There was another flag carried by one of the parties (we believe the Saddleworth, Leeds, and Mosley Union) which we must not omit to particularize. It was black, in shape somewhat similar to the ancient Roman standard, bearing on one side the words ‘ Equal Representation or death,’ and on the other, two hands clasped as though shaking hands, below which was the word ‘ Love.’ There was also on the same side, the motto, ‘ Taxation without Representation is unjust and tyrannical.’—Several of the standards were surmounted with caps of liberty. Amongst the parties from a distance, were many women and young girls.—Twelve o'clock



was the time fixed for the commencement of the meeting. It was half-past twelve, or perhaps somewhat later, when the last of these parties from a distance arrived on the ground, each being greeted by the cheers of the multitude who awaited them. After their arrival, the music in attendance struck up 'God save the King,' and instantly thousands of heads were uncovered as an acknowledgement of respect to this national anthem. The highly popular tune of 'Rule Britannia,' was also played by the band.

At about ten minutes or a quarter past one o'clock, it was announced that Mr. Hunt was approaching by the Deansgate road, and immediately afterwards he made his appearance in a barouch, on the box of which sat the driver and a female, who carried a small flag bearing some emblematical figures. In the barouch besides Mr. Hunt were Messrs. Joseph Johnson, Saxton, Knight, Mr. Carlisle, of London, and Mr. Moorhouse, of Stockport. The arrival of the carriage and its occupants was marked by the deafening cheers of an assembly, which then consisted of, upon a moderate calculation, not less than 50,000 people. Hunt excited their continued applause, by waving his hat, bowing, and continuing uncovered — when the carriage reached the hustings, which consisted, we believe of two carts, placed back to back, with a sort of flooring formed of planks, stretched across from side to side—some delay took place before Mr. Hunt quitted the vehicle. All the standards used in the procession had been previously brought up towards the hustings. On his mounting them, it was immediately moved by Mr. Joseph Johnson, that Mr. Hunt should take the chair. Mr. Hunt then spoke to the following effect:—

“ My friends and fellow-countrymen,—I must entreat your indulgence for a short time ; and I beg you will endeavour to preserve the most perfect silence. I hope you will exercise the all-powerful right of the people in an orderly manner; and any man, that wants to breed a disturbance, let him be instantly put down. For the honour you have done me in inviting me a second time to preside at your meeting, I return



you my thanks ; and all I have to beg of you is, that you will indulge us with your patient attention. It is impossible, that with the most silent and patient attention, we shall be able to make ourselves heard by the whole of this tremendous assembly. It is useless for me to attempt to relate to you the proceedings of the last week or ten days in this town and neighbourhood. You well know them all, and the cause of the meeting appointed for last Monday being prevented. It is therefore useless to say one word on that subject ; only to observe, that those who put us down, and prevented us from meeting on Monday last, by their malignant exertion, have produced two-fold the number to day. (Applause.) It will be perceived, that in consequence of the calling of this new meeting, our enemies, who flattered themselves they had gained a victory, have sustained a great defeat. There have been two or three placards posted up during the last week with the names of one or two insignificant individuals attached to them. One Tom Long or Jack Short, a printer.'

" A considerable disturbance was now observed on the south side of the area which the meeting occupied. It was caused by the arrival of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry, at full gallop, and their ranging themselves in front of the houses in Mount-street, in one of which (Mr. Buxton's) were the magistrates. The persons on the outside of the compact crowd which formed the body of the meeting, had fled with considerable precipitation on the first arrival of the military ; several indeed were knocked down and trampled on by the horses as they went to their stations. Those who were within the reach of his voice, Mr. Hunt kept exhorting to ' be firm.' A double cordon of special constables was ranged from Mr. Buxton's house down to the hustings ; the orders to whom were, to leave room between them for two persons to pass abreast, so as to maintain a free line of communication. When the cavalry had formed in Mount-street, not five minutes had elapsed before they were addressed by one of their officers. They replied to his address with three loud cheers, waving their swords over their heads. The persons on the side of



the crowd nearest them now faced about, and cheered in return.

“ Previously to this period, a strong detachment of infantry had taken post in Dickenson-street, and the alarm created in the meeting by the first appearance of the military had a little subsided, when the word of command was given, and the corps instantly charged up to the hustings. Numbers of men, women, and children, were trodden under foot or sabred. The peace-officers had no protection, and probably suffered in at least an equal proportion with any other class. The scene was truly terrific. In the consternation that ensued, the immense crowds pressing on each other in their flight, rendered escape more difficult, and even swiftness of foot did not always save them from being hewn down. About two minutes after the attack of the Manchester Yeomanry on one side, the Cheshire Yeomanry, a detachment of Dragoons, and of the 15th Hussars, charged on another, thus adding to the dangers and horrors of the scene. Clouds of dust raised by the trampling of horses, frequently obscured nearly the whole of the area, and when a sudden breeze of wind momentarily cleared them away, the glittering of swords brandished in the sun, and the consideration that those against whom they were raised were fellow-countrymen and friends, was truly heart-sickening.

“ We mentioned, that on the first attack a party of the Manchester Yeomanry had dashed up to the hustings. The persons who occupied them were mostly taken into custody, amongst them, Hunt, Johnson, Saxton, and Moorhouse, were immediately conveyed to Mr. Buxton's house—Mr. Hunt refused to surrender to a military force—a civil officer therefore made his appearance, to whose authority he instantly yielded. As he was led along the files of constables and soldiers to the magistrates, he was repeatedly and brutally struck by those behind him : an attempt was made to knock off his hat, that the blows might fall on his bare head ; but it did not succeed. He was mounting the steps which lead into Mr. Buxton's house, when a half-pay major-general, resident here, with a thick stick, and the united force of both hands, gave him a blow which almost



levelled him with the ground. Under these circumstances, exposed to the blows of every person within reach, and who chose to strike him, it is no wonder that Mr. Hunt should cry 'murder !' and that when he entered into the presence of the magistrates he should display considerable agitation. What passed before the magistrates was only known from report ; but we wish particularly to confine ourselves to facts : suffice it to say, that in a few minutes Mr. Hunt and the rest of the party taken along with him, were marched down to the New Bailey, preceded by two magistrates, and guarded by several special constables and a double file of soldiers. He there remained in custody, upon the charge of treason.

" But the work of dispersion still continued ; the standards were seized in triumph, and borne away, the cavalry galloped upon every one whom they saw, even at a considerable distance from the place of meeting, and into the Quakers' burying ground. It is, however, but justice to say, that the regular soldiery behaved with coolness and comparative moderation : when the ground was nearly cleared, several pieces of horse-artillery were paraded over it, and some discharges of fire-arms took place. After the commencement of the attack, some brick-bats were thrown at the yeomanry ; one of whom was struck in the face, so that he let go the reins, and falling from his horse, fractured his skull ; on Monday he was thought in great danger, but he subsequently, though slowly recovered. The number of persons killed and wounded it was impossible to estimate with certainty, and we much fear it will never be accurately known. The number killed, or whose recovery is impossible, we apprehend, amounted to not less than ten, and sixty were brought as patients to the Infirmary, of whom thirty were in-patients. A great number have also been under the private care of surgeons in town ; and many from a distance, who were not very severely wounded, too much alarmed to stay here, have had their wounds dressed by surgeons, in their own neighbourhood. We therefore think there cannot have been



fewer than 200 wounded; many conceive there have been 300 or even more.

“ When the field was cleared, the yeomanry formed opposite Mount-street, and after a speech, we believe of *thanks*, from Mr. Hay, gave three cheers, and waved their swords in token of victory!!! They again cheered at the Police office, about half-past two in the afternoon. Parties kept patrolling the streets during the after part of the day and through the night. In the evening the windows of a man named Tate, in Oldham-street, were broken, a person there having imprudently waved one of the captured flags at the people as they passed by. In the course of Monday afternoon several persons were arrested in addition to those who had been taken into custody upon the hustings, and among them Knight.

“ Amongst those killed on Monday, was Mr. Ashworth, of the Bull's Head, a special constable. Several inquests were immediately held, in which, incredible as it may seem, the verdicts were ‘ *Accidental Death* !’

“ Amongst the wounded, was the reporter of the London Courier. The reporter of the Times newspaper, (a gentleman of the name of Tyas,) was taken into custody, near the hustings, by a constable, whose protection he solicited, stating who he was; but was discharged the next day.

“ The night of Monday passed over without further disturbance; but on Tuesday morning, symptoms of riot were displayed near the New Cross; and, we believe, one man (a special constable) was killed by the mob. The military were called out—the Riot Act, we understand, read—and the populace fired upon; five or six persons were wounded by the discharge, one of whom is since dead. About ten in the morning, a report was circulated, that the mob had mustered to the number of ten or fifteen thousand; and were marching, armed with pikes and other deadly weapons, upon the town. The report was treated as a falsehood; but, about eleven o'clock, one of the municipal officers came, in a state of the utmost



agitation, upon 'Change—ordered the building to be closed—all shops and warehouses to be shut up—and declared the town and neighbourhood in a *state of open rebellion*. The military were called out—cannon planted at the bottom of Oldham-street—(the way the rebels were supposed to be coming,) and the utmost consternation was visible on every countenance.

A placard, of which the following is a copy, was posted up by the town's officers:—

“ *Manchester, 17th August, 1819.*

“ HALF PAST ELEVEN, A. M.

“ The Boroughreeves and Constables of Manchester and Salford, hereby caution all the inhabitants to close their houses, shops, and warehouses, and to keep themselves and all persons under their control within doors, *otherwise their lives will be in danger*. Carts and all other carriages must be immediately removed from the streets and public roads.”

“ C. Wheeler and Sons, Printers.”

“ In the course of an hour, when the pikemen were still invisible, people began to inquire into circumstances, and to doubt the fact of their approach, particularly as all the country manufacturers, whom Tuesday's market had brought from the neighbourhood of Oldham, united in denying it. By this time, the boroughreeve and constables had taken the trouble of inquiring into the affair, and ascertained that they had been imposed upon. Their placards were taken down with great rapidity. The bellmen were sent round to tell the people to reopen their shops and warehouses, and tranquillity of feeling was restored. The report was proved to be utterly unfounded, a trick which the fears or the wickedness of some person had played off upon municipal credulity.”

*Manchester Gazette, Aug. 21, 1819.*

In the Manchester Chronicle, to which we have already referred, an account of the transactions after Mr. Hunt began to address the multitude, is stated in a manner very different from that which has just been given. This also we introduce.



as it places the melancholy events in another light, and records some incidents, which, in all probability, would otherwise have remained unknown. By these means every reader will be enabled to form his own judgment on the transactions of the day, while we hope our pages will escape the charge of partiality.

“ He (Mr. Hunt) was proceeding to make some indecent references to the magistrates, when the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry appeared on the ground, and formed in line before the house in which the Magistrates were placed. Hunt turned to Johnson, and said, “ there’s a treat for you.” He then said to the people, “ Stand firm, my friends ; you see they are in disorder already ; give them three cheers ;” at the same time taking off his hat, and waving it above his head. The cheers were instantly returned by the Cavalry and the whole of the Peace Officers ; the former brandishing their sabres whilst huzzaing.

“ A short consultation now took place among the Justices, and they immediately issued a Warrant against Hunt, Johnson, Knight, and Moorhouse. Mr. Nadin, the deputy Constable of Manchester, was appointed to execute it. The Riot Act had been twice read ; once by the Rev. Mr. Ethelston, and once by John Silvester Esq. The rebellious nature of the meeting, its numbers and threatening aspect, the warlike insignia displayed, the order of march and military arrangement, many of the Reformers having shouldered large sticks and bludgeons as representative of muskets, coupled with the depositions on oath of very many respectable inhabitants, as to the consequences that must in their opinion unavoidably flow to lives and property from such an immense meeting, assembled under such influences, and the Magistrates’ own view of the whole of this tremendous scene, rendered it imperative to interfere. To have attempted it by the common means would have been preposterous, and could only have caused the loss of a great number of lives, without a chance of completing the object. Mr. Nadin therefore took the warrant, accompanied by a host of Special Constables. Mr. Trafford, a highly respectable Che-



shire Magistrate, headed the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry, and an order was given for the whole to advance and take the prisoners. This was done in a steady and masterly style ; but the Cavalry had not advanced many yards before they were assailed with heavy volleys of stones, shouts of defiance, and the most coarse and insulting language. Till, thus assailed, no Yeomanry-man used his sword, each man having confined himself to waving it over his head. Now the duty of self-preservation obliged them to strike, but in very few instances to cut. The Manchester and Salford corps in a moment surrounded the whole Hustings, and the Civil Officers proceeded to seize their prisoners. Immediately the Cheshire Yeomanry galloped on the ground ; to them succeeded the 15th. Hussars, and the Royal Artillery Train, whilst all the various detachments of Infantry also advanced. On every side the soldiers were attacked with the most determined resolution many of the Cavalry were struck to the ground, and the Reformers attempted to knock out their brains with large stones (previously provided) and sticks whilst lying on the ground. One gallant youth, Mr. John Hulme, was struck in the face with a brick : it took away his senses, and he checked his horse so suddenly, that they both fell together. A man had also stabbed him in the back with a sharp instrument, and whilst in this deplorable state a fellow with a club was about to finish him, when a foot soldier bayoneted the villain, who sprang high from the earth, and fell down dead. Another Yeomanry-man was unhorsed at the same moment, and his life with great difficulty saved. This was near the Quakers' Meeting-house, where a furious battle raged. In the burying-ground there many persons committed murderous work from the inclosed walls, till the gates were burst open by a private soldier with the butt-end of his musket. Many innocent spectators had also been there during the whole of the day, as a place of security. At length it was necessarily cleared by force ; and one of our yeomanry leaped his horse over the wall after a reformer who had been particularly active. This man, it is believed, paid a severe penalty for his desperate conduct. To the front



of these premises a considerable quantity of timber was laid, which unfortunately sheltered the refractory from direct approach. Not a single shot was fired by any of the military, although they were fired upon several times by the reformers and their abettors.

“A scene of confusion and terror now existed, which defies description. The multitude pressed one another down; and in many parts they laid in masses, piled body upon body. The cries and mingled shouts with the galloping of the horses, were shocking. Lieutenant Colonel L'Estrange, the commander of the troops, received a tremendous blow on the forehead from a brick, which for a moment deprived him of sense, and he had nearly fallen from his horse. Many of the most respectable gentlemen of the town were thrown down, ridden over, and trampled upon. One special constable, Mr. Ashworth, of the Bull's Head, in the Market-place, was killed dead on the spot. Another, Mr. Petty, was borne home laid on a door, by four men, dreadfully hurt. Major-General Clay, assisting the civil power in his private dress of a citizen, Mr. John More, the constable, Mr. Charles Rider, of Collyhurst, Mr. Thomas Sharp, &c. &c. &c. were all forced to the ground by the cavalry. Under such circumstances, these accidents were unavoidable: not the smallest blame is attached to the military, by those who were the temporary sufferers. It was scarcely to be anticipated that great numbers of the reformers would come to the meeting prepared with offensive weapons; but it was the case. A class of them were dressed as brewers' servants usually are, with long brats that contain pockets. These pockets were all filled with stones. Therefore it is manifest, that if *the law* found occasion to interpose, a regular system of prevention had been arranged to defeat its object.”

*Manchester Chronicle, Aug. 21, 1819.*

In the preceding extract it is distinctly stated, that the *Riot Act* was read twice, and the names of the gentlemen by whom it was read are particularly mentioned. This evidence in favour of the fact seems to be decisive. But as on this point,



opinions very different have been published to the world, we cannot, in justice to that impartiality which we hope to preserve, omit their introduction. In the Manchester Gazette we find the following observations.

“ We have now concluded our recital of the melancholy events of this dreadful day. But it will be asked by every one, *whether this attack was legal?* or at least, whether the Riot Act was read previous to the forcible dispersion of the crowd? *We believe it was not.* We have made the most diligent and general inquiries, both among special constables and spectators, and we have not met with a single individual, who knows either *when* or *where* it was read, or, in point of fact, who believes that it was read at all. *It certainly was not read under such circumstances as that any considerable proportion of the meeting were aware of it, or could have the slightest intimation that it was intended to disperse them by force.*”

On this important point an article respecting the Riot Act, inserted in the Star, and thence copied into the Liverpool Mercury is stated as follows :—

“ Whether the Riot Act had been read, I am not enabled positively to say ; but I affirm, from actual observation, that not the slightest breach of the peace had been committed, or appeared, as far as I could judge, likely to take place ; and most certainly, instead of an hour being allowed after the proclamation for the people to disperse, not *twenty minutes* elapsed, after Mr. Hunt came on the ground, before the carnage began.”

That the Riot Act was actually read before the military were called upon to draw their swords, we can scarcely doubt. It is, however, a subject of much astonishment, with multitudes who have no connection with the reformers, and who are not even friendly to their interests, that no account has been given, specifically stating the places in which the Riot Act was read, the exact time in which the reading took place, and the probable number of those who either did hear, or might have heard it. We have no recollection of having hitherto met with the name of any individual, who has declared, that



the Riot Act was publicly read within his hearing. As this is an omission of duty, with which the magistrates have been severely reproached, it is reasonable for them to suppose, that a dispassionate public will expect them to repel the charge, by producing satisfactory evidence in vindication of their character.

Among the individuals who were on the stage or hustings when the cavalry approached, was a gentleman, named Tyas, who had introduced himself as a reporter of the proceedings of the day, for the Times newspaper. Mr. Tyas, we apprehend, is not friendly either, to Mr. Hunt, or to the cause of popular reform. This circumstance will, therefore, exempt his statement from the charge of partiality on the public side of the question, and ensure for his observations that due consideration to which they seem to be so justly entitled. But as his account in its early stages, nearly coincides with the statements we have already given, we shall introduce Mr. Tyas just as Mr. Hunt was proceeding with his speech, which has been already given, briefly observing, that a board, on which was written in legible characters, "ORDER, ORDER," was elevated and carried before Mr. Hunt as he approached the hustings.

"At this stage of the business, the yeomanry cavalry were seen advancing in a rapid trot to the area : their ranks were in disorder, and on arriving within it, they halted to breathe their horses, and to recover their ranks. A panic seemed to strike the persons at the outskirts of the meeting, who immediately began to scamper in every direction. After a moment's pause, the cavalry drew their swords, and brandished them fiercely in the air ; upon which Hunt and Johnson desired the multitude to give three cheers, to show the military that they were not to be daunted in the discharge of their duty by their unwelcome presence. This they did ; upon which Mr. Hunt again proceeded. ' This is a mere trick, to interrupt the proceedings of the meeting ; but he trusted they would all stand firm.' He had scarcely said these words, before the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry rode into the mob, which gave way be-



fore them, and directing their course to the cart from which Mr. Hunt was speaking. *Not a brick-bat was thrown at them, not a pistol was fired, during this period: all was quiet and orderly, as if the cavalry had been the friends of the multitude, and had marched as such into the midst of them.* A bugle-man went at their head, then an officer, and then came the whole troop. They wheeled round the waggons till they came in front of them, the people drawing back in every direction on their approach. After they had surrounded them in such a manner as to prevent all escape, the *officer* who commanded the detachment went up to Mr. Hunt, and said, brandishing his sword, ‘Sir, I have a warrant against you, and arrest you as my prisoner.’ Hunt, after exhorting the people to tranquillity in a few words, turned round to the officer, and said, ‘I willingly surrender myself to any civil officer who will show me his warrant.’ Mr. Nadin, the chief police officer at Manchester, then came forward, and said, ‘I will arrest you, I have got informations on oath against you,’ or something to that effect. The military officer then proceeded to say, that he had a warrant against Johnson. Johnson also asked for a civil officer, upon which a Mr. Andrew came forward, and Hunt and Johnson then leaped from off the wagon, and surrendered themselves to the civil power. Search was then made for Moorhouse and Knight, against whom warrants had also been issued. In the hurry of this transaction, they had by some means or other contrived to make their escape.

“As soon as Hunt and Johnson had jumped from the wagon, a cry was made by the cavalry. ‘Have at their flags.’ In consequence, they immediately dashed not only at the flags which were in the wagon, but those which were posted among the crowd, *cutting most indiscriminately to the right and to the left* in order to get at them. This set the people running in all directions, and it was not until *this act had been committed*, that any brick-bats were hurled at the military. From that moment the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry lost all command and temper. A person of the name of Saxton, who was, we be-



neve, the editor of the *Manchester Observer*, was standing in the cart. Two privates rode up to him: 'There,' said one of them, 'is that villain Saxton; do you run him through the body.' 'No,' replied the other, 'I had rather not—I leave it to you.' The man immediately made a lunge at Saxton, and it was only by his slipping aside that the blow missed his life. As it was, it cut his coat and waistcoat, but fortunately did him no other injury. A man within five yards of us in another direction, had his nose completely taken off by a blow of a sabre; whilst another was laid prostrate; but whether he was dead, or had merely thrown himself down to obtain protection, we cannot say.

"Seeing all this hideous work going on, we felt an alarm, which any man may be forgiven for feeling in a similar situation; looking round us, we saw a constable at no great distance, and thinking our only chance of safety rested in placing ourselves under his protection, we appealed to him for assistance. He immediately took us into custody, and on our saying we merely intended to report the proceedings of the day, he replied, 'Oh, oh! you then are one of their writers—you must go before the magistrates.' To this we made no objection; in consequence, he took us to the house where the magistrates were sitting, and, in our way thither, we saw a woman on the ground, insensible, to all outward appearance and with two large gouts of blood on her left breast.

"Just as we came to the house, the constables were conducting Hunt into it, and were treating him in a manner in which they were neither justified by law nor humanity, striking him with their staves on the head. After he had been taken into the house, we were admitted also; and it is only justice to the man who apprehended us to state, that he did every thing in his power to protect us from ill usage, and shewed us every civility consistent with his duty.

"In the room in which we were put, we found the Orator, Johnson, Saxton, and some other individuals, of minor note: among whom was another woman, in a fainting condition,



Nadin the constable was also there. Hunt and Johnson both asked him to shew them the warrants on which they had been apprehended. This he refused to do, saying, that he had information upon oath against them, which was quite sufficient for him. Hunt then called upon the persons present to mark Nadin's refusal. Shortly after this transaction, Mr. Hay, the chairman of the magistrates, came into the apartment, and asked Hunt if he was afraid to go down to the New Bailey; if he was, he himself would accompany him, and look after his safety. Hunt, who, we forgot to mention, had received a slight sabre-wound on one of his hands, said, that he should have no objection to the magistrate's company: he certainly did not like a cut from the sabre nor a blow from a staff, both of which had been dealt out to him in no small quantity. Mr. Hay shortly afterwards went out, having first made a reply to Mr. Hunt, which some riot out of doors prevented us from hearing. On casting our eyes on the place where the immense multitude had lately been assembled, we were surprised in the short space of ten minutes to see it cleared of all its former occupiers, and filled by troops of military, both horse and foot. Shortly after this had occurred, a magistrate came into the room, and bade the prisoners prepare to march off to the New Bailey. Hunt was consigned to the custody of Colonel L'Estrange, of the 31st foot, and a detachment of the 15th Hussars: and under his care, he and all the other prisoners, who were each placed between two constables, reached the New Bailey in perfect safety. The staffs of two of Hunt's banners were carried in mock procession before him."

"After these individuals had been committed to the custody of the governor, they were turned into one common yard, where the events of the day formed the subject of conversation. Knight and Moorhouse, who had been taken a short time after them, were afterwards added to their company. About five o'clock the magistrates directed the governor of the prison to lock each of them up in a solitary cell and to see that they had no communication with each other. This was accordingly done.



It was said in the Manchester Mercury, that when Mr. Hunt was about to be committed to the New Bailey, the Rev. Mr. Hay came forward: he said he respected the feelings of the good and the loyal; but as Hunt was now a prisoner, and in the hands of the law, he hoped that no expression would be given which could endanger the man's personal security; but that they would be satisfied to let him pass to the New Bailey prison, with their *silent contempt*. This address was highly applauded, and its purport assented to; but still, when this destroyer of the poor man's comfort was handed out by the beadles, a *general hiss* could not be repressed. Mr. Hay also said with much manliness, 'I will go down with the prisoner as a protection to him. Shall we put him upon a horse, or place him in a coach?' The general cry was, "No! the brute let him *walk!*" To this the magistrate assented. A cavalcade of troops and constables was formed and the demi-god was soon safely lodged in a suitable habitation, where he might have "a season for reflection."

As soon as Mr. Hunt and his associates were confined, as these affairs were of an unprecedented nature, some messengers were immediately despatched to London, to inform ministers of the events which had taken place, and also to obtain instructions how to dispose of the prisoners.

In the meanwhile, the magistrates, in consequence of the information they had received, respecting the training of the men to military exercises, and to prevent any persons from affording shelter to such as the peace-officers or the military might pursue, issued the following charge and caution, in a bill, which was posted on the walls of Manchester.

*" To the Inhabitants of the hundred of Salford.*

" It having been proved, upon oath, before the magistrates, that large bodies of men assemble in various places within the hundred of Salford, for the purpose of training and practising military exercises, which, in many instances, has been connected with seditious and treasonable purposes:



“ We, the magistrates, do declare that such assemblies and practices are contrary to law: and we hereby strictly enjoin all persons hereafter to abstain therefrom.

“ And we charge all constables and others, on their allegiance, to give information of the district where the practices aforesaid prevail: and against all such as it may concern therein.

On Friday the chief characters who had distinguished themselves upon the hustings near St. Peter's church, on Monday the 16th, were separately brought up before the magistrates; when Mr. Norris addressed them all to the same effect, nearly in the following terms. Hunt was brought up first:—

“ Henry Hunt, the evidence for the prosecution upon the charge to be brought against you is now ready to be gone into; but evidence of a much more important and serious nature has gone before his majesty's law officers; and it is the unanimous opinion of the magistrates, that it is their duty to detain you here upon a charge of HIGH TREASON, and you are remanded accordingly.”

*Hunt to the magistrates*,—“ May I be allowed to speak.”—“ No”—Hunt then prepared to go below, but returned and said—“ I am innocent of this charge.”

*Johnson* next appearing received the same intimation, and retired without a remark.

*Saxton*, after he was addressed, inquired—“ Am I to consider myself finally committed.”—“ You are remanded for further examination.”

*Knight* withdrew from the bar, with evident apathy, not uttering a syllable.

*Moorhouse* exclaimed—“ I presume it is my hat, and not me—I consider myself”—“ Take him down.”—(Hunt, Johnson and Moorhouse wore drab beaver hats upon the eventful day in question.)

*Robert Jones* appeared, and being questioned, stated, that he was an engineer by trade, but at present was a rag merchant.



*Robert Wild*, upon an inquiry from the magistrates, replied, he came from Stayley-bridge, and had a father there.

*Elizabeth Gaunt* and *Sarah Hargreaves* received a similar communication with the rest: upon retiring, the former curtised.

Major-General Sir John Byng was on the bench.

*Joseph Healey*, the quack doctor, of Lees, near Oldham, one of the speakers upon the hustings, was apprehended by a picquet of soldiers, under the direction of one of the beadles, and brought to the New Bailey, under a warrant for high treason: he underwent an examination and was remanded.

Having now given the most accurate accounts of those disgraceful proceedings, which have for ever stained with infamy the town of Manchester, we shall now present our readers with a letter from Lord Sidmouth, to the Earl of Derby, in which he makes His Royal Highness the Prince Regent express his *great satisfaction* at the efficient measures pursued by the magistrates, for the conservation of the public tranquillity! and his *high approbation* of the *military* actors in the bloody tragedy! The public will contrast this imbecile production of the borough-faction's *mouth-piece*, with the bold, manly, and energetic letter of Sir Francis Burdett, to his Westminster constituents.

*Whitehall, 21st August, 1819.*

My Lord,

“ Having laid before the Prince Regent the accounts transmitted to me from Manchester of the proceedings at that place on Monday last,—I have been commanded by his Royal Highness to request that you will express to the magistrates of the county palatine of Lancaster, who attended on that day, the great satisfaction derived by his Royal Highness from their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity; and likewise that your Lordship will signify to Major Trafford, his Royal Highness' high approbation of the support and assistance to the civil power afforded



upon that occasion by himself, and the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of the corps serving under his command.

“ I have the honour to be,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s obedient humble Servant,

“ SIDMOUTH.

“ *The Earl of Derby, Knowsley.*”

**Sir FRANCIS BURDETT’S LETTER, to the ELECTORS  
of WESTMINSTER.**

“ GENTLEMEN,—On reading the newspapers this morning, having arrived late yesterday evening, I was filled with shame, grief, and indignation, at the account of the blood spilled at Manchester.

“ This, then, is the answer of the boroughmongers to the petitioning people—this is the practical proof of our standing in need of no reform—these the practical blessings of our boroughmongers’ domination—this is the use of a standing army in time of peace. It seems our fathers were not such fools as some would make us believe in opposing the establishment of a standing army; and sending King’s William’s Dutch guards out of the country. Yet, would to Heaven they had been Dutchmen, or Switzers, or Hessians, or Hanoverians, or any thing rather than Englishmen, who have done such deeds—What! kill unarmed, unresisting, and, gracious God! women too; disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on by dragoons! Is this England? This a Christian land? A land of freedom? Can such things be, and pass by us like a summer cloud unheeded? Forbid it, every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim its owner bastard. Will the gentlemen of England support or wink at such proceedings? They have a great stake in the country; they hold great estates, and they are bound in duty and in honour to consider them as retaining fees on the part of their country, for upholding its rights and liberties: and surely they will at length awake, and find that they have duties to perform.



“They can never stand tamely by, as lookers-on, whilst bloody Neros rip open their mother’s womb; they must join the general voice, loudly demanding justice and redress; and head public meetings throughout the United Kingdom, to put a stop, in its commencement, to a reign of terror and of blood: to afford consolation, as far as it can be afforded, and legal redress; to the widows and orphans—mutilated victims of this unparalleled and barbarous outrage.

“For this purpose I propose that a meeting should be called in Westminster, which the gentlemen of the committee will arrange, and whose summons I will hold myself in readiness to attend. Whether the penalty of our meeting will be death by military execution I know not; but this I know, a man can die but once, and never better than in vindicating the laws and liberties of his country.

“Excuse this hasty address. I can scarcely tell what I have written; it may be a libel, or the Attorney-General may call it one, just as he pleases. When the seven bishops were tried for libel, the army of James II. then encamped on Hounslow-heath for supporting arbitrary power, gave three cheers hearing of their acquittal.

“The king, started at the noise, asked, What is that? Nothing sire, was the answer, but the soldiers shouting at the acquittal of the seven bishops. Do ye call that nothing? replied the misgiving tyrant; and shortly afterwards abdicated the government.

“It is true James could not inflict the torture on his soldiers—could not tear the living flesh from their bones with the cat o’nine tails—could not flay them alive. Be this as it may, our duty is to meet; and England expects every man to do his duty.

“I remain, Gentlemen,

“Most truly and faithfully,

“Your most obedient servant,

“F. BURDETT.

*Kirby Park, Aug. 22.*



No one can read the worthy Baronet's address with apathy : it would make the very stones cry out. We join with him in saying, "surely the Gentlemen of England will at length awake and find that they have duties to perform !"

We shall here insert Mr. Hunt's Letter to Lord Sidmouth, written the day after his apprehension, and giving to his Lordship a plain and unvarnished account of what took place at Peter-Loo Massacre. We do not know that the Noble Secretary favoured Mr. Hunt with any communication in return ; but left him to make his own deductions from the State Paper addressed to Earl Derby.—The copy of the Warrant issued against Messrs. Hunt, Johnson, Knight and Moorhouse, at the instance and upon the oath of one Richard Owen, who *considered the town in danger*, will no doubt amuse our readers, and deserves particular notice.

*New Bailey Prison, Manchester, Aug. 17th. 1819.*

My Lord,

From the hostility that I have conscientiously shewn to most of the measures of your Lordship's administration, as well as a general opposition to the corruption of all parties in the practice of bribery at elections, and the buying and selling of seats in particular, I know that I am not entitled to claim any indulgence from your Lordship, yet I am induced to hope that you will not deny an act of justice, when demanded, even to a political enemy.

Your Lordship is aware, before this time, that I came to Manchester in consequence of an invitation to take the chair at a public Meeting intended to have been held on Monday the 9th., to take into consideration the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a Reform of Parliament," in consequence of which all hostilities to the holding of the meeting appeared to have been withdrawn by the magistrates, and I was prevailed upon, much against my inclination, to stay here to preside at the meeting to be held yesterday, the 16th. ; and I did it under the firm conviction that it would be conducted with per-



fect decorum, and have ended peaceably on the part of the people. On my arriving there, I was confirmed in my opinion by the very orderly conduct of those assembled, by far the greatest number I ever witnessed together, and the least disposed to commit any breach of the peace. But just as we were proceeding to the business of the day, and before I had taken the chair, the hustings was surrounded by a military force of horse soldiers, who charged through the multitude with drawn sabres, cutting and trampling all under foot, and particularly a body of special constables, who suffered very severely. The soldiers cut at me, and those who were upon the hustings; and upon my demanding what they wanted, the commanding officer said he had a warrant against me, upon which I instantly surrendered. This was all done without any previous notice, and without one hand being lifted to oppose it. I saw one man with his nose cut off, and I received several blows with a sabre on my head myself. I was brought here by the magistrates under a military guard, at two o'clock yesterday, and I have been kept here without the means of sending to procure bail, not having had any copy of the warrant, or having any charge made against me, till after I had been kept in custody upwards of 24 hours, when that which is enclosed was given me by the Governor. I am sorry to hear that many lives have been lost in consequence of such violent, and, as I conceive, illegal conduct of the military towards an unarmed and peaceable people, met for the purpose of exercising what they thought they had a perfect right to do. I therefore trust that your Lordship will not sanction the keeping me here a close prisoner, unless there be some specific charge made out against me. I know not if the other prisoners be still in custody or not. I am my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

H. Hunt.

There are 100,000 witnesses to prove the truth of what I have stated.

To Lord Viscount Sidmouth, Home Department, London.



*Lancaster to wit.*—To the constables of the township of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, and also to all other constables and peace officers, within the said county.

Whereas, Richard Owen hath this day made oath before us, his majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said county of Lancaster, that Henry Hunt, John Knight, Joseph Johnson, and—Moorhouse, at this time (now a-quarter past one o'clock) have arrived in a *car*, at the area near St. Peter's church, and that an immense mob is collected, and that he considers the town in danger, and the said party moving thereto. These are therefore, in his majesty's name, to require you forthwith to take and bring before us, or some other of his majesty's justices of the peace in and for the said county, the bodies of the said Hunt, Knight, Johnson, and Moorhouse, to enter into recognizance, with sufficient sureties, as well for their appearance at the next general Sessions of Assizes to be holden in and for the said county, then and there to do and receive as by the said court shall be enjoined, and also in the mean time, to keep the peace towards his said majesty and all his liege subjects. Herein fail not. Given under our hands and seals the 16th day of August. in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

*W. Hulton, W. R. Hay, R. Wright, R. Teddon, C. W. Ethelston, J. Silvester, T. W. Tatton, W. Marriott, R. Fletcher, J. Norris.*

As every subject connected with reform, and with the proceedings of those who took a part in promoting the late meeting, must be interesting to the public, we subjoin an address intended to have been presented to Mr. Hunt, along with the elegant flag of the female reformers of Manchester, had not the business of the day been interrupted by the ruthless minions of corruption.

TO HENRY HUNT, ESQ.

*Chairman of the Reform Meeting at Manchester.*

Sir—Permit the female reformers of Manchester, in pre-



presenting you with this flag, to state, that they are actuated by no motives of petty vanity. As wives, mothers, daughters, in their social, domestic, moral capacities, they come forward in support of the sacred cause of liberty—a cause in which their husbands, their fathers, and their sons, have embarked the last hope of suffering humanity. Neither ashamed nor afraid of thus aiding you in the glorious struggle for recovering your lost privileges—privileges upon which so much of their own happiness depends ; they trust that this tribute to freedom will animate you to a steady perseverance in obtaining the object of our common solicitude a radical reform in the Commons House of Parliament. In discharging what they felt an imperative duty, they hope that they have not “ overstepped the modesty of nature,” and they shall now retire to the besoms of their families with the cheering and consolatory reflection, that your efforts are on the eve of being crowned with complete success.

May our flag never be unfurled but in the cause of peace and reform ! and then may a female’s curse pursue the coward who deserts the standard !

*August 16, 1819.*

We here subjoin some important observations by the independent editor of the *Statesman*, August 18th, and trust no apology is necessary for their insertion.

“ The Manchester magistrates have, lamentably and unhappily, thrown multitudes of individuals into sorrow and mourning, and the whole kingdom into consternation and dismay. They have also carved out work enough for the bench and bar to occupy both for some time to come at least. They happen too to be *manufacturing* magistrates, which makes their case the more affecting to their characters ; and that circumstance ought to have instilled a greater wariness into their conduct. They are opposed by interest against the complaints and bewailings of the poor weavers, who constituted a very great majority of the people, which formed the unarmed mass of population, into which the yeomanry cavalry so heroically charged on a gallop, sword in hand ! They should have been slow to strike, where it was so obviously natural for the pro-



fit in trade, and the passions in authority, to influence their minds, if not their movements. But they have done the deed—and a fatal one it is; they have committed themselves in the most important occasion which could present itself to delegated power. They have done more in their way than Cæsar did in his. He passed the *Rubicon* against the will of a senate falling into decay, but they have passed it against the will of A SPIRIT RISING PEOPLE. When we speak thus, and make this comparison, we do not confine our view of the thing to Mr. Hunt and a few of his near companions, and numerous followers. No, he and they are but as a corps of pioneers. The road must be opened by some, for fate itself impels the march. The Manchester magistrates, full of their own self-conceit, but inflated with their accidental and actual power, impatient for the contest which was to chase away the high priced notions of liberty, and to cheapen the already too low priced labour of the loom, have fleshed the swords of their young trained bands in the bodies of Britons assembled to regain their *lost* RIGHTS—we will not say *privileges*—the people give *privilege*, being themselves the depositories of national power!!! But we will not frame the indictment against the supposed offenders till all the facts are truly known which forerun or accompany the *dire* at least, and to us at present seemingly *rash* act. As we profess to be the champions of freedom, so we would prove ourselves the devotees of truth and justice. The supposed offenders must answer through the constituted authorities of the law to the tribunal of the empire. We may at least say, however, in this stage of the tragic business, that it might have been expected that the compromised magistracy would on such an occasion, have acted *cautiously*, and even *timorously*: such conduct would have been no imputation against their courage, but an excuse even for a remission.—They ought to have recollected what their relative connection with the complainants *commanded*, but especially what it *forbade*.

“ The first great hinge on which the portal opening to their acquittal or condemnation will, and must, turn, is the fact of



reading the Riot Act, and also the proof of its necessity. It will not be enough that it was read from a distant window, or gabbled over in the corner of a field. It might have been read from the motive of preventing mischief, and not as a colour or pretext to conceal the approach to mischief. No ambush—no *ruse de guerre* will do here. It was no open rebellion which called out the discretion of the Justices, and the power of the military. It was not according to our conception of the whole case such as could be denominated “a tendency to a breach of the peace,” for we sincerely believe, from our souls, that it was a deeply felt grievance which called the People together, and not a shallow resentment against this or that man or measure. They met to devise a cure for those evils which a wrong system of Government has been multiplying for a long time past; but especially since Mr. Pitt (the “Heaven-born Minister,” in the eyes of the Manchester Magistrates) declared, that “an *honest man* could not be *Minister* of the country.” The Chief or Senior Magistrate among those who have been thus acting, should have thought of the consequence of spilling one drop of *citizen’s blood*. A soldier’s blood is not of the same political value—he has consented to sell it to his King, as he will confess to you, for pay. Many among them wish for wounds, in order to be proportionably paid for them in money: but far different is it with a citizen. Calling up the *esprit du corps* of a Regiment is nothing; but calling up the spirit of a Nation in vindication of a citizen’s life is a tremendous thing! What has not a William Tell done?—a John Hampden? In short, every single limb dissevered from the body of a Citizen, like a polypus, forms a new and entire body! What then have these rash men done? In the new map of England, if it should be divided under a despotic sway, into military districts, the one in question ought to be marked with *red* and denominated *the bloody district*, of which that general who offers ten pounds for an evidence of tampering with a soldier, is entitled to the *prime command*. Meet then, my oppressed countrymen, constitutionally meet, and peaceably separate, without fear of cavalry. The infantry in the long run have always beaten the



cavalry or worn them out. You are accustomed to privations. Mounted troops must be well provided with meat, corn, and hay, or they are dismounted.

“Meet then again, we say, and since you are deprived of Mr. Hunt, your Chairman, your bitter enemies will be deprived of their argument and their taunts against you through him. You will not want for leaders, or we are deceived in our opinion of our countrymen. So far will the true patriot be from shrinking from his duty in consequence of the following infernal oblique threat to any future Chairman, that should it ever be considered as an actual forlorn hope, methinks we see numbers of our brave countrymen rushing forward to gain the honours of his prowess. The scarecrow sentence is as follows it was uttered in the Manchester Herald and quoted in the Courier :—“Had it not been for the interference of Mr. Nadin, the Deputy Constable, whom these men have particularly calumniated, it is certain Mr. Hunt would not now have been alive, *for the military were determined to cut him to pieces.* And these are the military, which the Local Civil Power let loose upon the miserable half-starved men, women, and children (for so they are designated) assembled together ! Here is a victory for you ! !”

The final examination of Messrs. Hunt, Johnson, Moorhouse, and the other prisoners confined on a charge of high treason ; abandonment of charge, and their commitment for trial for a misdeemeanor, took place on Friday the 27th.

The magistrates had assembled about eleven o'clock, but they did not take their seats on the bench till upwards of two hours afterwards. In the interval they were employed in taking depositions, or procuring the signature of the witnesses to depositions already taken. Mr. Pearson, the solicitor for the prisoners, had taken his station immediately before the dock, with a law book under his arm, but was not known or recognized by those around him, till called out of court at half-past twelve, by Mr. Norris, the stipendiary magistrate of Manchester. Sir Charles Wolseley was in town and in court. At



a quarter past one the magistrates entered the court, and an agitation of interest and curiosity took place for the approaching business. Only six occupied the bench. Their names were Mr. Norris (the chairman) W. Hulton, R. Wright, W. Marriot, T. W. Tatton, Esqrs. and the Rev. C. W. Ethelston.

The solicitor for the crown, Mr. Bouchier, took his place at the table immediately below the chairman. Mr. Pearson, the prisoners solicitor, was now likewise accommodated with a place at the table near his clients. The chairman, as soon as the magistrates were seated, ordered the gates to be opened, and a great rush of people into the hall immediately took place; but, happily, no one, as far as we have heard, was injured by the pressure. The prisoners were then ordered to be brought up and soon appeared in the dock. Mr. Hunt appeared first, and the rest in succession, till the space allotted them was so crowded, that they pressed upon and jostled one another. Their names were called over, and answered to in the following order :— Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson J. T. Saxton, John Knight, James Moorhouse, Samuel Bamford, John Healey, George Swift, Thomas Taylor, Robert Wilde, and Elizabeth Gaunt. Mr. Moorhouse entering the dock and standing in front, refused to doff his hat to the magistrates, proclaiming (when desired to uncover) in a tone of indignation, that “Men who had so misconducted themselves, had forfeited all title to deference or respect, and that they should meet with none from him.” An officer by his side soon settled this point of etiquette, by removing the obnoxious head-piece. Mr. Hunt’s deportment was extremely courteous. We never saw him apparently in better health or spirits. His propriety of demeanour, his perfectly unembarrassed manner, the decency of his dress, and the whole of his external appearance, formed a strange contrast with others of his fellow-prisoners. Elizabeth Gaunt answered to her name but feebly, being unable to speak out, from a tendency to faint, in consequence of the barbarous manner in which she had been cut and trampled-on in the field. Mr. Saxton answered to his name with ve-



hemence. Mr. Hunt courteously bowed, and said, "Here." Being pressed in the dock, and hearing some noise behind, he turned round to survey the crowd, with the utmost apparent composure and good humour. His time, however, for speaking and acting now commenced. The chairman thus began his address—"Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, and you severally whose names have been read over, you have been remanded on a charge of high treason." Here there was so much noise from the agitation of the crowd behind the dock, the living mass not having yet gained the consistency at which on occasions like this is usually silent, that the magistrate could not be heard. Mr. Hunt, with some vehemence, interrupted him, saying, "I cannot hear; you must command silence, so as to be heard. There was more order at the meeting the other day." The chairman called out "Order," and thus interrupted the speech of Mr. Hunt. Mr. Hunt—"I must beg to hear: the matter seriously concerns us; you must be heard."

A short pause ensued, when comparative silence being obtained, the chairman then commenced his address to the following purport:-

"Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, and you all severally, whose names have been read over, when you were last called up into this court, you were remanded on a charge of high treason; on remanding you, you were informed that the whole of the evidence had been sent up to London, to be laid before the law officers of the crown, and in the meantime you were to be detained. It was not until this morning that a communication was made from government, stating that the law officers of the crown had for the present abandoned the higher charge. That communication was not made to me; yet there is a gentleman present (Mr. Bouchier) has come with orders to proceed upon a less charge. The charge of high treason is not yet abandoned, but government proceeds now against you for a minor offence."

Mr. Hunt.—"Is the charge of murder then abandoned? I understood from a magistrate, I was remanded until the



coroner's inquest had sat, on a charge of murder as well as treason."

Mr. Hulton from the bench said.—"I did not tell you so."

Mr. Moorhouse.—"This then turns out to be a farce."

Mr. Norris.—"Moorhouse, I shall feel it my duty to remand you, unless you conduct yourself properly."

Mr. Milne then called over the names of the witnesses, whose written depositions he held. On putting the book into the hand of the first, Hunt desired he might be examined alone, and the rest ordered to leave the court. Mr. Bouchier said he should not object to this. Many questions were put by Hunt to another of the witnesses; several of which the court over-ruled. On one being objected to, Hunt said, in a loud energetic voice, I demand it as an act of justice. Mr. Norris; When you make a request, we understand that you make it as a demand, and as a British subject. The same attention will be paid to you as to any other, if you treat the court with respect.

Hunt. —"I have been told I have treated the court with disrespect; I do not wish it; it would not become me."

Hunt was examining one of the witnesses, and Mr. Oswald Milne put a question to him at the same time. Hunt was very passionate with Mr. Milne at the interruption. Mr. Norris stopped him, and said he would allow no intimidation. To a question which Hunt put to the same witness, the witness said he did not choose to answer. Hunt to the bench—"Here is a witness does not choose to answer; what will you do, Mr. Norris?" "He is not obliged to answer it." Hunt: "How are you to get at the truth?" Mr. Norris "He has made oath to it already." Hunt put some other questions to the witness, to one of which Mr. Norris observed: "You can put that on your trial, not now." Hunt: "Then you are *determined* to send me to trial, whatever the evidence is!"

As the evidence of one of the witnesses related to Elizabeth Gaunt only, she was brought to the front of the dock. After it was read, she stated that she was amongst the crowd at the meet-



ing that in the confusion some one had put her into Hunt's carriage, but did not know who put her there; she had no right to be in the coach, but was put in by two persons for safety—[from motives of humanity, it appeared] she fainted away, and when she came to herself she found she had got a blow—she threw herself afterwards into a private house, and remained there for some time; and might have got away.

Mr. Bouchier here requested she might be discharged, as the evidence was so slight; and the bench ordered her to be discharged.

Hunt—"Thus after eleven days solitary confinement!" (Mr. Dunstan made some observation to Hunt, who then said,) 'I mean no reflection whatever on the officers of the prison.'

Thus far, in giving the proceedings in the trial of Mr. Hunt and his associates before the magistrates, the leading articles have been taken from the Manchester Gazette. Similar accounts have been published in various papers. These nearly all agree in their statement of the principal events, although they vary considerably, in detailing subordinate particulars. In the Statesman for the 30th of August, the progress of the evidence is given at large, including the amount of the depositions which had been previously taken and the result of the examinations which the witnesses underwent by the prisoners.

In this paper it is said, that "The first witness, whose deposition was proposed to be read, was John Shawcross, clerk to the police. Mr. Hunt asked his name, and demanded that he might be examined in open court, before he heard his former deposition read. The magistrates objected to this demand, and over-ruled it." The deposition of Mr. Shawcross amounted to nothing more than that he had purchased some newspapers, in which the advertisements to call a public meeting on the 9th and on the 16th, together with the protest of the magistrates against the former, had appeared.

The second deposition was that of Matthew Cowper. This described the nature of the meeting,—gave a history of the



proceedings,—contained a reference to Mr. Hunt's speech,—stated that most of the persons who attended ~~the meeting~~ about twelve at noon, carried large sticks more like flails than walking-sticks,—that they marched in military array, having music and flags, with the inscriptions on them as already noticed.

A third witness was Richard Owen, whose deposition amounted to a statement of the military array, to his having seen Mr. Hunt in the cart, and to his having heard a command given by one of the party in the cart, to the people to “league together, and to keep their enemies out,” but that he knew not the person by whom this order was given.

A fourth witness was James Platt, whose deposition related only to the military array, and to the presence of a Dr. Healey, who was seen at the head of a party marching into the field.

A fifth witness, Robert Derbyshire, deposed, that he had seen George Swift active in arranging the crowd, and that he saw Robert Wylde on the hustings.

A sixth witness, Mr. Swift, stated, that he had heard Mr. Hunt say “Fall back, league firm together, and keep your enemies off.”

The seventh and last witness was John Barlow, whose deposition only stated, that he had seen Mrs. Elizabeth Gaunt, upon the cart.

The number of questions proposed by the prisoners to the different witnesses while under examination, amounted to about seventy; but to upwards of twenty of these, the court would not permit them to give any answer. These are the principal particulars, in which the account given in the Statesman, differs from that which we have drawn from other sources.

When the whole of the evidence had been concluded.

Mr. Hunt, addressing the Bench, desired to know whom he was to consider as the prosecutor?

The chairman replied, the Crown.

“What!” says Mr. Hunt, “the Crown in person?”



The Chairman said, the Solicitor for the treasury is here to prosecute in the name of the King.

Mr. Hunt to Mr. Bouchier.—Your name, Sir?

Mr. Bouchier.—Bouchier.

Mr. Hunt.—I must know the name of the Prosecutor, in order that I may bring my action, in case it should be found out that I have suffered eleven days' confinement without having committed any offence. I cannot in such circumstances prosecute the King.

The Chairman.—Mr. Bouchier has been sent here by the Crown.

Mr. Hunt.—Is he the prosecutor? I thought I heard him apply to discharge Mrs. Gaunt, and prosecute the rest of the prisoners for a conspiracy. I wish to know some responsible person to whom I may apply for redress, in case this prosecution against me should appear to have originated in unworthy intentions.

Chairman.—I understand that the several witnesses who have deposed against you, are responsible for the different facts for which they have deposed. The King's name is rightly and ordinarily used in such prosecutions.

Mr. Hunt.—I always thought that there must be some prosecutor, although the prosecution run in the King's name.

The Chairman.—The crown prosecutes: if there be any particular prosecutor, it must be the Attorney-General.

Then addressing the prisoners, he asked them whether they had any thing to say in their defence?

Mr. Hunt, then addressing the bench, spoke to the following effect:—I know that I am now addressing the same magistrates who took the first depositions, and issued the warrants against me; but after that evidence, and the amended evidence, has been read, it is for them, sitting in the situation which they now occupy, to administer justice. I hope, and do not doubt, they will dismiss from their minds all prejudice, and act upon the evidence. They had heard the various depositions which had just been read, and the answers of the witnesses



who had been subjected to examination in open court. It would be observed, that they all agreed in certain points, but differed very materially in others : and that when examined regarding the import of words, their meaning was far from being precise or clear. Some witnesses say, that those bodies which came from the country, came in military array, but they could not explain what they meant by military array ; they could not state whether they marched in slow or quick time, or whether they possessed the characteristic of a military march. Some say, they came with sticks. One says, they were so far in military array as to have clubs at their breasts, similar to muskets ; another witness as positively denied his observation of the circumstance ; but all agree that none of them did any act to intimidate or offend. Can the magistrates say we should be committed on such evidence for a misdemeanour, after eleven days' solitary confinement ? Is not this a sufficient punishment for any offence that we may have committed ? They should consider that the eyes of all England were fixed upon this matter, and waited with anxiety its termination. It has gone far enough, and ought here to end. I ask nothing for my past sufferings—I demand no redress for the treatment I have endured—I stand here to ask, whether you will allow agitation in the public mind still to go on, or allay it by removing the cause ? With the most perfect conviction that I have acted rightly, I am yet doubtful of others entertaining that conviction : the country is doubtless in an agitated state, and will be so till this question is settled. Are you on such evidence prepared to send us back to solitary confinement ? [The Chairman said, No.] One of you now on the bench accused me of murder ; another of the magistrates, whom I do not now see, told me that the guilt of all the blood which was shed would lie at my door : after thus being held up as a murderer and a traitor ; after being remanded on a charge of high treason, without a shadow or pretence of evidence to support it ; I appeal to you to lay aside all private feeling, to forget, as far as you can, the scenes in which you have acted, and say whether



we are guilty of any offence, or, if we are, whether we have not suffered enough.

In uttering this last sentence, Mr. Hunt evinced a considerable ardency of manner, which called forth great applause from the crowd behind. The chairman indignantly commanded silence, and declared that if any tumult took place, he should be obliged to clear the court, and to commit the parties. Mr. Hunt declared, that on his part there was no attempt to excite tumult: then turning to the crowd, said, "The man who makes any noise or disturbance in this court, with the belief that he is honouring me, I shall consider as my personal enemy. (Hear, hear! from the chairman.) I cannot forget that I have been remanded on a charge of High Treason; I cannot forget that I expected to have stood here to-day on that most serious charge; it has, however, been abandoned, and I submit to you whether there be any tittle of evidence to support the charge of Conspiracy. Many of these prisoners, who are here accused of having joined with me, I never saw till I saw them in this box. I admit that many of them, as well as myself attended the Meeting, for the purpose of taking part in its proceedings. I admit that I attended it to conduct those proceedings, believing that they were perfectly legal. I considered myself then performing a necessary but a painful duty. I had before carried applications made at similar meetings to the Secretary of State, for the purpose of being laid before his Royal Highness. To some of these applications I had an answer from the Prince Regent himself through the medium of his Ministers, and to none of them was it objected that the Meeting was illegal at which it was voted. One of these applications was the very paper which was to have been submitted to the Meeting of the 16th. I did not attempt to follow, nor was it the opinion of those who took part in the proceedings of the Meeting, that we ought to attempt to follow the example set by Birmingham in the election of a Representative. I had written to Mr. Johnson to this effect long before the intended Meeting was prohibited in Manchester: the Royal Proclamation had declared it illegal, and though I did not



think it illegal, I thought it a foolish and absurd scheme. It was my opinion, that to follow such an example, at such a time, would have been unjust to the people of Manchester; that an election should not have been proceeded in, till its inhabitants had three months' notice. I have declared that I would not have put such a question as chairman, long before the first meeting was prohibited. I could bring testimony in support of this assertion, of as respectable men as are to be found in Manchester: private letters with postmarks, which could not be falsified, can be produced as evidence of the same fact: the resolutions which were intended to be voted at the meeting of the 16th would have removed all doubt on this subject: these I am informed have been lost in the confusion which ensued; but the most respectable persons can be brought forward, to prove that it was intended, first to pass a strong vote of censure on Lord Sidmouth for refusing to present the petitions of Manchester and Stockport; and then to make a solemn appeal to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the distressed state of the country, and on the necessity of immediately reviving the connection between the people and the throne. I cannot trust my feelings with the description of what occurred afterwards in the dispersion of the meeting; it would be much better if the transactions of that day were for ever buried in oblivion, and blotted from the history of our country. But I ask you, will you commit upon such evidence as that which you have heard? The country is at present in state of great agitation; and will you, by protracting this prosecution, throw down the apple of continual discord?

Here the court interrupted Mr. Hunt, and the chairman addressing him said, "Your language is now improper. No threat or intimidation ought to be held out. We have only to attend to our duty, and leave the care of the country to higher powers. If the country were in tenfold the agitation which you have described, I and my brethren on the bench would do our duty."

Mr. Hunt in continuation, said, "this intimation shall not be thrown away upon me; I did not mean to intimidate



you : I did not mean to ask for any thing as a boon ; I demand only justice, and would not accept a favour. I certainly did ask the governor, as I had been accustomed all my life to fresh air and exercise, that I might be permitted to take a walk in the garden ; but the moment he told me that Mr. Johnson had asked this favour of the magistrates, and had been refused, I refrained from any further application. I would have cut off my right hand, sooner than have gone and done it."

Here the chairman explained the circumstances under which the refusal to Johnson had taken place. Johnson had certainly made an application to be permitted to walk out ; and he would have obtained permission, if a respectable surgeon, who was applied to, had thought it necessary for his health.

Mr. Hunt resumed.—"I must say I suffered much bodily pain from the blows of the batons of the constables, and the sabres of the yeomanry. They are visible. I scorned to tell the doctor of it. My health has certainly been preserved, instead of being injured, by my apprehension and confinement : the exertions I should have made, and the anxiety I should have felt, to conduct the proceedings, and to preserve the order of that meeting, would have affected me for years. Since my confinement, I have slept on a bed which I would not have put under my servants, but I thank God," said he, with great fervour, "that I have slept soundly ; and if I have suffered any thing, it has been from commiserating the state of my fellow-prisoners, and from the recollection of those poor mangled creatures, who have been cut to death. When I mention the accommodation, I have nothing to say against the jailer."

Mr. Moorhouse.—"As the law presumes persons innocent until convicted, I beg to say, we ought to be used as well as possible, whilst we are kept here."

Chairman.—"You may all of you have bail."

Mr. Moorhouse.—"When brought up here before, I was warm, and conducted myself in a way for which I am rather sorry."

The magistrates then withdrew. Mr. Bouchier was shortly



afterwards going towards the magistrates' room. Mr. Hunt said to him, "I hope you are not going to the magistrates, unless my solicitor goes." The solicitor said "No." "Ah," rejoined Mr. Hunt significantly, "you have been there already."

On their return, Mr. Norris said—"Henry Hunt, and you all: we sent for Mr. Bouchier, in order that we might again carefully peruse the depositions. It is a most painful duty to me to commit you for a conspiracy. We can, however, lay our hands on our hearts and say, 'We have done our duty.' As to the charge of conspiracy, though you might not have been together previous to the meeting, yet in the eye of the law, all those who commit separate acts, tending to one illegal object, are guilty of that crime. Coupling the two meetings together, taking into consideration the manner in which the last was assembled, with such insignia and in such a manner, with the *black flag*, the *bloody dagger*, with 'Equal Representation, or Death.'—(Mr. Hunt: 'No one has said the black flag had a bloody dagger.')—They came in a threatening manner—they came under the banners of Death, thereby showing they meant to overturn the government. There could be no free discussion where that flag was unfurled. The charge now is, 'that of having conspired to alter the law by force and threats.' It is an illegal matter, and sufficiently made out, and calls upon us imperatively to commit you for trial by a proper jury. It is now our painful duty to commit you to Lancaster Castle. On account of the seriousness of the charge, we shall require you, Henry Hunt and Joseph Johnson to give bail yourselves in £1000, and two sureties in £500 each; and all the others, themselves in £500, and two sureties in £250 each.

"The prisoners then left the bar. Messrs Johnson and Moorhouse immediately procured bail and were liberated. Mr. Johnson was attended towards Shudehill by an immense multitude, shouting and applauding. He passed Deansgate, supported on the shoulders of the mob. Mr. Moorhouse was



equally the object of popular favour: he was accompanied likewise by his mob through the Market place. We understood that notices of bail were given for Mr. Hunt and Mr. Knight. Mr. Hunt complained, when he was asked by the magistrate in court, whether he had provided bail, that he was not allowed to be visited by a respectable solicitor in town, whom he had sent for some days ago. The chairman mentioned that he would now be sent for, if he desired it. "No, no," said Mr. Hunt, pointing to Mr. Pearson, "here is now my solicitor." From this circumstance, and from knowing that two individuals, whose securities were unimpeachable, had offered to become his bail, we concluded that we should see him immediately out. After consulting, however, with his solicitor, he had taken a different view of the matter, and we were told that he said to the magistrates that he would not give bail, even though no more than a farthing were required. In consequence of this determination, and the near approach of the assizes at Lancaster, he was sent off to the castle at that place at six o'clock in the evening, in a coach guarded by a troop of 30 of the 15th Hussars. Messrs. Knight, Saxton, Bamford Wylde, Swift, and Healey, were despatched in the same carriage (a stage coach,) and under the same escort."

On opening the court at Lancaster, Sept. 2, 1819. the grand jury were called, and about to be sworn; but before being sworn, Mr. Hunt begged to object to certain gentlemen being on the grand jury. 'His name,' he said, 'was Hunt, and he had indictments, for capital felony, to prefer against certain persons, for cutting and maiming with intent to kill, and for murder: that Mr. Bootle Wilbraham was related by blood or by marriage to one of those persons, against whom an indictment would be preferred. He was aware he had no precedent in this country in support of his objection, but in Ireland it was the practice to receive such objections, and he named a late case in point, in a county there.'

"The judge, (Baron Wood,) said he could not allow the objection: there were indictments against eight persons, besides



those Mr Hunt had referred to, on which Mr. Bootle might sit; and if any were preferred of the sort mentioned, delicacy would induce the gentleman to withdraw: and ordered the jury to be sworn.

“ Mr. Hunt replied, he had done to his country and to himself a duty in protesting against such persons being on the grand jury.

Mr. Bootle then observed, he had informed the foreman, Lord Stanley, that having given his opinion, as chairman of the Liverpool Sessions, on the late disturbances and meetings, he thought he ought to withdraw when the indictments relative thereto were presented; and that he had two relations, a cousin by marriage, and a nephew, magistrates at Manchester.

“ Lord Stanley then said, Mr. Bootle had mentioned to him this morning, his delicate situation, but that he, Lord Stanley thought Mr. Bootle should not withdraw, while evidence was giving; but before the grand jury decided would be time enough. They were then sworn, and Baron Wood gave a charge to the following substance; That to gentlemen of their experience, he need say nothing—they knew their duty, and would do it faithfully. He was sorry to see so heavy a calendar and particularly so, to see, at the bottom of it, offences which affected the peace of the country—but he could only observe that they were to hear the evidence patiently, and thoroughly investigate every case brought before them, and send no one to trial unless they thought there was probable ground for so doing.

The Lancashire assizes were held, September the 4th, and at half-past two Lord Stanley brought into court a true bill for misdemeanour against Henry Hunt, James Moorhouse, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Robert Jones, Joseph Healey, George Swift, John Thacker Saxton, Samuel Bamford, and Robert Wylde. A true bill was at the same time brought in against James Wroe for a seditious libel: and a bench warrant was immediately obtained for his apprehension.

Mr. Littledale, as soon as the trial then going on was



finished, moved that the prisoners against whom true bills for a conspiracy had been found, should be brought to the bar to plead.

Mr. Baron Wood ordered accordingly, and the six last mentioned above soon arranged themselves at the bar. It was stated to his lordship, that four of the persons against whom bills had been found were out on bail, and not now at the bar, his lordship ordered them all to plead at once.

Mr. Harmer.—The four alluded to had not expected that bills would be so soon found against them, and they are not ready with their bail. They would not be ready till Tuesday.

Mr. Baron Wood.—Then let them all plead on Tuesday.

Mr. Saxton said, they were particularly desirous of pleading now, in order that they might know the amount of bail that would be required of them.

Mr. Baron Wood.—Take their pleas now.

Mr. Littledale.—It would be more convenient that they should all plead at once.

Mr. Baron Wood.—You moved that the persons in custody should plead now, and how can you now propose to postpone their pleading?

Mr. Hopkins, the clerk of the arraigns, then read the indictment. It stated that the jurors, upon their oath, presented that Henry Hunt, yeoman; Joseph Johnson, brush maker James Moorhouse, coach-maker; John Knight, Robert Jones Joseph Healey, George Swift, John Thacker Saxton, Samuel Bamford, and Robert Wylde, labourers, being persons of a wicked and turbulent disposition, did on the first day of July combine, conspire, confederate, and agree together to excite tumult and disturbance; did on the 16th day of August last, unlawfully, maliciously, and seditiously assemble together, and cause others to assemble to the number of 60,000, in a formidable and menacing manner, with sticks, clubs, and other offensive weapons, with banners, flags, colours, and placards, having divers seditious and inflammatory inscriptions, and in martial array; and did on the said 16th of August make great tumult, riot and disturbance, and for half an hour unlawfully, riot



and riotously, continue assembled, making great tumult, noise and disturbance.

Mr. Hopkins, addressing each of them by name successively, asked whether he would be tried now, or traverse till next assizes.

Robert Jones.—Not Guilty. I traverse till next assizes.

Joseph Healey.—(With loud emphasis,) Not Guilty, and my enemies know it. I traverse till next assizes.

George Swift.—Not Guilty. I traverse till the next assizes.

John Thacker Saxton.—I am Not Guilty, and I traverse till the next assizes.

Samuel Bamford.—Not Guilty. I traverse till the next assizes.

Robert Wylde.—Not Guilty. I traverse till the next assizes.

Mr. Saxton.—I consider that your Lordship is acquainted with the exorbitant bail that was demanded by the magistrates. All now before you are persons dependent on their own exertions for their livelihood. Their friends are at a distance. I hope your Lordship will take these circumstances into consideration, and if, besides requiring moderate bail, your lordship would extend the bail beyond this county, it would be a great favour to us.

Mr. Baron Wood.—I will consider of it till next Monday morning.

Mr. Saxton.—If your lordship could let us know this evening the amount of bail, it would be a great favour to us.

Mr. Baron Wood.—No I cannot, I must consider of it.

Mr. Saxton.—If your lordship could this evening let us know the bail, we could earlier provide sureties before the end of the assizes, for two posts would be gained.

Mr. Bamford.—If we could now be informed of the bail to be required, it would afford great facility in communicating with our friends.

Mr. Baron Wood.—Well, you may be bound yourselves each in £200, and your sureties in £100 each.



Mr. Saxton.—My Lord, there are some of us mere labourers, and their friends are labouring men themselves, and if less could be taken for them——

Mr. Baron Wood.—No, I cannot vary that.

Mr. Saxton.—There is no objection, my Lord, to augmenting our own recognizances.

Mr. Baron Wood.—No, I cannot do that.

Mr. Saxton.—My Lord it is a long winter we have before us. I hope your Lordship will take that into consideration. Here I hope we shall have more mercy than we experienced from our merciless persecutors, for dreadful——

Mr. Baron Wood.—Dreadful is the offence laid to your charge.

Mr. Saxton. Yes, my Lord ; but we are innocent.

Mr. Baron Wood.—I know nothing of it but from the indictment now read.

Mr. Saxton.—We are innocent of all the evil laid to our charge.

Mr. Baron Wood.—That is to be proved. I know nothing of it.

They then regularly retired.

Joseph Healey soon returned again, and said, “ My Lord, I come from York, and all my friends are in Yorkshire. Will your Lordship take bail from Yorkshire ?

Mr. Baron Wood.— To be sure, any bail.

Mr. Healey.—I humbly thank your Lordship.

They stood in the order in which their names were called, and Mr. Saxton, who evidently acted for his fellow sufferers, certainly possessed their entire confidence.

On September the 7th, Mr. Hunt, and the other persons against whom true bills had been found, appeared in court, accompanied by their bail, in order to plead and justify in the usual form.

The clerk of the court (addressing Mr. Hunt) There is an indictment against you for a misdemeanour ; do you traverse or submit to it ?

Mr. Hunt.—I traverse. My Lord, I beg to observe to



your Lordship, that I am not properly described in the indictment. My name is Henry Hunt, and I cannot answer to the description therein given to me, for I am therein called Henry Hunt, *late a yeoman of Manchester* ; God forbid I should be so.

Baron Wood.—You may make that a plea in abatement; you may plead to it, but it is certainly a very foolish objection to make on your part.

Mr. Hunt.—Perhaps then I had better not make it.

John Knight, Joseph Johnson, and James Moorhouse, were then severally informed by the clerk of the court, that there were also indictments against them for misdemeanours, and asked if they traversed, to which question they severally answered in the affirmative.

Mr. Hunt.—I would wish to be properly described in the recognizance.

Baron Wood.—How, is that of any consequence at all? It means nothing.

Mr. Hunt.—I only object to my being called a *yeoman*.

Baron Wood.—You may perhaps, deem yourself degraded by that designation. I do not know if that be your feeling or not.

Mr. Hunt.—Certainly my Lord ; but if your Lordship think it of no consequence, I will wave the objection.

Mr. Hunt was then bound by recognizance to appear on the first day of next session of Oyer and Terminer to have the misdemeanour, to which he had traversed prosecuted, himself in £400, and his two sureties, Sir Charles Wolseley of Wolseley-park, Staffordshire, and Mr. Thomas Chapman, of Fennel-street Manchester, merchant, in £200 each.

John Knight and Joseph Johnson, were next bound with the same sureties to the same amount.

James Moorhouse was bound for a like sum of £400, and his sureties, Mr Peter Turner, of——, and Mr. Peter Can-delet, of Market Street, Manchester, linen-draper, in £200 each.

The following defendants, who were still in custody ; were



then put to the bar, and with their sureties justified in the usual manner, themselves in £200, and their respective sureties in £100, each.

John Thacker Saxton. Sureties—James Stott, of Pendleton, land-surveyor, and William Smith, of Parliament-street, Manchester, pipe maker.

Joseph Healey. Sureties—The same James Stott and William Smith.

Samuel Bamford. Sureties. Sir Charles Wolseley, and Mr. Thomas Chapman.

Robert Jones. Sureties—John Dracup, of Jersey-street, Manchester, linen-draper, and Peter Candelet.

George Swift. Sureties—James Stott and William Smith.

Robert Wylde. Sureties—Thomas Cheetham, of Stockport, surgeon, and James Swidle, of Stockport, manufacturer.

John Thacker Saxton then addressed his Lordship thus:—I beg to ask your Lordship a question:—As bail is now put in for my fellow prisoners and myself, will your Lordship now allow us to be discharged?

Baron Wood.—To be sure: that follows of course. There is no objection to your immediate discharge at all; you are entitled to it at present, as you have entered into recognizances.

John Thacker Saxton.—I only wished to know for certain, my Lord, as we have suffered unjust imprisonment for a long period.

Baron Wood.—I can say nothing as to that, but you are at liberty now.

Mr. Hunt.—My Lord, as to this bail, I wish to show the situation in which these prisoners and myself were placed; we were told it was necessary to procure bail; each sent to their separate friends, and they came fortunately, and others accompanied them. Those, for instance, who were to bail for Bamford, were not allowed to be bail, but others were taken whom he never saw nor heard of: for he was told unless he could say that the bail proposed by him had never been seen by him, and was not connected with the charge, he should not



be allowed his liberty. This is the most extraordinary sort of accommodation offered by the Solicitor of the Treasury, when it was said, "We won't take that bail which you brought for yourself, but we will take that bail for you which was brought for another." I only mention this to show the sort of disposition which prevails to accommodate us.

The clerk of the court.—Perhaps in justification of the prosecutor, and in absence of the Solicitor of the Treasury, I should state.——

Baron Wood (interposing)—I cannot help it.

Mr. Hunt.—The solicitor may have made a very handsome thing of it, as some of them offered premiums of £5 each. It is not necessary, I suppose, to read over the indictment.

Baron Wood.—There is no occasion.

Mr. Hunt.—Unless your Lordship wishes it, there is certainly no occasion, as it is a compound of falsehood.

Mr. Pearson.—There is a person of the name of Adamson still in custody, against whom no bill has been found. I suppose he may be now discharged.

Baron Wood.—Let him be discharged.

Mr. Hunt.—No bill was found against him, and he has now paid his fees, for the non-payment of which he has been detained.

The clerk of the court.—Mr. Hunt is mistaken when he says he has only been detained on account of the non-payment of fees; not a half-penny was required of him.

Mr. Hunt.—The man stated that his bill was thrown out yesterday; he has been kept in solitary confinement ever since, and he said the reason was the non-payment of his fees.

Baron Wood,—You will find that not to be the fact. If he do not apply for his discharge, he cannot be discharged. The grand jury are discharged, and he too may be discharged.

All these parties now left the court, and after a short interval, Sir Charles Wolseley and Mr. Johnson returned, and became bail for John Knight and William Fitton upon other indictments, to the amount of £50 each.



Before the bail for William Fitton was received, the clerk observed, that it was necessary he should traverse the indictment; but Fitton was absent.

Mr. Johnson.—If the bail be taken now, he may afterwards come himself.

Baron Wood.—He must come during the assizes. The regular course is to plead first, and then to enter into recognizances; but we will take it *de bene esse*, upon the footing that he will come.

The clerk of the court.—He must appear personally, for he and all the other persons in similar situations are liable to be taken on bench warrants, unless they appear personally and traverse to the next sessions.

The parties then withdrew.

It was understood that there were no less than sixteen other persons in attendance, who were all freeholders of the county, and willing to offer themselves as bail for these defendants. Most of them were from Preston, Stockport, and Manchester; and two from Liverpool.

The following is the account of the return of Mr. Hunt and his associates, from Lancaster to Manchester having been in the former place confined in a loathsome dungeon of the prison for twenty two days, and deprived of every comfort, some of them actually in solitary confinement. It is a faithful and glowing transcript of the passing scenes which presented themselves to an eye-witness, and surpasses in true glory the triumphal entries bestowed on Roman conquerors!—and before which the laurels of Wellington may blush!

“ Hunt and his persecuted associates having been all liberated from the damned bastille of Lancaster were carried on the shoulders of an applauding and brave people, through a vast tract of country, to the bosoms of their injured families!!! Such a scene the world never witnessed—it even surpasses in wonder the march of the Emperor Napoleon from the island of Elba!!! Young and aged, rich and poor, lame and blind, all hailed with outstretched arms the bravest of the brave Hunt! Hunt! Hunt! issued from every lip—the overcharged



feelings of the people frequently, not being able to utter a syllable more—but HUNT FOR EVER !!! was the universal acclamation which rung with vehemence through the vast populous country.

“ Mr. Hunt nobly indentified his own fate and situation with that of his fellow-sufferers, and would have surrendered himself to the horrors of the dungeon, had not bail poured in from every quarter to liberate the innocent from the fangs of the oppressor. On Tuesday night, soon after dark, all were bailed out; and the inhabitants of Lancaster had the honour to give them the first welcome—it was an evening of unusual joy; and the very welkin rung with the applauses of an approving people.

“ The ensuing morning was issued in by a refreshing shower from heaven; which contributed to allay the volumes of dust which must inevitably have accompanied the simultaneous movements of more than half a million of men. One of the finest days of Autumn succeeded this transitory gloom of the atmosphere,—and the cheering rays of the sun gave new life to the interesting spectacle.

“ Here then we commence the march of the million. At six o'clock two coaches were engaged to convey this brave band of patriots, comprising those under prosecution and the gentlemen who had volunteered as their bail, to Manchester; and here the shouts commenced, which terminated only at Smedley cottage, the residence of Mr. Johnson. Mr. Hunt and his friends breakfasted at the Royal Oak, at Garstang, where the best accommodation was afforded. Upon Mr. Hunt crossing the threshold of this respectable inn, one of the upper servants of the house involuntarily exclaimed, ‘ *God bless Mr. Hunt, for I love to see him come into the house,*’ which caused a hearty laugh amongst his friends. The inhabitants of every village, as they passed on to Preston presented some token of respect, such as flowers, fruit, &c. and at one small village, the road was even strewed with flowers over which Mr. Hunt and his friends had to pass. About four miles from Preston the people had assembled in vast multitudes, with flags, and ribbons



in their hats, upon which were inscribed the words "HUNT AND LIBERTY." Some of our cotemporaries compared these assemblages of the people to a rolling snow-ball; increasing in its progress; but we think the similitude of a moving forest by far the most appropriate. It was indeed a forest of human beings, all panting for the restoration of their rights and liberties. Loud shouts and acclamations accompanied them into the town of Preston, where the ladies in the windows saluted Mr. Hunt and his friends by the waving of their white handkerchiefs and green ribbons. The party stopped about half an hour at the inn, but never left the seats of their respective carriages. In this interval, Mr. Hunt delivered an electrifying address to the people. After Mr. Hunt's speech was concluded, a Liverpool coach drove up to the inn, with great fury through the populace; no accident fortunately occurred, but the ruffian coachman, without the least provocation made a stroke with his whip towards Mr. Hunt which caught the eye of Mr. Johnson. The populace enraged at this brutal conduct, were instantly preparing to tear the villain from his seat, but for the interference of Mr. Hunt, who implored his friends to preserve the peace: when order was restored.

"Mr. Pearson now stepped upon the carriage, and informed Mr. Hunt of the death of his well known favourite horse BOB.\* Here an involuntary tear was seen to steal down the cheek of Mr. Hunt, who compassionately exclaimed

Alas ! poor Bob ! ! !

\* On Wednesday afternoon the 8th September, after the immense multitude had returned from drawing Mr. Hunt, and his patriotic friends from Preston, on their way to Blackburn; they proceeded by the desire of Mr. Hunt, to the decent interment of his valuable horse Bob; which died that morning at the Bull Inn, Preston. Various opinions are held as to the cause of the death; but whether it was the effects of poison, or the hard services he had previously been performing in the cause of liberty, we cannot determine. And as his kind master ordered that not a hair on his body should be disturbed it was thought highly improper to investigate the cause.

A piece of ground in the garden of Mr. Huffman, was appropriated for this occasion. Here they brought the carcase of poor Bob, in a cart, followed by thousands of sympathising friends, who identified his virtues with those of his brave master; who had taught him to be kind to the human species. And so



“ This circumstance produced a momentary gloom over the whole of Mr. Hunt’s friends. Mr. Hunt requested Mr. Saxton to address a few words to the populace, desiring them to allow the horses to be put to the coach, which the people peremptorily refused, insisting upon drawing the carriage every yard of the road to Manchester. The procession then proceeded amidst loud huzzas. Mr. Hunt requested the immense cavalcade to halt when they arrived at the first village, when he addressed them upon the loss of his favourite horse— in the course of his observations he made a very appropriate remark upon the superiority of feeling this poor animal had, when compared to the bloody m——s of the people on St. Peter’s field. ‘ This faithful beast,’ said he, ‘ would not tread on the toe of the poorest subject under his majesty’s dominion ; whilst brutes, in human shape are to be found base enough to plunge the sword into the breast of the innocent and unprotected.’ Mr. Hunt at length prevailed on the

well was he tutored that he was never known to tread upon the toe of any one in the immense crowds, among whom his duty so frequently had placed him. His courage also was equal to his caution, being in this respect like his famous rider undaunted.

Impressed with these facts, the friends of Mr. Hunt shewed their respect to poor Bob. A grave was dug sufficiently deep to admit him standing erect with his shoes on ; the soil was pressed about him so as to preserve that position. Thousands of people witnessed the solemnity of the scene, and left it with better impressions than they sometimes bring from church.

The horse Bob was about seventy guineas of a loss to Hunt ; that being the price or somewhere about which Hunt paid for him. The general belief was that it was poisoned, but as Hunt would not allow it to be opened that could not, of course, be accurately ascertained. The night previous to Hunt’s entry into Preston from Lancaster, Mitchell drove Bob and Hunt’s gig from Lancaster, and put up at the Black Bull Inn, and Royal Hotel, that being the head inn. The morning after it died suddenly, as it did not appear to ail any thing whatever the night previous.

Bob died on the 8th of September 1819 ; he was buried under a weeping willow with a head stone inscribed

ALAS ! POOR BOB !!!

Some seven years afterwards he was taken up, many of his bones made into snuff boxes, one was made out of his knee cups, with a silver lid to it, and sent as a present to Mr. Hunt.



people to allow the horses to be put to, but they never entirely left the side of the coach during the whole of the way to Manchester.

“ After travelling about two miles the populace continued to increase, and at length insisted upon again taking off the horses, when the carriage was literally drawn all the way through Blackburn to the town of Bolton. The brave Blackburn reformers, male and female, met Mr. Hunt and his friends six miles on the road, and presented the identical cap of liberty that had weathered the campaign of St. Peter’s field ; it was immediately hoisted, together with two new flags, on the outside of the coach. The cheering through Blackburn was, if possible, greater and louder than ever ; Mr. Hunt again addressed the populace, who were enraptured with his eloquence and honest zeal. The people then continued to draw him forward to Bolton, where there were indeed multitudes upon multitudes to greet him—he was met at the Swan Inn, by Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Pearson, and a number of respectable inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Hunt addressed the people from the window in a speech of great length afterwards

“ Mr. Charles Pearson observed, that he came forward under feelings of great diffidence, being a limb of the law, many of whom, he was sorry to say, neither enjoyed nor deserved the confidence of the people, ‘ Indeed,’ added he, there is but too much truth in an observation I once made to a royal duke, when dining with him—namely, that it was very unlikely that dukes and lawyers, should be the advocates of political reform, seeing that they, like maggots in cheese, depended on the diseased state of the body on which they fed. For were it possible to restore the decayed cheese to a sound state, the maggots therein contained must necessarily be destroyed ; so if the body politic were renovated by a radical reform, the food upon which dukes and lawyers fed would be greatly reduced, if not totally destroyed, and consequently they must sicken and die.

“ However, gentlemen, I hope to prove an exception to



the general rule, my constitutional reading, my education, the company I keep, and my natural disposition, all conspire to induce me to be the friend of the people. and the advocate of their constitutional rights.

“ I have been with our suffering friends to Lancaster. I have taken some pains to assist and instruct them in the management of their, but too powerful enemies; and although we have been astonishingly opposed, much has been developed in the struggle, and one point completely gained, from which I hope, the most important and beneficial effects will result.”

“ Gentlemen, I have to thank you for your attention and, your plaudits and shall only add, that whenever I cease to advocate and promote the constitutional rights of the people may my soul forsake my body.”

As the article from which we have thus far taken our extract says nothing of Mr. Hunt's entry into Manchester, we shall endeavour to give a brief description of that grand and interesting spectacle from our own observation. It was fully expected that Mr. Hunt and his friends would arrive on the evening of Wednesday the 8th, and this expectation led to the disappointment of many thousands of persons who crowded the road to and beyond Pendleton the whole of the afternoon. At length it was ascertained that Mr. Hunt would remain all night at Bolton, and reach Manchester about noon on Thursday. During the forenoon of that day, the road was again lined with anxious expectants, and we believe that not less than 80,000 persons were assembled to witness the novel and gratifying scene of men returning from a dungeon to which they had been basely consigned by their persecutors upon a charge of conspiracy manufactured by themselves and supported by perjury. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson were seated upon the dickey of a coach, upon the roof of which we observed Mr. Moorhouse, decorated with an elegant cap of liberty of variegated colours. The continued acclamations of the multitude filled the welkin with sounds of gratulation pleasing to all but tyrants. It is impossible to give any adequate idea of the enthusiastic manner in which the cavalcade were greeted in



their progress through Manchester; every window was occupied by the fairest of women, who seemed to vie with each other in giving expression to their joyous feelings. Waving handkerchiefs, and reiterated cries of "Hunt and Liberty!"—"Hunt for ever!" announced the approach of the patriots, and never was before witnessed a scene of such universal exultation. On coming to the Exchange, Mr. Hunt said, "Before time, on passing this place, we used to give them three cheers in defiance: now, let us give nine groans in abhorrence of the murderous deeds they have caused." This proposition was only partially adopted, not being properly understood: and a mixture of groans and cheers were mingled together by the immense multitude.

No accident occurred to damp the splendour of the day, and Mr. Hunt and his friends arrived at Smedley Cottage about two o'clock; but the former was too much exhausted by the labours of the last three weeks to address the populace, who dispersed, as usual, in peace and order.

Mr. Hunt left Manchester in the Cobourg Coach, for London on Friday; leaving the following Letter to the Reformers of Lancashire, for insertion in the Observer.

### TO THE BRAVE REFORMERS OF LANCASHIRE.

*Smedley Cottage, Sept. 10, 1819.*

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

Before I leave your Country, permit me to offer you my warmest thanks for your peaceable, patient, persevering, and manly conduct during the reign of terror since my arrival here. Many of you have been put to the torture of the sabre and the truncheon; your amiable wives and innocent children have been inhumanly butchered by the cowardly hands of those who ought to have been their guardians and protectors; myself and nine others have been incarcerated in solitary dungeons, and exhibited through your county under a military escort, in order to draw the public attention from the infamous, dastardly, and



cowardly acts of the cold blooded villains who instigated the ruffians to butcher peaceable and unarmed men, women, and children. But doing this they have only assisted in binding the *rod* which is preparing for *their own backs*! *Mark well this my resolve*—I have made a solemn vow not to taste *one drop* of, taxed BEER, SPIRITS, WINE, or TEA, till we have brought some of these m———s to justice. The eye of all England is fixed steadily upon the scenes now passing in your county;—and there is not a *man* or *woman* in the nation who can boast one drop of English blood in their *veins*, but will assist either in obtaining justice or inflicting summary vengeance for the wrongs you have sustained. Constant communications upon this subject will be inserted in the people's press, the Manchester Observer.

“ I remain,  
 “ My friends and fellow countrymen,  
 “ Your sincere friend,  
 H. HUNT.”

We now beg leave to present our readers with a faithful narration of some very important transactions relative to the trial of the brave Mr. Hunt and his fellow-sufferers, as accurately portrayed in a letter of Mr. Charles Pearson.

TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT AND S. BROOKS, Esq.  
*Treasurers of the Committee.*

Dear Sirs,

“ This day the grand jury has been occupied chiefly with the several bills of indictment preferred before them for offences alleged to have been committed at Manchester on the 16th. The first bill which was brought under their consideration, was an indictment against Mr. James Platt, one of the Manchester police constables, for perjury, supposed to have been committed in evidence which he gave at the examination of Mr. Hunt, Mr. Moorhouse, and others, at the New Bailey, on the 27th of August. It will be recollected, that on that



occasion, the principal act of conspiracy imputed to the defendants, was their presence on the hustings on the said 16th, and in order to bring Mr. Moorhouse within the reach of the law, Mr. Platt deposed to having seen him upon the hustings on the occasion alluded to. The first witness on the back of the bill was Mr. Pearson, who gave in evidence, that Mr. Platt had not only sworn that he saw Mr. Moorhouse on the hustings, but upon his particular attention being called by that gentleman to his personal appearance, assured the magistrates of his clear conviction that he was upon the hustings at the time sworn to. Mr. Moorhouse then appeared before the jury, and gave in evidence that he was not on the hustings on any part of the 16th ; that he met the cavalcade on the approach to the meeting ; and Mr. Hunt, at about a quarter of a mile distance, seeing him inconvenienced by the pressure of the crowd, invited him to get into the carriage, which having done, he was dragged to the meeting, and immediately on his arrival there, when within ten or twelve feet of the hustings, he descended from the carriage, and taking an opposite direction, proceeded to a neighbouring public-house, and remained there till after the meeting had broken up. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Whinson then followed, deposing to the same facts, and positively swearing that at no one time was Moorhouse on the hustings. John Collier was next examined, who proved satisfactorily that he opened the door of the carriage to admit Mr. Moorhouse, and also let him out, and that he then went away as before described. Then followed the evidence of James Moorhouse, the prosecutor's son, and Charles Gould, who proved that they were in situations at the meeting which commanded a complete view of the hustings, from beginning to the end, and that on no part of the day, was the prosecutor there. Samuel Dunn, Mary Williams, and Jesse Swan, were next called, and proved that from the time Mr. Hunt came on the ground till after the dispersion of the multitude, and destruction of the hustings, Mr. Moorhouse was in the Windmill public house, and did not leave their sight for one minute. Similar evidence was adduced against Robert Derbyshire, jun.



also one of the police constables; but although a grand jury is called only to decide whether a sufficient *prima facie* case is made out to send a defendant to take his trial, the gentlemen thought proper to throw out the bills in question, although the same jury, upon precisely the same testimony, had found on the previous day, a true bill against the celebrated alarmist, Richard Owen. The only difference between his case and theirs was, that Owen is only an occasional assistant to the police, whereas the other two gentlemen are regular practitioners, unless, indeed, it may be considered that it made a difference to the grand jury, that before they decided upon the latter cases, the bill against Mr. Hunt for a conspiracy, had been laid before them, from the back of which it appeared that the aforesaid Mr. Platt and Mr. Derbyshire were material witnesses for the prosecution, and that as their evidence could not be dispensed with, it might have been uncivil to such gentlemen to impugn their testimony by finding a true bill against them for perjury. The next proceeding upon which the grand jury was engaged, was that of hearing evidence on the bill of indictment against Mr. Hunt and his friends for a conspiracy. The first witness called in was the celebrated Mr. Nadin, who remained under examination about half an hour. It should be observed, that during his examination, Mr. Milne, the solicitor for the prosecution, was called into the room and remained there some little time; but, inasmuch as the attendance of a professional gentleman upon such an occasion is irregular, it is impossible to guess his business; he however, in violation of the universal rules of practice, brought out the bill of indictment, and strengthened his case by adding another witness to the list. Two other witnesses were then called in, but as they are known to belong to Mr. Nadin's corps, description of them cannot be obtained—then there followed seven of the police runners, including the celebrated Mr. James Platt, and the renowned Mr. Derbyshire, jun. and the case was closed by a Mr. Lomas, at present a stranger, and a Mr. Heffer, a decayed barber, belonging to the Society of Friends, or at least assuming the garb of that respectable



body. Notwithstanding, however, the quality of the witnesses, the grand jury found the bill, and the evidence of Mr. Derbyshire, jun. and Mr. James Platt, was sufficient to fix Mr. Moorhouse as a conspirator with the rest. The jury deliberated about twenty five-minutes before they called the next case.

Although five bills for maliciously cutting, had been sent in to the grand jury on Friday morning, as early as one o'clock and the bill against Mr. Hunt and his friends did not go in till Saturday morning, yet the grand jury thought fit, in defiance of ordinary usage, and a very spirited remonstrance in writing sent in by Mr. Hunt, to let the last be first and the first last.

The first indictment for maliciously cutting, was preferred by E. Gilmore, of Manchester, a respectable tradesman, who proved, that while he was at his dinner with his family, on the 16th, he heard a noise, and being informed that the yeomanry were ordered out to disperse the multitude, went towards the ground, and having arrived at the top of the street where his house was situated, and found the people running towards him chased by the yeomanry, turning round, and was retiring to his house, walking on the flag-stones, when within twenty-five paces from his own door, one of them struck at his head with his sabre: his hat, however, protected him from the blow, but having been knocked from his head, he was in the act of stooping to pick it up, when one of the gallant yeomanry found that the opportunity of a bare-headed man, unarmed, in a defenceless position, was not to be lost, and cut at him with his sword and inflicted a wound on the head. The prosecutor's son was a witness of the transaction, and joined with his father in giving evidence on the bill. When, however, it was brought in by the grand jury, the public were astonished with the sound of 'Not found against Edward Tebbutt.'

"The next bill was against the same person, preferred by Elizabeth Farren, a poor interesting looking woman, who was standing in the neighbourhood of the meeting, with her infant child at her breast: this, however, was no protection from the



rude attack of the yeomanry. Seeing Mr. Tebbutt, one of the yeomanry, coming, she held her child down, and prayed him to spare her infant, while, however, in the act of saving her child, she received a deep sabre wound, three inches long, from the crown of her head to the top of the forehead, her child fell from her arms, and received a severe contusion on the head, of which it is at this day suffering. The woman instantly fell, from the shock of the blow, but although she was a neighbour of the gentleman who inflicted the wound, he repeated his attack, and struck at her with the sword as she was falling; the sword, however, got entangled in her clothes, and did not do her farther injury; but neither the sight of the gaping wound, nor the evidence of the woman, were sufficient to convince the grand jury, and the bill was rejected; it should be observed, that the woman deposed, that at the time she was attacked, she did not, nor does she now believe, that the riot act had been read; and further, that there had not been any tumult, any stones thrown, or any resistance or insult, offered to the yeomanry, or any other persons.

“The following case shared the same fate; it was an indictment against Edward Meagher, for maliciously cutting under Lord Ellenborough’s act. Cheetham, the prosecutor, proved, that after the meeting had been dispersed he was going down one of the streets in Manchester, the opposite direction to the meeting, about a quarter of a mile from the spot, where he was met by a small party of the yeomanry; there were two or three strangers walking the same way with the prosecutor, when Meagher cried out, ‘Damn you disperse,’ to which Cheetham replied, ‘you stop the way, give us room, and we will be gone.’ Meagher then appeared to make room for passing, riding out a yard or two from the wall, when Cheetham attempted to pass, and Meagher cried out, ‘Damn you, I will cut your head off,’ and immediately made a desperate stroke at him, which, after, cutting clean off about seven inches of the rim of his hat, took effect in the neck just under the ear, and inflicted a dreadful gash three inches long and one inch deep. The person of the author of the outrage was described



by next witness, Nathan Broadbent, who gave evidence as to the activity of Meagher in dealing out his gashes indiscriminately upon all around with a blood thirsty-fury.

“ The next indictment was against one Thomas Shelmerdine, by a poor woman, upwards of sixty years old, who went out to the purlieus of the meeting, to seek for a lad, her son, when seeing the yeomanry coming, she strove to make her escape. when Shelmerdine rode up to her in a furious manner ; having known him from a child, she cried, ‘ Tom Shelmerdine, thee will not hurt me, I know ;’ deaf, however, to her supplications, he rode her down, and cut her on the head with his sabre, from the effects of which she thinks it probable she shall never recover.

The last indictment which was preferred, was against one Carlton, by a little boy, who received a most dreadful wound on the head from the sabre of this person. This lad, W. Leigh, boy-like, attended this meeting from curiosity, and was one of those composing a thick compact body created by the attempts of the crowd to escape ; upon the heads, shoulders, necks, and arms of these poor wretches, the yeomanry were dealing out their cuts with a liberal hand, when the poor lad having caught the eye of Carlton, whom he knew, he ran towards him to get out of the crowd ; but his acquaintance replied to his application for safety by a blow at his head, which gave him a deep wound, full three or four inches long ; the grand jury, however, threw out the bill. Numbers of other cases could have been preferred, but it would have been unavailing ; it became evident the jury acted upon some fixed principle, which would have rendered all efforts to obtain redress unsuccessful. It was clear that the rejection of the bills did not arise from what appeared on the testimony of the witnesses, nor from a disbelief of their evidence, but probably from preconceived opinions as to the reading of the Riot Act, or some other facts not then before them. Tottering old age, unsuspecting youth, manly spirit, defenceless women, and unoffending infancy, had in vain presented themselves before the inquests of their country



seeking redress, and sued in vain ; it therefore became useless again to intrude upon their attention.

“ It may be observed that each of the witnesses upon all the bills, denied to their knowledge or belief, the Riot Act had been read ; denied that any violence had been used, stones thrown, resistance presented, or insults offered :—they were peaceable citizens and had been maliciously wounded ; the grand jury, therefore, could not have been acquainted with any of these facts from the only legitimate sources of information, the evidence of the witnesses on each of the bills. If the grand jury decided upon any evidence which they received from other quarters than that of the witnesses on the respective bills, they assumed to themselves an authority the law does not recognize, and erected a tribunal to try the cases instead of exercising the powers delegated to them by the constitution of examining the evidence adduced for the prosecution, and deciding as to its sufficiency to call upon the offending party to appear and answer before a jury of his country. Whether the reading of the Riot Act can give authority to soldiers, or those that bear that name, to butcher indiscriminately peaceable men, women, and children ; whether the order of a magistrate places those against whom it is directed out of the pale of the laws protection, and renders them liable to be hunted and massacred like wild beasts, might perhaps have furnished the armed parties with materials for a shade of defence : but the reading of the Act, the dictum of the magistrates, was not and could not have been legally in evidence before the inquest—indeed, the only evidence respecting it was, that no such means had been adopted. I hope, however, that the exertions of the people to obtain something like redress for the sufferers will never relax till the authors of their woe are brought to punishment ; and that so long as the principle that ‘ whoso sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood be shed,’ remains a part of the law of retributive justice, the assizes for this county will be furnished with records of the bloody deeds.

“ I am now convinced that there is no freedom for England



till the people regain the right of electing their sheriffs. So long as the king's ministers elect the sheriffs, and the sheriffs elect the grand jury, so long will the blood of the murdered cry unavenged from the ground. I am now preparing a full report of some of the numerous dreadful cases of the wounded sufferers, which on my return to town, will be laid before the committee.

“CHARLES PEARSON.

“*Lancaster, Sept. 5, 1819.*”

We consider that it would be a very imperfect sketch of the important event that has called forth the present detailed transactions of the bloody massacre at Manchester, were we not to present to our readers the very splendid entrance and welcome of Mr. Hunt to the city of London.

It would be utterly impossible to give any idea of the immense numbers assembled, as every avenue and road leading to Holloway were crowded to excess. There were many of the foot passengers who did not go beyond Holloway, but hundreds, who could afford the expense of some species of vehicle, pressed on, either from the eagerness of curiosity, or a desire to be as early as possible in their congratulations.

Before Mr. Hunt's arrival, a huge dog was seen parading about, having round his neck a white collar, bearing the inscription “No Dog Tax,” and a scarlet trophy fastened at each side of his head.

This, we believe, was not intended for ridicule; at least it was viewed with approbation by an immense multitude, and the canine reformer passed through the crowd with the ease and carelessness of a dog, who feels himself amongst friends.

The hour of half past two arrived, and Mr. Hunt did not yet make his appearance. Many began to apprehend that he would decline the honours prepared for his reception, and content himself with the approbation of his own conscience, and a conviction of the good disposition evinced in his favour by such a multitude of the populace. Every person coming from



Highgate was inquisitively questioned as to what he knew of the great man's route; at length a commotion was observed at a distance; it came nearer, and cries began to ascend from all sides—"It is not him, but a friend of his (Mr Walker,) mounted on a grey steed, trapped with red ribbons." He announced that Mr. Hunt was two miles off, and delivered the following note, directed to Dr. Watson and his friends:—

DEAR SIR,—Let nothing prevent my going down Goswell-street to St. Paul's and direct to the Crown and Anchor. We must not consult our own feelings, but must act for the public good. Every real friend of liberty must do that, which will promote its cause, and leave self gratification out of the question. I have always done this.—Your's,

H. HUNT.

Barnet, Monday morning.

The multitude pressed round Dr. Watson's carriage, and when he had done reading, expressed a hope that the procession would persist in moving down the City-road, as the whole line was thronged with eager expectants, who had prepared to do Mr Hunt honour at his approach. Dr. Watson replied that they would leave Mr. Hunt to determine for himself. We hardly ever saw, upon any former occasion, so vast an assemblage. From the Angel, opposite the City-road, up to Highgate-hill, each side of the way, as well as the centre of the road, was so completely thronged, as to render a passage extremely difficult. Those parts of the City through which the procession was expected to move were filled with spectators; Ludgate-hill, Fleet-street, and the Strand, up to the Crown and Anchor, had not a single stone unoccupied, and all stood in watchful expectation of the approaching spectacle.

The following is the order of the procession; it had been determined upon by the committee;—

Horsemen.

Footmen bearing a bundle of sticks, the emblem of Unity.

Horsemen.



Six Irish footmen, bearing a green flag with the inscription, "Universal, Civil, and Religious Liberty,"

Horsemen.

Footmen, bearing a Flag of mourning—Inscription, "To the immortal memory of the Reformers massacred at Manchester."

Horsemen.

Footmen, bearing a Flag—Inscription, "The Palladium of Liberty—Freedom of the Press,"

Carriages for gentlemen connected with the Press.

Horsemen.

Footmen, bearing a Red Flag—Inscription, "Universal Suffrage."

A Landau, containing Mr. HUNT, preceded by a Flag, with this Inscription, "Hunt, the Heroic Champion of Liberty," and surrounded by six Horsemen, and Members of the Committee.

Carriages and Footmen.

A Landau, with Messrs. Watson, Thistlewood, and Preston, and their friends.

Flag—"Trial by Jury."

Horsemen and Footmen."

Flag—"Liberty or Death,"

Carriages, Horsemen, and Footmen.

Flag—"England, Scotland, and Ireland."

Closed by Horsemen, Carriages, and Footmen.

From Highgate, the crowds came pouring down; the dust thickened; shouts and acclamations rent the air; laurels were seen in every hat; the windows presented a display of beauty scarcely ever before paralleled; and, at length, at ten minutes before three, the hero of the day arrived at the spot, where the committee, and others of his friends, were in attendance to receive him. Mr. Hunt travelled in a chaise and pair, followed by Mr. Moorhouse in another chaise. The people pressed round the vehicle, with outstretched hands, to greet the man they called their leader—made several attempts to unyoke the horses by which he was drawn, and it was with the greatest difficulty he persuaded them not to effect their wishes. Triumph looked in every face. Military phrases were used in tones of sneering and contempt, and wherever the slightest disposition appeared to disorder, a general cry of "Order!" was thundered



out, until it passed through the crowd, and peace and quietness succeeded, as if created by some talismanic influence.—Mr. Hunt's chaise drew close to the landua which was prepared for his reception; and the procession moved in the order already described. Mr. Hunt bowed and kept his hat off as he passed along. The roads were lined with hackney-coaches and taxed carts—in short, every thing that could be hired—donkey, horse, mule, wagon, or coach, were all in requisition, wherever the eye ranged. In truth, we want words to give full effect to all that presented itself to our view.—We could not calculate upon any thing remotely bordering upon the enthusiasm which was every where displayed. Streets crowded—shops shut in all the streets through which the procession passed; no fear apparent—no dismay lurking on the countenance, and thousands entreating to know—“When, when will he reach this?”—“Have we a chance of seeing him?”—“Oh, the brave fellow”—“Success to Hunt”—They would not have sabred the people at Manchester, if they expected this.”—This was the style and tone of the people's remarks—these were their enquiries concerning the man who had taken so active a part in the proceedings there; and who, by his conduct since the fatal 16th of August, has conciliated the prejudices of former enemies, and added much to the progress of reform in the country.

About four, Mr. Hunt reached the Angel Inn, and the view which presented itself at the confluence of the Pentonville, Islington, and City-roads, completely sets description at defiance. The heat and the dust, and the almost overwhelming pressure of the increasing multitude, did not seem to have the least effect on those who were assembled to witness a sight at once so novel and so imposing; a sight big with matter of reflection; a sight, the recollection of which cannot be sufficiently estimated. Nor was the assembled multitude of such an order, as assemblies of the people are often found to be. Amidst this assembly, there was certainly much of poverty, much of borrowed finery, but still much more of apparent affluence and unsubduable spirit of freedom.



The whole body then went along the Islington-road and down the City-road to Sun-street, Bishopgate-street. In going along Sun-street, &c. the band played "The Exile of Erin," and "Erin go Bragh," in which they were most cordially joined by the immense crowd, while from many windows, red flags were held out by most respectable females. The procession then went along Bishopgate-street, and on arriving at the Mansion-house, the crowd gave three groans, of the loudest nature ever heard. Mr. Hunt expressed a wish to give three cheers. A few were given, but the expression of indignation against the lord mayor was universal. The procession went along Cheapside, round St. Paul's, and up Fleet-street.

This vast multitude greeted the title of the STATESMAN, on passing the office which was preparing for that paper in Fleet-street.

The multitude was immense, and, indeed, we believe such a crowd was never seen in London. At twenty minutes past seven o'clock, the procession arrived at the Crown and Anchor, when Mr. Hunt addressed the multitude nearly as follows:—

"FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.—I only ask of you to allow me to say a few words. Let none of the multitude cry 'silence,' for that in itself is a preventative to order; the sound in such a tremendous assembly being always calculated to create mistake and confusion—(in a few moments the most breathless attention was manifested.) Gentlemen, I am overwhelmed with gratitude, for the unexampled honour you have this day shown me. Unexampled I say, for I challenge the enemies of reform to name one instance where the public feeling has been so mightily, so powerfully, and so unequivocally expressed, not towards an individual, but in that sacred and overwhelming cause in which the people are engaged. (*Thunders of applause.*) The first thing I have got to recommend to you, is to entreat that as we have had a most glorious day, so our evening may not be disgraced or sullied by the slightest act of disturbance. If it should, the enemies of reform will indeed have good cause for triumph. It is one in fact they seek, but you will disappoint them. (*Cries of "We will, we will."*)—



Gentlemen, the conduct and patriotism you have evinced this day was not altogether your own. It is but a part of that glorious feeling which runs through every breast, and animates the mass of the population of those districts from which I came. (*Shouts of bravo.*) Gentlemen, the country is roused, and the cowardly and bloody deeds of Manchester, have done more for the cause of reform, than all that you and I could have effected by our humble exertions for ten years. (*Succeeding shouts of approbation.*) Gentlemen, the press of this country has, with very few interruptions, long laboured to injure the cause of reform, and I have been ridiculed in the most vile and dastardly way. (Here Mr. Hunt launched forth with much severity against the editor of a weekly paper, but in the hope that he and his compeers would take a lesson, and not in future revile him, he recommended that they should good-naturedly give some cheers, which were bestowed accordingly.)—Gentlemen, I have a subject to recommend to you of the deepest importance, and it is one upon which the reformers of the north are agreed. I myself am determined to adhere to it in the most sacred manner. The design is this, that no man who really loves his country, shall use either tea, beer, spirits, or wine, until public justice is done to the community, and the blood of the sufferers at Manchester is avenged.—(*Tremendous shouts of approbation which rent the air.*)—I have once more to thank you, Gentlemen, for the high honour you have this day done me. Go from hence in peace—go to your homes,—(*We will.*)—and may God bless you! I have done my best for the people—you approve what I have done, and I am ready to die for the people.—(*Tumultuous and long continued applause.*)

Dr. Watson and some young individual, whose pretensions we could not ascertain, attempted to address the assembly; but their harangues were wholly inaudible, from the deafening buz of the moving mass.

Mr. Hunt having concluded his address, entered the Crown and Anchor, accompanied by his friends. The company assembled, who, by this time, amounted to three hundred and



fifty at least, waited quietly until Mr. Hunt, attended by Mr. Moorhouse and some other persons made his appearance. They were loudly and repeatedly cheered on their entrance, and it was unanimously carried that Mr. Hunt should take the chair.

Mr. Hunt having taken the chair, the company sat down to dinner, at the conclusion of which, music was called for, and the band (the same that had attended the procession) played *Rule Britannia* and *Ca Ira*, both of which were received with loud and rapturous applause.

Mr. Hunt arose to address the company, and was received with a degree of enthusiasm to which it is impossible for the powers of language to do justice. He began by informing them, that from the reception which the inhabitants of the metropolis had that day given him, he thought that he might be permitted to address them by the endearing tie of friends and fellow-countrymen. It was his duty as chairman of the meeting, to account for the absence of Sir C. Wolesley, who had been announced to the public as the person who was to preside over the company whom he then had the honour of seeing before him. It was true that that gentleman had been invited to take the chair: but, unfortunately, the invitation calling upon him to accept the chair, was not put into his hands till it had become too late to accept it. He had only left that honourable baronet the night before last, and he could inform them at that time he had made up his mind to attend their present meeting, along with their two patriotic solicitors, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Pearson. In consequence, however, of the public journals having published it to the world, that some quarrelling had arisen among the friends of reform, regarding the persons who were to have the regulation of this dinner, Sir C. Wolseley had refused to attend it. As chairman of the meeting, he should have several opportunities of addressing them; at the same time he thought it fit to tell them, that if any person of any party, or of any faction, should attempt to address them, and should not be indulged with a hearing, he should immediately leave the chair.—(Applause.)—They had



already heard, by means of the public press, of many of the atrocities which had been recently committed; but he should detail to them many circumstances which had occurred in the north, with which they are totally unacquainted. He alluded to the massacres which had lately been perpetrated at Manchester; and if, after he had made those details, Lord Castle-reagh or Lord Sidmouth should attempt to say that there was anything false or erroneous in them, he trusted that they would give those noble lords a patient hearing: if they did not, he should most unquestionably leave the room.

He should, indeed, be the veriest fool alive, and the most complete idiot that ever existed, if he did not allow that the late events at Manchester had placed him on the pinnacle of popularity; as they had placed him there, it would be unbecoming in him, if he did not call upon all classes of reformers to bury in oblivion their former causes of disagreement, and to join hand and heart in that great object, which all parties ought now to have in view; without casting reflections on any man, or any body of men.—(Applause.) Every man of common sense must be well aware, that no party in the state could do any thing without the assistance of the people; and that the people are now too sensible of their rights to be led by the nose, by the sophistical declaration of interested individuals. He, therefore, desired them to abstain from all invidious and inflammatory language, so that, even if they had a police magistrate in their company, even if they were honoured by the presence of Mr. Birnie (and he had rather a presentiment that that gentleman heard every syllable that he (Mr. Hunt) uttered, as he had been told Mr. Birnie had made his appearance that evening, more than once in the gallery) no advantage might be taken by their enemies. He should advise Mr. Birnie to attend faithfully to what was said, and if any thing wrong was said, to come forward instantly and refute it; if he refused to do so, he was not fit for the magisterial office which he held, nor was he either a man or a Briton—(Hear, hear, hear!) He should assure him, that if he (Mr. Birnie) were inclined to come forward in this manner, he would pledge him-



self, to use all his authority as a chairman to obtain for him a patient attention. Mr. Birnie was a very wise man, a respectable man, and a gentleman, perfectly capable of instructing the people. He heard that much in every report of him; he had experienced the truth of it himself. Mr. Birnie ought, therefore, to come forward to instruct them if they were wrong. All that they asked was information: it was true, that they had let down certain principles; if they were wrong in doing so, it was only fitting they should be set right; but then it must be by force of argument, by the force of truth, and by the force of principle. He was quite sure that every man felt that no other force would do; no, not even though it were that of the bloody magistrates at Manchester.—(*Loud and enthusiastic cheering.*) He had now said what was quite sufficient as a prelude, and as he should have the opportunity of addressing them again before the close of the evening, he should not trespass further upon their time, than to remind them, that every man who had paid for his ticket, was as much entitled to address them, as he or any other friend of universal suffrage, who at that moment happened to be in the room.—(*Repeated cheers.*)

Mr. Hunt then gave a toast, "The only source of all legitimate power—the people."

Tune—*See the conquering Hero comes.*

The next toast was, "Universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot—the undoubted right of every Briton."

It was received with three times three, and was followed by the tune of—*Ca Ira.*

Toast—"The immortal memory of the reformers, men, women, and children, who were massacred at Manchester, on the 16th of August."

Tune—*The land of the Leal.*

[This is the air commonly known by the title of *Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled*, but is in reality a very ancient Scottish melody, having something in the character of a dirge. The



reader will at once see the propriety of its application to the Manchester tragedy.]

Toast—"May arms be taken from those who abuse them, and given to those who have the courage to use them."

Tune—*The Marseillois Hymn.*

Mr. Gale Jones rose, and recapitulated all the circumstances under which Mr. Hunt had been taken into custody: and argued at some length upon the atrocity of sending a troop of yeomanry to charge upon a compact body of their fellow-countrymen, who were listening to sentiments of so just a nature, that not even the yeomanry, nor even Mr. Birnie in the gallery, could possibly contradict them.—(*Laughter.*) He also maintained, that if Mr. Hunt had shot the military officer to the heart who served the warrant upon him, he would have been fully justified by the laws of his country. This was a point which ought to be perfectly understood.—There was no going back; the sword of the government had been drawn; they had left off sapping and mining by the old means of corruption and sophistry, and made an appeal to violence. But the elasticity of the English character would only be snapped to their destruction, if they persisted in attempting to bear it down by direct oppression.—(*Applause.*) After remarking that Mr. Hunt had on that day entered the British metropolis like an Alexander, he said that he hoped that he (Mr. Hunt) had that day made a conquest over the prejudices of his countrymen. As to a conquest over the government, it was of little value, as the basest slave might obtain a victory over that; but whether he had obtained a victory over it or no, he was sure that Mr. Hunt had succeeded in gaining a still greater victory—he meant a victory over himself.—(*Cheers.*) He should, therefore, propose the health of "Henry Hunt, Esq. the zealous and consistent advocate of radical reform, the friend of humanity, and the fearless champion of the people's rights against ministerial, magisterial, and military despotism."—(*Loud cheering, which lasted for several minutes.*)

In the midst of these cheers Mr. Hunt rose, and after returning thanks for the honour the company had done him in drink-



ing his health, proceeded to animadvert with some asperity on the calumnies with which his political life had been assailed; at one time by the Whigs—at another by the friends of liberty; but he had consoled himself by the reflection, that justice would be ultimately done to his views.—Mr. Hunt continued—

He could say truly, that in going to Manchester he had been actuated by the purest motives. He had been invited by a large body of the people to attend a public meeting which they had called. This he felt himself bound to attend to. He had been accused of running here and there in search of these meetings; now he would say, that he had never attended any meeting, where he had not as much right to be present as any liveryman of the city of London had to be present at a Common-Hall (*Cheers*), excepting, indeed, it might be at Manchester. He was a freeholder of Somersetshire, he was a freeholder of Wiltshire, he was a housekeeper of Hampshire, he was likewise a liveryman of London: and whenever he attended at Westminster, he was living at Westminster, and contributed as freely in direct taxes, as any of its electors. So much then for running up and down to attend these meetings. At the same time, it is only fair to state, that he had never been instrumental in calling any of them. He had not called any of the meetings in Spa-fields, or in Smithfield: but after the compliment had been paid him of inviting him to preside there, he would not have been doing his duty to his country, had he not accepted the invitation; indeed, half the friends of liberty would have stated that he had shrunk from his duty, had he declined them.—(*Cheers*.)

Of the leading circumstances which occurred at Manchester, those who had read *The Times*, the *Star*, the *Globe*, and the *Statesman*, would be fully informed. There were certain facts, however, which were not yet before the public, and which, with their permission he would state.—(*Applause*.) A peaceable multitude were assembled to discuss a constitutional question. So convinced were they of the peaceable intention of the magistrates, that many individuals in it brought their wives and children along with them. The first meeting called was



said to be illegal, and therefore was laid aside. The second was to take into consideration the most legal and effectual means of obtaining reform. The magistrates could not call it illegal. They stuck up no placards stating it to be so. An interval of a week passed over, and from the non-appearance of any placard, the multitude supposed that they might safely attend it. Well, Monday came, and so peaceable were the people, that out of 150,000 persons, who in his opinion were present, 20,000 at least were women and children.

Mr. Hunt then detailed the advance of the yeomanry to the hustings, through a compact mass of forty thousand men, in which they killed two, and wounded fifty persons. There was not a single finger raised to resist them, nor the slightest opposition made. He had in the various addresses which he had sent out at Manchester, desired the people to come to the meeting unarmed, in every sense of the word. In doing so, perhaps he had acted wrong; he never would act so again.—*(Cheers)*—Unless some of the bloody murderers were brought to justice, he never would put a word on paper entreating the people to meet unarmed again. He had refused to let them come armed; and it was in his reflection, that by bringing them unarmed, 500 had been badly cut and dreadfully wounded. On considering that circumstance, it was within his contemplation, that these very people might, on his release from prison, have cut him in pieces, for suffering them to come together without arms. Instead of this, the only attacks which had been made upon, him were from the vile press. He was received by the multitude with the same affectionate welcome as before. He must now say a word or two with regard to the commandant of the yeomanry. That gallant officer had come up to him with a blustering swaggering air, and called upon him to surrender, as he had a warrant against him (Mr. Hunt.) Not being accustomed to surrender to military officers, he called for a civil one. Perhaps, he might have been justified in blowing out the officer's brains; but as he was not defending himself, but the cause of which he was the warm supporter, they should have cut him to pieces sooner than he



would have raised a finger.—(*Loud applause.*)— On that occasion, however, some kind supreme power had protected him. As he passed along in the custody of the police officers, he was assailed by the sabres of the yeomanry cavalry, and the truncheons of the constables. In comparison with the yeomanry, Nadin himself was humane. There were several, who had determined with the constables to have him murdered. They (the constables) were to have pushed forward, and then Nadin was to have cried out ‘An escape,’ on which the yeomanry were to have rushed forward and put him to the sword. This would have been executed, had he not kept Nadin himself in custody, instead of attempting to escape from him.—(*Loud laughter.*)

“There was another fellow of the name of Withington (there was no need to conceal his name, as he had boasted of the thing) who followed him with a cocked pistol, taking aim at him all the way to the house, where the magistrates were sitting. He (Mr. Hunt) contrived, however, to keep Nadin almost between himself and the ruffian, so that this scheme also miscarried.—(*Applause, and cries of ‘Shame’*)—Mr. Hunt then commented on the cowardly, cruel conduct of a general officer of the name of Clay, who, with a thick knotted cudgel, endeavoured to knock his brains out, as he was ascending the steps to the house of the magistrates. Another humane friend of this gallant officer had snatched Mr. Hunt’s hat, in order to give the hero a better opportunity of executing his purpose.—(*Indignant cries of ‘Shame!’*)—He also commented in terms of strong indignation on the charge of cowardice brought against him in the Courier, and asserted that the only time, he complained of the conduct of the constables, was upon their beating him violently with their truncheons, as he proceeded along a dark passage. He then turned to them, and said, “What! would you murder a man in the dark?” He was marched through two ranks of the 15th Hussars to the New Bailey, or, as it is called in the North, “the Manchester Bastile.” There they were kept nine days in solitary confinement. A gentleman then in the room was marched there



along with them (alluding no doubt, to Mr. Tyas;) and he could tell them, if he chose, what the pleasures of a solitary cell were. He was, however, brought up next day, and the magistrates, after finding that he could give them a proper dressing, politely gave him his discharge. The rest of the prisoners however, were detained longer, and the utmost restrictions applied to them. His friends West and Pearson, were not allowed to come near him, though the latter was his attorney. He even asked of the magistrates to allow an attorney of their own town to visit him. This indulgence was denied to him, though in any other place, it would have been granted to a man guilty of high treason. The next subject of which he had to complain was, that he had been brought up for final examination without even five minutes' notice; and then the prisoners were informed, that those worthy magistrates, after sending two of their blood-hounds to London, to see if they could not sniff out some charge of high treason; after consulting with the Lord Mayor, to see if he could not trump up some plot against them—(*a laugh*)—after consulting Lord Sidmouth, the gaoler-general of the country (*cheers and laughter*) no ground whatever existed of charging them with high treason, and therefore that job was to be adjourned to a future day.—(*cheers and laughter*),—they brought against them a charge of conspiracy to alter the laws by force and threats, and among the conspirators were women enfeebled by the cruel violence of the yeomen.—(*Laughter.*)—Mr. Hunt then detailed to the company the treatment of Elizabeth Gaunt. His account was nearly similar in every respect to what has before appeared, except that Mr. Hunt added what we believe has not been in print before, that at the time Mrs. Gaunt was so ill used, she was far gone in her pregnancy. He next adverted to the manner in which he had been hurried off to Lancaster Castle, though his bail was ready at Manchester. Bail was in attendance for himself and friends, but he needed refreshment—so did they. He had been fasting through the whole day, three or four hours of which he had been exhausted in examining witnesses in a close and crowded court. He wished for a cup of



tea and a change of linen. The persons who were to bail him retired also to refresh themselves. While they were absent, he was suddenly forced with his friends, some of whom had been handcuffed, into the Lancaster coach, which drove off, as it appeared afterwards, for fear they should be bailed without being exhibited to the yeomanry, who lived on the road between the two places, and to whom a promise had been made that Mr. Hunt and his friends should be carried through as captives. In this extremity, Sir Charles Wolseley had proved himself a friend indeed, for he was a friend in need. Finding that they had been carried off for want of bail, although there was ample bail actually in attendance, the Baronet took post-chaise and set off after them, and arrived in the dead of night at Lancaster. Mr. Hunt was bailed, and speedily released from a dungeon, six feet by eight, the worst he had ever seen or heard of in the country. In returning to Manchester, he and his friends were met and greeted by thousands and tens of thousands, and their carriage was drawn every inch of the road by the multitude.

Mr. Hunt then related some of the most disgusting instances of barbarity which came under his own knowledge. The first was the case of a poor woman, who had not been at the meeting, but was passing the street after the massacre began. She had a child on her arm, and seeing a yeoman approach with a drawn sword, who was an acquaintance, she cried out, "*Ther waun't hurt ma, Thomas, wo't?*" Finding, however, he came nearer and nearer, she clasped her child closer, and still more anxiously and piteously exclaimed, "Don't go hurt the child!" The savage not only cut her down, but cut her when she was down. (The utmost sympathy and horror were here manifested by the company.) All this was told to the Grand Jury, and they, in reply, told her that she went to the meeting on purpose to be cut, and some of them asked her, if she did not cut herself. The next case was that of the boy Rigg, who had preferred a bill of indictment against one of the yeomen, who was a stable-keeper. The boy had run to him for protection, because he had known him, from living in the same



yard with him.—(*Cries of "Put the boy on the table ; let him be seen."*) The lad, who had a very interesting appearance, and on whose head there appeared the mark of a recent wound seven inches long, then stood up, and was loudly cheered by the company. When these cheers had subsided, Mr. Hunt continued—What did they think the conduct of the ruffian-like yeoman was? In spite of the appeal to his protection, he cut at the poor child five or six different times. All this was stated on oath to the Grand Jury, and what did the company think they did? Why, they laughed at him ; told him that he was either hollowing or throwing stones, and that he deserved all he got.—(*Loud cries of shame, shame, from all parts of the room.*) He asked whether their two patriotic solicitors, Messrs. Pearson and Harmer, had not done right in refusing to present any more bills to such a Grand Jury? Mr. Hunt himself might immediately have been bailed and liberated, but he would not accept it, unless bail was procured also for all the rest. His answer to all such offers was, that he and all his fellow-sufferers had been incarcerated together upon a question which was interesting to all ; that they were alike innocent or guilty, and ought to share the same fate. The news of numerous bail being wanted, immediately ran like wildfire through the district, and fifty or sixty respectable persons came from long distances, eagerly vying with each other, who should become securities. When Mr. Moorhouse went back to Stockport to get securities, his neighbours were so eager to be bound for him, that some poor fellows actually offered five pounds to purchase the privilege.

The magistrates still thought to hamper the prisoners, and instead of taking the bail in the manner in which it was offered, they called on the parties to become bound for such persons as they had no previous knowledge of. Notwithstanding this vexatious and illegal proceeding, however, and although the bail and the bailed were in few instances known to each other, such was the English spirit aroused, that not one of them declined to be bound, and the prisoners with their bail were drawn every inch of the way back.—(*Loud cheering.*) "Mark



the result of this." The reformers were always numerous and ardent in Lancashire, but their numbers had been doubled and trebled since. Thanks to the cowardly fears of his enemies, his own presence of mind, and the dispensations of a kind Providence, he had escaped unhurt. Possibly his death might have been more useful to the people's rights than his continuing to live.—(*Cries of "No, no!"*)—If he thought so, if he imagined that the sacrifice of his life would assist the poor man in recovering his freedom and his happiness, he would most cheerfully meet death for that purpose—(*Loud cheering.*)—He had been generally described by his enemies as one, who was anxious to set on the poor to kill and despoil the rich. Nothing could be farther from his wishes or his understanding—he knew there must be rich people as well as poor—he knew that some must work, and some must be kept without working, but he insisted on it that there must be something rotten in the state, when a man could not get sufficient means for the subsistence of himself and family by the longest and hardest labour of which human nature is capable—(*Very loud applause.*)—This was the principle on which he went, and he never would cease from the course he had hitherto pursued, until he saw that the labourer had a fair reward for his service, and until he should be enabled, not only to furnish his family, but to lay up something for a wet day. This he had always said, and at the risk of his life he would always maintain the same declaration.—(*Vehement applause.*)

He would recite one more instance of the Manchester cruelties. It was that of a poor man, who was cut down on the 16th of August, and in the pressure of the crowd, occasioned by the charge of the cavalry, had his shoulder dislocated, his elbow crushed, and his hand severely cut. He was taken to the infirmary, and was when it came to his turn to be examined, thus addressed by one of the surgeons—"You won't go to another meeting for reform, I warrant," "Yes, I shall," was the reply, "if I recover. This last meeting has shown me more strongly than ever the necessity of reform." The con



sequence was, that the man was turned out of the infirmary, and in that wretched state forced to make his way home, a distance of seven miles, as well as he could. This account he (Mr. Hunt) had got from Mr. Pearson, and the surgeon who was afterwards called to attend the man in his own house. Mr. Hunt thought a recital of these facts might be interesting, and they might depend upon it that he had not exaggerated one single circumstance.

We have thus endeavoured to give Mr. Hunt's speech as to the words: but we cannot describe adequately the earnestness, judgment, and manly simplicity with which he pronounced it. Few speeches have ever been listened to with such attention, and none ever surpassed it in the interest and good-will which it called up for the speaker. Its conclusion was followed by loud applause, which seemed not only testimonies of gratification and respect, but also of a real personal affection, which the speech had created among its auditors.

Mr. Hunt next proposed the health of Mr. Moorhouse, who returned thanks in a very neat and appropriate speech.

Sir Charles Wolseley, and the rest of the patriots who have so nobly come forward in defence of the people's rights.

In the course of the evening Mr. Gale Jones and Mr. S. F. Waddington, addressed the meeting at considerable length; and although their speeches are well deserving of record, we are prevented for want of room, from giving them insertion.

Mr. Hunt next gave—"Messrs. Harmer and Pearson, and may our courts of law be always supplied with men of equal learning and integrity."

The next toast was—"The intrepid champions and defenders of the liberty of the press, and thanks to those who faithfully reported the circumstances of the Manchester massacre.

Mr. Hunt took occasion to express the high sense he entertained of the gentlemen connected with the daily press.

One of the gentlemen then rose, and observed, that considering the humble capacity which it fell to his lot to fulfil, he was unwilling to address so proud an assemblage upon the business



which had called them together. It did not belong to that station which he and his colleagues occupied in society to become advocates in the discussion of public questions. But none of them could be so lost to public virtue or to private honour, as not to feel the utmost horror and repugnance as to the sanguinary disasters of Manchester.

There was, however, a power of resiliency in the human mind which constantly tended to retrieve that, which was lost : there was a faculty of extracting some good out of the bitterest evil, which he trusted would be ultimately manifested in the result of the Manchester massacre. The perpetrators would learn that though their names would go down to future times, posterity would be informed that their actions never received the sanction of their cotemporary countrymen. He hoped, indeed, that it was impossible for Englishmen ever so far to forget their ancestors and their principles as to lend their approval to such deeds. As to the actors of them, he would sum their infamy in two comprehensive terms, which would leave no part of their vices untold—cowardice and cruelty.

Shortly after the chairman rose, the company immediately followed him, and in a few minutes every person had left the tavern. The rule of drinking water was most heroically pursued in by the greater number present. Not more than two persons used wine at the cross table. Nothing could be conducted with more order, and the guest seemed to be as gratifyingly entertained as when the bottles move with the greatest vigour.

The trial of Mr. Hunt, and the other parties included in the indictment, commenced at York, on Thursday the 22nd of March. Immediately before the judge entered, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Moorhouse, and the other defendants, ten in number, with Mr. Pearson as their solicitor, took their seats at the barrister's table. The Rev. Mr. Ethelstone, the Rev. Mr. Hay, Mr. Sylvester, Mr. Shelton, Colonel L'Estrange, Colonel Fletcher, and the rest of the Manchester magistrates were also in the throng ; but such as were subpoenaed as witnesses were ordered out of court, until they were called upon for examin-



ation. Witnesses on both sides withdrew by order of the court. Lord Howden was also present.

At nine o'clock the defendants were arraigned, and they severally pleaded *Not Guilty*. We have already given a copy of the indictment when the bills were found against them in Lancashire; it charged Henry Hunt, J. Saxton, J. Moorhouse, S. Bamford, R. Jones, George Swift, Robert Wilde, J. Knight, J. Healey, and——, with a conspiracy to alter the legal frame of the government and constitution of these realms, and with meeting tumultuously at Manchester, on the 16th August last, with 60,000 persons, many armed with sticks, which they carried on their shoulders like fire-arms, and with bearing flags and banners, on which were inscriptions and devices calculated to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects against the constituted authorities of the State. There were several counts varying the form of the indictment, but in substance implicating the accused in a conspiracy against the State.

The defendants conducting their own defence, were permitted to be in at the counsel's table, where Mr. Hunt took his station.

Mr. Barrow appeared as counsel for Mr. Moorhouse, and Mr. Holt for Mr. Saxton.

Mr. Littledale opened the pleadings, and at half-past nine o'clock.

Mr. Scarlett addressed the jury for the prosecution, in a speech which occupied one hour and thirty-five minutes in the delivery. He commenced by stating, that the case which he was under the necessity of opening to them arose out of circumstances which had obtained much importance, and which had so agitated the public mind, that he was persuaded the jury had often heard the subject canvassed throughout the country. He merely alluded to this notoriety for the purpose of entreating them, as far as it was possible, for their own sakes, as well as for that of justice, to banish from their mind whatever impressions they had suffered it to imbibe, touching the transactions out of which this trial arose, and solely to bring their verdict upon the facts which they should hear, supported in evidence



before them in that court. He felt peculiar satisfaction in having this trial heard before a special jury of the county of York, composed as it always was, of gentlemen of so much intelligence and integrity—a jury that could not in any degree be supposed affected by any local or temporary prejudice, which may, perhaps, have existence in the particular case elsewhere. The defendants were charged with taking a part in concerting a meeting at Manchester on the 16th of August last, the object of which was to inspire terror into the minds of his majesty's subjects, and endeavour to effect a change in the form of government, by unlawful means. Much had been said respecting this subject upon the right of the people to assemble in large bodies, and upon what constituted a legal meeting. The people of England had an undoubted right to meet for the purpose of considering public grievances, and seeking lawful redress for any evils they endured. It had long been the practice, for cities, counties, towns, corporations, districts, and trades, to meet to consider matters relating to their affairs. It had long been the practice of the constitution to hold such meetings, and to receive petitions from them on the throne, or in either Houses of Parliament. He never heard a lawyer arraign the legality of such meetings. He hoped he would never hear a decision pronounced which would militate against their continuance. But when he declared this to be the right of Englishmen, he also denied the right of *all* the people to rise *en masse*, and by the threat or terror of their physical strength overawe the constituted authorities, and declare, in such a manner, their will and pleasure to be the law and constitution of the land. Such an assertion of popular right, used by the mere weight and capricious influence of popular strength, never was, never could be the law of any country. Those who contended for such a right, and asserted that it was consonant with the early periods of the British constitution to exercise it on any vast plan in which the people chose to congregate, mistook both the law and mistated the fact. Could any man maintain that the people might in this manner recur to first principles, and state at the end



of the day's meeting, that the power of the State had again devolved upon them ; and that the original mass, as in a state of nature, were alone the possessors of power and law—that the people resumed their functions, and that the existing government was altogether destroyed ? This was the absurdity which followed from the assertion of such idle theories, which legalized a self-constituted meeting, and placed the supreme will in the hands of any demagogue who may obtain temporary ascendancy over the people, and assemble them any where he pleased—not according to the old and lawful practice of assembling them in their own towns, counties, cities, corporations or trades, but merely bringing the people from all quarters to any place he may point out, and then calling that meeting the organ of the will of the inhabitants permanently fixed on the spot. Modern times furnished no example of the exercise of such a power as vested in the people. In the republic of Athens there was certainly a wide democracy ; 30,000 citizens had there the power of debating and deciding upon, whenever they pleased, the affairs of the State. But even then it was a remarkable fact, that though the citizens asserted and maintained their own freedom, the greatest part of the inhabitants were nevertheless consigned to unrelenting slavery, and excluded from the enjoyment of any thing like civil rights. In modern times, he repeated, no such assertion of power was to be found, and its existence in the manner in which it was by some claimed was incompatible with the well-being of any state of civil society. He would now call their attention more immediately to the defendants ; of the principal of them, Mr. Hunt, it was unnecessary for him to say any thing, that gentleman had contrived to make himself pretty generally known throughout the country. There were others connected with him in this transaction, who were, however, a little more obscure, and of whom it may be necessary to say something. Knight had formerly been in trade, but of late an itinerant orator, without any fixed station or occupation. Johnson was a brush-maker, living near Manchester, and also a frequent orator at public meetings. Saxton was connected in some way with the Manchester Observer. Moorhouse was a coal-proprietor at Stock-



port. Healey was an apothecary; Bamford, Swift, and Wild, were residents in the same neighbourhood. Some time in the month of June last year, a meeting was held in Smithfield, which infused no small portion of alarm into the minds of many persons in the metropolis. The object of the meeting, so far as their resolutions, which were still cautiously worded, expressed it was to intimate to the people that the time was at hand when some extraordinary step would be taken for the recovery, as it was termed, of their liberties. The right of the people to establish a provisional government was more than hinted at, as well as their power to disfranchise the constituted authorities then dispensing the affairs of the state. Mr. Hunt, who attended this meeting by invitation, as it appeared, proposed resolutions, which disclaimed the principle of paying obedience to the existing Parliament, and recommended them to obey no law, to pay no taxes, until they obtained that species of reform which they were then engaged in seeking. A meeting was, at or about the same time, advertised to be held at Manchester, on the 9th of August, to consider of Parliamentary reform, and also to elect representatives to serve for that town in Parliament—the latter step in itself a high misdemeanour, and severely punishable by law. Mr. Hunt was also to figure away at this meeting, which, however, was very properly prevented by the magistrates of Manchester, who prohibited it as illegal by public advertisement. To connect Mr. Hunt with the intention of calling the meeting of the 9th of August at Manchester, he would shew him to have been at Bullock's Smithey, nine miles from Manchester, and three from Stokport, on the evening of the 8th, and in company with Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Moorhouse—it would appear that he expressed disappointment at the fate of the intended meeting, and his unwillingness to concur with those who were weak enough to abandon it. He harangued the people against the magistrates as he passed through Manchester, and ridiculed their proclamation, signed by nine of them, whom he compared to nine tailors seated on a shop-board. He reproached the people for



not holding the meeting they had intended to hold, and asserted it was perfectly legal, and that they ought not to have yielded. He then invited them then to meet him in Manchester on the 16th of August; and after his speech, he proceeded to Mr. Johnson's place, which is called Smedley cottage; there he remained on the 9th, and was visited by Knight and others of the defendants. Hunt was then at Manchester, the hero of the populace, an elevation which any man may hold who would preach up to them doctrines impregnated with sedition and disaffection. Magistrates at this time became alarmed at the information which reached them of strange and unusual indications of popular commotion—there were meetings in large bodies at night, and movements which shewed that a system of training and military discipline had been introduced into that part of the country. They found that a plan was maturing among them likely to affect the peace of society, difficult to be proved, and dangerous to be approached. The magistrates, as became them, made due precautions—in the interim the arrangements for the meeting of the 16th of August went on, and on the night of the 15th, two persons who approached one of the nightly meetings then held in that part of the country at White Moss, and which was going through its evolutions with the exactness of military discipline, were discovered, beset by the parties assembled, and one of them, Murray, a constable so beat as to have been seriously injured, and compelled to save his life by going upon his knees and abjuring his allegiance to the king.

Mr. Hunt here interposed, and appealed to the judge, whether the allusion to this circumstance, to which his case had not the remotest application, could be intended for any thing else than to excite an unfair prejudice against him.

Mr. Justice Bayley—If it shall appear unconnected with any transactions in which according to the evidence, you may appear to have been engaged, then I shall take care to remove any prejudice in the minds of the jury which it may appear to be calculated to excite.

Mr. Hunt.—I feel perfectly happy in your Lordship's hands.



Mr. Scarlett resumed, and said he was too old in his profession to be led astray by any interruptions, whether accidental or designed. But he would inform the defendant, if he wished to know it—[Mr. Hunt exclaimed “*Yes,*”]—what use he meant to make of it. He informed him then, that he meant to connect him deeply and criminally in the transactions that took place at Manchester and its vicinity previous to the 16th of August.—[Mr. Hunt. “*Very well, do so if you can.*”]—He meant to connect him with men who were engaged in those secret and obscure movements, The magistrates at Manchester, on finding that a gentleman from London, who had no connection with their own neighbourhood whatever, was come down to preach to the people, at another great meeting on the 16th of August, determined to take such steps as would, as far as possible, secure the public peace. In coming to that meeting of the 16th of August, he would open a scene to the jury, which he ventured to say had no example in the whole system of public meetings of any country. What was that meeting to have been? Was it to represent the feelings of the people of Manchester? No, but to congregate in that town, to the interruption of all public and private business and to the disquietude of all who had property there, the people from not only the surrounding parts, but from places at a considerable distance.—[Here the learned counsel put in a map of Manchester, and the surrounding townships, and explained, which cannot here be done if it were material, the local position of the surrounding country.]—Early on the morning of the 16th, he said the people were observed moving in large bodies upon Manchester, as a common centre. They were regularly formed; they advanced with banners and music, and with all the appearance and form of an invading army, except only the want of cannon. They advanced upon the town in divisions from Rochdale, Saddleworth, Leeds, Oldham, Middleton, and many other places in the adjoining counties. The defendant, Bamford, was seen at Middleton, arranging a body of 2,000 men; he regularly dressed them, to use a military phrase,



formed them into a hollow square, put laurels into their hats, to distinguish officers from privates, and marched them on and united them with 2,000 more men from Rochdale. Healy was at Oldham similarly occupied with his detachment, and singing on the way a song of triumph, in anticipation of the exploits of the day. The town of Manchester was thus every way enclosed by large bodies of people, marching to it on the 16th. In the first body that moved on the high road, were some of the men who had beaten the constable the previous night at White Moss, and who, as they were this day passing his house, halted and made a loud noise, whether of congratulation at the abjuration of his allegiance, or of defiance, he could not say. The parties had banners and music. About eleven o'clock Mr. Hunt set out from Mr. Johnson's, to take his part in the business of the day. He came in an open hackney chariot, accompanied by Knight and Johnson, and escorted by the Middleton and Rochdale divisions, which amounted to 4 or 5,000 men. They performed the same ceremony of hissing and shouting as they passed the constable's house which marked the passing of the previous division. Mr. Hunt and his party took their way to St. Peter's area, where others were engaged in erecting a hustings. The magistrates, for the better preservation of the public peace, had planted a line of constables from the house in which they took their station to the hustings. When the builders of the hustings observed this, they moved it about fifteen yards further away. The populace had by this time assembled in large numbers, and were forming a thick groupe around the hustings, and special care was taken to form in close ranks, and admit "only friends." The country parties advanced in regular step, took up their position, and shouldered and brandished their sticks, they received and obeyed orders, wheeled with exactitude, and the whole arrangement of the force denoted previous habit and discipline. On one of the banners was inscribed "Equal Representation or Death." What, he would ask, could be the object of such a meeting, unless to use physical force for the accomplishment of the ob-



jects it had in view? Was it to procure fairly and properly a reform in Parliament? Surely whatever opinions prevailed upon that question, there could be none among good and wise men, as to the effect which must attend any alteration obtained by any other than legal means.—Who would wish to see any system overthrown by the agency of madness and violence? Were the people to be told that equal representation was so inalienable and imprescriptive a right, that they ought not to relinquish it except by their death? Was that to be the *sine qua non* of their existence, and without it, were they to rush on to death? “No Corn Laws” too were inscribed upon their banners, as if they had not had enough to inflame the popular mind without that addition. On another banner was inscribed “Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Election by Ballot.” Now he knew, that there were very many well meaning men who advocated the first of these measures. But was it right that such a principle should be artfully held up to the people, as an imprescriptive right which they ought to put forth as an imperative demand, just as they were desired by any unprincipled demagogue? It was melancholy that the populace could be so worked upon, often to their own destruction. In vain were their eyes opened by ridicule—he recollected Hogarth’s fine print of the change in the calendar. Many years since an alteration was made in the calendar for the computation of time, when it became necessary to strike out eleven days to make the divisions answer to the best received calculations. Mobs were then found to protest against this alteration, and heroes were also found to work on their folly and passions. People were found preaching about the absurd notion that they lost eleven days of their existence by the change, and great efforts were made to adhere in preference to the old plan.—It was finely ridiculed in Hogarth’s print, in which the mob were represented throwing up their hats in great commotion, and exclaiming “give us back our eleven days—why are they to be taken from us?”—[Laughter.] The same absurdity was always to be practised upon the credulity of the multitude. He next proceeded to advert to the banner with the inscription,



“Let us die like men, and not be sold like slaves.” Gracious God ! exclaimed the learned counsel, what meaning had such an inscription as that—who was going to sell the people—who was bargaining for the good people of Oldham, Royton, Leeds, Rochdale, Middleton, and the adjoining places ? If nobody was then employed in selling these people, what was the object of the inscription ? The other flag was a painted dagger alone ; what could be the meaning of such a device as that ? Was it meant to convey to the people, that through the operation of such an instrument they were alone to carry their point ? He knew not what could be said to justify such proceedings : he feared there were those in society who, though they had not the courage and audacity to proclaim base opinions from their mouths, were yet ready to insinuate them in any other less direct channel. The learned counsel then, after some further remarks in reprobation of such devices, asked whether it were possible for society to exist if it were competent to any man to carry the people about after him in meetings like these ? If they were tolerated, the civil power would be obviously found inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, and a large military force must always be imposed upon the people to ensure the public tranquillity. If the facts communicated to him were supported in evidence, he apprehended the jury would, by the conviction of the defendants, put an end to these threatening dangers which menaced the public tranquillity. He left the whole case to their consideration, and requested them to form their conclusions alone on the evidence submitted to them.

The first witness called was—

Thomas Tiddler examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock—I keep the Red Lion, three miles from Stockport, where Mr. Hunt came with a servant on the afternoon of the 9th of August last ; he baited his horse and dined at my house. I know the defendant, Mr. Moorhouse, who was a coach proprietor and auctioneer at Stockport. Moorhouse came immediately after in a post-chaise with his brother, and inquired for Mr. Hunt, who had just left my house. After stopping five or ten mi-



minutes, he went off in the direction Mr. Hunt went, on towards Stockport. When Moorhouse first came in the neighbourhood of my house, Mr. Hunt was at my house, but the former did not then enter. Mr. Hunt stopped four hours.

Cross-examined.—It was not true that Mr. Hunt was met by Moorhouse at Bullock's Smithey, and conducted on to Stockport. All I know is, that Mr. Hunt had gone from my house before Moorhouse came there. I know Mr. Moorhouse intimately these dozen years; and he is in the habit of stopping at my house when he passes that way. I have heard he attended public meetings since the 16th of August; but I cannot state it as a fact. Before that time I never heard that he did.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—Mine is the principal inn at Bullock's Smithey; Moorhouse stopped opposite my house in the morning, and did not call; he did at his second visit when Mr. Hunt was gone; it was a matter of public notoriety that Mr. Hunt was there; Mr. Hunt stopped four hours at my house; Mr. Johnson of Manchester, did not call there; one Jump did, and asked to see Mr. Hunt, into whose room he was admitted; I know none of the other defendants; all I know is, that by Mr. Hunt's permission, I conducted three successive parties, of two each, into his room; the door was not locked, any body who inquired was admitted. I know of no plot carried on there.

Re-examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—The parties admitted to Mr. Hunt were strangers to him.

Henry Lomas, examined by Mr. Cross.—I kept the White Lion, at Stockport, on the 8th of August; late on that night Mr. Moorhouse and Mr. Johnson came to Mr. Hunt at my house; and also early on the following morning, when they were joined by a stranger and a crowd of persons. I saw the gentleman who was called Sir Charles Wolseley, and at a late period of the morning of the 9th of August, Parson Harrison joined them. Such crowds were not customary at Stockport, except when Mr. Hunt was making his speeches. They went (or some of them) into Mr. Moorhouse's house, where chaises



were getting ready in the yard. One gig was also there into which Mr. Hunt and Sir Charles Wolseley entered and Moorhouse and Johnson went into a chaise, and went off altogether towards Manchester.

Cross-examined.—I know Moorhouse perfectly well, and that he worked stages on that line of road. I don't know that he takes in other horses than his own to bait. He took in Mr. Hunt's certainly at this time. I can't say that Mr. Moorhouse has been in the habit of addressing public meetings, but he certainly had two, three, or four crowds about this time, when he used to be speaking to large meetings on the road.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—My business is a publican; I keep a chaise, and so does Mr. Moorhouse, but I am not a rival of his. I have known public meetings at Sandy-brow, and attended them, but I never saw Mr. Moorhouse there; if I had, I should have recollected it: I am one of the yeomanry, and was called upon in that way to attend the meetings; the same cause led me to Manchester on the 16th August. I have said that crowds were there to hear Hunt's and Moorhouse's speeches. I never saw crowds about the Duke of Wellington, nor around Mr. Cross, the learned counsel, after the Derby trials. I was at St. Peter's field, Manchester, on the 16th.—Here the witness smiled, and on being asked the cause said, I could not help laughing at it, for we had no right to be called there. I was in the Cheshire yeomanry at the dispersion of the Manchester meeting on the 16th of August.

Cross-examined.—I laughed because it was a fine day, and I was called out, as I shall ever be ready to be, in defence of my king and country. I saw no particular transaction that day. I was in my uniform, and had sword and pistols. I saw no marching in array, except among the yeomanry and soldiers—no invasion of Manchester; but I saw flags and banners. I was at St. Peter's field betwixt one and two o'clock, and remained perhaps an hour, or an hour and a half. I saw nothing particular but the people running one way or another; the Cheshire yeomanry remained still—they cut nobody, though I saw some people down: it did not at-



tract my particular attention. I cannot say who cut the people. I do not know at what time I left Stockport; it might be seven or eight o'clock; between that and one, I was where Captain Newton chose to take me in the neighbouring county. The Stockport troop had nothing to do with the running away of the people. I saw some flags which the cavalry had in their hands; how they came into their hands, I cannot say. Some colours got into our hands, two I believe, but how I don't know. We took back one of the flags to Stockport. I never saw it since. Our swords were drawn before we came upon the ground, by order of our officers. As we got to the ground the people were all running away except a few; we halted at the instant and dispersed nobody; I saw no resistance made to the Stockport troop: I saw persons going to the meeting but not in battle array. I saw nothing to call for the interference of our troop.

Re-examined.—We were formed to the left of the 15th, but not in sight of the hustings, nor could I see what was going on in the turnpike road.

Mr. Scarlett here objected to the relevancy of this course of examination.

Mr. Justice Bayley explained to Mr. Hunt that what followed the meeting of the 16th August could not affect his case. The charge against him was for a conspiracy entered into previous and upon that day, before the dispersion. He might, however, question the witness a little out of the strict line, if he meant to impeach his credibility.

Mr. Hunt thanked his lordship, and said that was his object.

Michael Bentley examined.—I live at Newton Norris, near Stockport, and was there on the 8th August last, and saw Mr. Johnson there in the evening of that day in a gig with Mr. Hunt going towards Stockport. I saw Mr. Hunt with the gentleman they called Sir Charles Wolesley on the following day.

Cross-examined.—I know Mr. Johnson: am not a yeoman; have been a clerk in a counting house, but am now out of employ. I was at Manchester, on St. Peter's field, the 16th August, merely from curiosity, and was at the back of the hus-



tings ; I saw no acts of violence among the large body of people until the military came. I saw one or two men very insolent and wanting to break through the ranks of the constables. I think there were 50 or 60,000 persons there, and I only saw one or two rather rough. Either on the way or on the spot I saw nothing that alarmed me until the cavalry came. I was then, indeed, afraid [Mr. Hunt.—“ It was quite time then to look to yourself”]—I saw no arms among the people ;—I live at Stockport ; I saw nobody cut, but a constable pressed down by the people ; I don't know whether he had a limb broke ; I don't know whether he was flying from the cavalry.—I think it was as the people were flying from the cavalry. I saw the cavalry come among the people, and I, who was for a moment alarmed, got among the constables, who formed two rows from the house where the magistrates sat up to the hustings. I saw Nadin on the ground, but I saw nobody insult him.—I heard Mr. Hunt address the people, and recommend them to be peaceable, and they remained so until the cavalry charged with the exception of one or two, who wanted to press roughly through the constables. I knew one of them. Thomason.

Examined by Mr. Barrow.—I know Mr. Moorhouse, but I did not see him on the hustings ; he was in the carriage going there.

Re-examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—But nothing of any interest transpired in this re-examination, except his stating he saw the flags with inscriptions among the people, and the coach bring up Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson to the hustings, and that he heard Mr. Hunt say on the hustings, “ If any people break the peace, put them down, keep them down, and make them quiet.” He could form no judgment how many of the crowd could hear Mr. Hunt.

Mary Cadman examined.—I was a servant with Mr. Moorhouse last August. On the 8th August, there was a bed made up for him then.

Mr. Hunt.—I admit I slept there on that night.

Mr. Moorhouse was (she added) a very religious man, and used often to read his Bible to the servants. She expected



no riot on the 8th or 9th August. Mr. Moorhouse had so little idea of it, that he took his wife with him, he had eleven children.

Samuel Morton examined.—I lived on the 9th of August near St. Michael's church, Manchester. On that day there was a great noise that Johnson, Hunt, and Moorhouse were coming. They soon after appeared, the two former in a gig, there was a chaise behind them; they came opposite the Saint Michael's church public house, with Sir Charles Wolesley. Mr. Hunt got on his legs, and began speaking from the gig. He said, among other things, in allusion to the Manchester magistrates, and compared them to nine tailors being on a shop-board, for forbidding the meeting that was to be on the 9th, and which he said was a legal meeting. He encouraged them to be firm and come forward, and no doubt they would prosper. Before this took place, I had seen the placards from the magistrates posted on the walls of the town, forbidding the meeting on the 9th—The nine persons who signed the placard were all magistrates. There was a great crowd assembled to see Mr. Hunt. In the course of that day Mr. Hunt recommended them to come forward on the 16th—the call was answered by loud cheers and cries of "We will," Mr. Hunt then waved his white hat; Mr. Johnson was with Hunt, whose speech continued about half an hour or three quarters; they then drove off to Mr. Johnson's house to dinner, as I suppose; about noon, the following Monday, I perceived many thousands of people in motion; I saw Mr. Johnson coming with his throng near Willow Grove; Hunt and Johnson were in a carriage with a great number of people, five or six marching in a breadth, and thought they kept step very well, like soldiers. The body was half an hour moving by where I stood. There was some music, for I heard a bugle blow. They halted at Murray, the constable's door, and hissed him; a man gave the signal by a shout.—(He then described the banners.)

Mr. Hunt said, that as it was in evidence two of the flags were in possession of the Stockport troop of yeomanry, they



ought to be produced in court, instead of being alluded to by oral evidence.

Mr. Justice Bayley, said that only two of them were said to have been so disposed of.

The witness, in his resumed examination, said.—In passing Murray's, the mob shouted out they wanted some White Moss humbug. The town was at this time very tumultuous, and I felt very much alarmed. I have lived in Manchester forty years, and I saw nothing so tumultuous there before. Public and private business was at a stand; people were afraid. I am a manufacturer, and could not certainly attend to my own business.

Cross-examined by Mr. Holt.—I do not know Saxton, nor can I speak to his person; he is a stranger to me.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—I am a fustian-manufacturer, and I could not carry on my business that day, from the people going backwards and forwards. When the procession was gone there was a good deal of running up and down. I live in Essex-row, No. 5, and that is not near the road taken by the parties. I was at Withey grove when I met the people coming; I stopped until they passed, but did not go home afterwards to my business; I went on to the corner of Hanging-hitch, which is about a stone's throw from Withey grove; I was alarmed at the black flag, and thought they were going to level something. I am a married man, and have had ten children; seven are now living; none of them were at Peterloo, nor did I go to the place. Other people were at work, though I was not. Notwithstanding my alarm at the black flag, I did not go home to mind my business and wife and family, but went on with the crowd a short way. I thought there would be a disturbance and a fight. I heard trumpets blowing, people generally fight after they are done blowing trumpets. I consider a meeting tumultuous when there is a rackets assembly. I saw some of the weavers come up with Mr. Hunt. Plenty of boys, girls, and women were in the crowd. I cannot answer whether they marched in step with them. I cannot tell whether the women felt as alarmed



as I did; I can only speak for myself; I saw many whom I knew among them. The alarm did not take away my appetite, for I went home to dinner, and "sir," exclaimed the witness to Mr. Hunt, "if you had been in London, there would have been nobody there. I saw the chairing at the election the other day, but I was not alarmed for there were no black flags; there were flags and banners and music, but it had not the same appearance as at the Manchester meeting. The difference was, that one looked something like war and disturbance, and the other like merriment and rejoicing. The former apprehension was created by the people coming such a distance, with caps of liberty, and flags of "Liberty or Death." At both processions there was music. I saw no person drunk at Manchester, but I did see one in that state at the York chairing. It was the sober procession, not the drunken, that looked, in his opinion, like war. He could not say there were women and children in the York procession. I can't say that I saw a blood red flag with a spike on it at the chairing, or one with an inscription about the Corn Bill.

Re-examined.—The reason of my keeping my family at home was because there was danger in their going abroad.

To a question from Mr. Hunt, witness said—I do not recollect any thing you said about the blunder made by the magistrates in the hand-bill, prohibiting the meeting on the 9th of August.

Examined by Mr. Johnson.—There are many men in Manchester greater levellers than I am. I have been in Lancaster gaol. I have not since I came out, paid any of my old debts; I have paid all those debts I have contracted since that period; I was discharged under the Insolvent Act. I can fight a little at times; I never fought with Mr. Healey for asking rent from me. If it ever comes in my power, I intend to pay my debts. I have been unfortunate, and I gave up all my property to my creditors. It is two years ago since I took the benefit of the Act.

James Standrig examined by Mr. Littledale.—I saw Mr. Hunt, on the 9th of August, in Blakeley-street Manchester.



He was speaking to a crowd of people; he stood in a gig. There was a great number of persons about him; nearly 1000. He said that he heard of the meeting being postponed by the magistrates and had seen their proclamation to that effect, with nine signatures attached to it. It reminded him of the old proverb, that it required nine tailors to make a man. He also said something about a *notorious quorum*, but I don't recollect the particulars. He added, that he was surprised to find that some persons from Manchester should have gone to Liverpool to inquire if the meeting was legal, as he knew that it was. He said there was to be another meeting on the following Monday; but I did not hear him say whether he would attend it or not. I saw placards calling the meeting on the 9th. I can't swear they were exactly like that now in court.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I am in the employ of a timber-merchant, at Manchester. I took no notes of what you said. I think I wrote some part of it for a man connected with the police. I did not hear you say that you had important private business to transact, and that you must return to the country on the 16th. I did not hear you say any thing of the blunder of the magistrates in threatening all the people with their displeasure if they did not attend the meeting, although they had previously declared it illegal.

John Chadwick examined by Mr. Scarlett—I am a shoemaker at Manchester. I went to Hardwick-green to meet Mr. Hunt on the 9th of August. Johnson, Sir C. Wolesley, Parson Harrison, and Moorhouse were with him. They came into the town attended by nearly 300 people. The crowd kept increasing as they advanced. On coming into Manchester, Mr. Hunt said to those near his gig, "shout, shout, shout!" The people obeyed, and the shouting was repeated until they reached the Observer office, where they halted. Mr. Hunt whirled his hat, and every time he did so, the shouts were repeated. He made a speech opposite Johnson's at Shude-hill. When he reached Dyer's Croft he made another speech. I heard him tell the people to come on one side, and he would tell them his errand to Manchester. He said he was invited to attend a



Manche meeting, by the Manchester reform committee, and that he and his gig and his political Bob (his horse) had set out together. At Coventry, he saw the Courier, which said, that he durst not show his face in Manchester, or if he did, they would make him smell gunpowder. He went on to state that at Bullock Smithy, he saw the proclamation of the Manchester magistrates, preventing the meeting. He added, that he would have the Courier know he was not afraid of gunpowder. After hoping he should see the Stockport people at the meeting of the 16th, he told them all to go home. He told the Stockport people, he hoped they would bring as many of their neighbours as they could to the meeting of the 16th. I know White Moss; it is five miles from Manchester. I set out for it about twelve o'clock on the night of Saturday the 14th of August. I got there before daylight and found several persons assembled together. Myself and a friend went there out of curiosity, as we heard there was to be training there. The crowd kept increasing from all directions. On a horn being blown they fell into ranks like soldiers; they said it was a signal to them to fall in. I did not fall in at first. I had never been there before. The people from the different neighbouring towns fell into different companies, and had their separate leaders. They marched about, and when the orders to fire were given, they clapped their hands. The words "Make ready," "Present," "Fire," were regularly given, as it is to soldiers. About six o'clock they all joined in a body, and then they made me and all the other spectators fall in with them. I did not know any of them by name. I saw Murray there.

Mr. Hunt objected to this evidence. The witness had sworn that he knew none of these people.

Mr. Scarlett said he would show that some of these people had attended Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Hunt said, it mattered not unless some of those persons were among the accused.

Mr. Scarlett said, he hoped Mr. Hunt would not be allowed to disturb the proceedings of the court.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—Mr. Hunt has a right to take the ob-



jection, and I am doubting whether this is evidence—[The witness was sent out.]

Mr. Scarlett said he was about to show, that some of these persons who were training, and who assaulted Murray, had attended the meeting of the 16th, and had also cheered opposite Murray's house, he would show that Mr. Hunt and his party had done the same. This he conceived was perfectly regular.

Mr. Justice Bayley—When you have shown that any of the persons of the White Moss party were at the meeting on the 16th, then it will be evidence, but I think you had better prove that first.

Witness was again called in and examined. I was at the meeting of the 16th. The first man I saw leading the Middleton and Rochdale people up, was a man I had seen on White Moss, with a letter which had come from Manchester. I saw him after I saw Murray. The letter arrived about two hours after me, and continued there till I came away. After the letter came, the meeting formed into a hollow square, in order to hear the letter read, the man who brought it in was placed in the centre. The man I saw leading the Rochdale people on the 16th, said the letter had no signature, and that they would have nothing to do with it. He whom I saw leading the Rochdale people on the 16th, was one of the men who were commanding the people at White Moss; I saw Murray the constable there; there was a cry of "a spy, a spy," raised by the people; Murray ran away, and the people followed him. On the 16th, I went about eleven o'clock towards Smedley cottage, to meet Mr. Hunt. There was a great crowd there. The Middleton and Rochdale people came by, and I joined them, and came with them into Manchester, before he (Mr. Hunt) started. The people marched in rows, but did not appear to have any officers or commanders. I returned to Shude-hill to meet Mr. Hunt. I saw him in an open-topped chaise. I saw Johnson and Knight and Carlile with him; there were many hundred persons assembled. They went on into town, but they did not march in ranks. At Johnson's shop they halted and gave a shout; at the Exchange they also shouted. Murray's house is in Withey Grove



When the crowd came by it, they hissed as loud as they could. I did not go into the field with the crowd, but took a short cut, by which I reached it before them. I saw the carriage of Mr. Hunt arrive.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—I live at No. 30, Miller-street, Manchester; I have lived there nine years. I work a little for myself. I know you are Hunt; when you bade the people shout, I did not join them. I went through mere curiosity, and nothing else. I staid up all the night I went to White Moss; the man who went with me is named William; I do not know his other name; he saw all I saw at White Moss. I never told those who brought me here, that another person had been with me at White Moss. I have frequently talked over the matter with the man who went with me. I do not know where he lives. The story I have told here has been taken down in writing by Mr. Milne; he never asked me whether any body had been with me. I went to him of my own accord to speak the truth; I went to him last Thursday. I never went to him before that time. There were about 300 persons at White Moss when I got there. There were some scores, who did not fall in until they were forced. They said to us "you must all fall in, for we'll have no lookers on." When I first came, they had not fallen in,—they were all sitting down. There are roads close to White Moss, and persons passing could not miss seeing the people marching. When I fell out of the ranks, I went into the next field, lest I should be made fall in again. I think there were as many spectators as persons marching. I left them about seven in the morning, and went home. I do not recollect any other words used, but "marching" and "countermarch;" when they said "march;" the men walked up the field. I think when they said "countermarch," they marched back again, not backwards, but to the place from which they came; I did not see them raise their arms in the attitude of firing; I did not see the people in the carriage hiss or take any notice of Murray's house; any person who should state the contrary would state what is false—[Witness described the flags borne by the different parties on the



16th.]—I heard shouting and cries of "Hunt and Liberty." There was no disposition to do mischief manifested by the crowd; they were all gay and cheerful. If any person was to swear that the people marched by with you four or five abreast in a riotous manner, they would swear a falsehood. I saw no swords, pistols, or bludgeons. I saw some walking sticks with some of the people. If any of them had had weapons calculated to do mischief I must have seen them; I never cheered on any occasion. When I got to Peter's field I stood near the house where the magistrates were. When the cavalry came in, I was rather alarmed, but not before. Peter's-field was full of people, who were all standing peaceably. I saw nothing to the contrary. They remained so till the cavalry began to go down. As they were going to the stage I quitted the field. They came in with their swords drawn, and in a sort of a trot. I went away because I thought there would be danger. There were many others running as well as me. I went to White Moss, as it was well known in the town that drilling was going on there.

Cross-examined by Robert Wyld—I left Manchester about twelve o'clock on the night of the 15th, and arrived at White Moss about six in the morning. It is day-light between two and three in the morning in August. It would be a hard job for me to tell you the road I took to White Moss.

Cross-examined by Mr. Johnson—Some of the people went before Mr. Hunt's carriage on the 16th. You may call it marching if you will. I can't say whether they went six a-breast. I was before the carriage, and do not know how those behind it went. I heard no sound of bugle, nor any order for hissing given at Murray's.

Re-examined by Mr. Scarlett.—I went to Blakely, and then crossed the fields to White Moss. The nearest turnpike road to the Moss is a mile and a half distant. The nearest village is Blakeley which is a mile off. There were some stout lads who marched before the carriage of Mr. Hunt. I saw them in Ashton-lane.

The placard calling the meeting of the 9th of August, in



order to consider of the best means of obtaining a radical reform in the House of Commons was then put in.

Mr. Hunt objected to this as evidence, unless it could be shown that he had been a party to its being published.

Mr. Justice Bayley said the pamphlet had not yet been proved.

James Murray examined by Serjeant Hullock. I live at Manchester. I know Mr. Shawcross; I went with him on the night of the 14th of August. Mr. Rymer and his son were with us. We went to White Moss. We left Manchester on purpose to go there, and reached it by day-light. Hearing some persons near us shouting and hallooing; we lay down to prevent our being seen. We then got to the Moss, where the men were drilling, there might be 600 or 800 of them. The plot of ground was square. They were in squads, and there was a drill serjeant at the head or end of every squad. They were marching when I went up. I heard the words "march," "wheel," and halt." It appeared like a camp, the men obeyed the orders given to them. I remember the words, "eyes right," "dress," and forward." I was close amongst them on the left hand. The first words said to me were by a drill serjeant, who bade me fall in. I knew the man, his name was Caterall. I said I thought I would fall in soon. The different serjeants began to shift their squads and look steadfastly. I did not like their looks, and thought of shifting my ground, when I heard a cry of "Spy," it ran along the lines, and I heard the words "mill them, d——n them, mill them; I then heard a cry of "they are constables;" and the answer to that was, "d——n them, murder them." I moved off, and so did Shawcross, but we were followed by 80 or 90 men. They overtook Shawcross, beat him, and knocked him in the ditch.

Mr. Hunt here submitted that this was not evidence. This was proof of an assault for which men had been convicted and punished.

Mr. Scarlett contended that he had a right to examine this witness. His object was to show the connection between the



men at White Moss and those assembled on the 16th of August. The charge against the accused was that of conspiring to disturb the King's peace. Now the conduct of those assembled at White Moss—

Mr. Hunt said, that he felt as fully as any one, the grossness and illegality of the conduct of those persons at White Moss; but he hoped the court would not implicate him and his fellow defendants in it, upon such testimony as that already given.

Mr. Justice Bayley said, the only question was, whether those assembled on the 14th had not intended to give those assembled on the 16th that superiority which military training gives? and if so, whether it is not evidence to show the intention of the parties in assembling?

Mr. Murray's examination continued.—From twenty to thirty men followed and overtook me. They began to beat me with sticks and kick me most violently with their clogs. I desired them to give over, that that did not look like a reform in Parliament; it was, I said, very different treatment from that received by prisoners of war. They asked me how we would treat, them if we took them prisoners to Manchester? I said we would treat them as prisoners, and not murder them. They continued beating me, and one said, "Shall we kill him out and out, and put him in the pit, or let him go?" A man said he has had enough; another, "If he has any more he'll die." They then desisted and held a consultation, after which one of them asked me, if I would consent to go down on my knees, and never be a king's man again, and never name the name of the king any more? I said yes, as I considered my life was in danger. I fell upon my knees; the words I now mention were proposed to me, and I repeated them. They then let me get up. One man struck me twice after I got up, and that was all. I went to Middleton, as I was unable to go to Manchester. I was unable to stir after I got to bed. I was the next day removed to Manchester where I was confined to my bed. On the next day, the 16th, I heard the sound of bugles, and on being removed to the window, I heard the cry of "halt!"—the



crowd then halted near my door. I looked out, and saw the streets filled with people. Those in the centre were in ranks about six abreast. The bugle was again sounded, and I heard the word "march," and the party moved on, and began to hiss very loud. Many of them had sticks. They had several flags and banners with them. Those who marched in line amounted to between 5,000 and 6,000 men. Besides these, there was a large crowd of men and women; I could not identify any of them; I was unable to go out that day. This was about 11 o'clock. About one o'clock, another crowd of men, women and children came past my house. There was an open carriage, in which I saw Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson, and I think another person. I do not think it stopped at my door, but it moved very slowly. The whole of the crowd hissed and pointed at my windows. I think those in the carriage looked at my house.

(To a question from the Judge.)—I am sure they looked up as they passed. I think those in the carriage were standing. There were nearly 4,000 persons, many of whom were women and children. The road from Smedley Cottage does not run past my house; by going that way, they went 500 or 600 yards out of the way.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—I am not employed by the police; I am a confectioner; I am a district constable, sworn in by the magistrate. I went to White Moss, in consequence of the alarmed state of the country, as well as of my family and myself. I went of my own free will. He told several persons he would go, as he had heard of drilling. He believed he told Nadin. I got nothing for my trouble from the police. There was a subscription for the wounded at Peter-loo, and I got a part of it to pay my doctor's bill. I got £15. I will swear that I never arranged with Nadin or any other person, nor was I employed by any one to go there. It was my own act and deed. On my oath, to the best of my belief, Nadin did not know I was going. I saw no lookers-on at White Moss. They were all at drill, except myself and those who went with me. He did not notice the lookers-on. There were some persons at a



distance who might be looking on for what I knew.—There were not many looking on in front of the ranks. If there were 200 lookers-on, he must have seen them. They had no arms. He did not hear them say, “make ready, present, fire.” But if it had been said, he must have heard it—he first mentioned this to Joshua Pollet. My depositions were made in my bed-room before Mr. Norris and Mr. Trafford, on the same day that I was attacked. On the 21st he went before a magistrate, in order to correct an omission which he had made in his depositions. They were put down on a slip of paper, but I do not recollect whether I swore to them or not. I think myself a religious man. I go to church and chapel. I know Robert Meagher. I do not recollect any particular conversation with him. I do not recollect any particular conversation between Meagher, Sandy Moreton, and myself. Perhaps I do not like the reformers, but I do not recollect using any violent language against them. I never said that I would rather be rowed to my own house in a boat in the blood of the reformers, than walk upon the pavement; I once said, that if it was to come to an action, I would not give up to the reformers, even were I to fight up to my knees in blood. I went one night to the Cock public-house, and being a king’s man, they were all at me; I had a good deal of ale, and I do not recollect what I did say; I will not swear that I did not use the words you mention. I know a Mr. Chapman, at Manchester; I went not long since in a coach with him to Liverpool; there were six in the coach; we spoke of reform; I do not recollect saying that if I had the command of the troops on the 16th of August, I would have put every b—— rascal of them to death; I swear I did not say so. [Mr. Hunt here cautioned the witness, and repeated the question.] I did not say I would make the troops fire, and put all present to death. I will not swear that I did not say this. I was sober in the coach. On my oath I did not say so to my knowledge. Mr. Chapman did not call me to account for saying so. I told Mr. Chapman I would not believe a reformer upon his oath, and I now repeat it. I would not believe any reformer on his



**oath.** Some words about firing might fly out of my mouth, and my enemies might have misconstrued it against me. I do not recollect seeing you at the Spread Eagle, Hanging Ditch. I was one of a party of King's men who once went into a private room in that house in which you were. The boroughreeve and constables were going their rounds, and I joined them, but I do not recollect the door being broken open; I swear it.

**Cross-examined by Mr. Johnson.**—I never took money from my wife, and went off to Liverpool with females of loose character. I never made any offer of myself to serve the office of special constable.

**John Shawcross examined**—I am a clerk at the police-office, Manchester. The printed placard, announcing the intended meeting of the 9th of August, was shown to witness, who said such bills were posted up as early as the 23rd of July, in the public streets at Manchester. He was also shown the prohibitory placard issued by the magistrates, which he said was placarded in a similar manner. The witness then corroborated the evidence of last witness, Murray, respecting the outrage committed upon him by the people assembled at White Moss.

**Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt**—I know most of the defendants, and accompanied Murray to Lancaster castle, to see if I could identify the parties. White Moss was about a mile and a quarter across. The men there were in squads, as if under leaders. Heard nothing said about "firing," "marching," "counter-marching;"—heard nothing said of that kind at all, except wheeling to the right and left. The people did not call upon him to fall in; they never said any thing of that kind, nor did he ever give them any hopes that he would join them, by and by. No such proposition was made to him. If any body said so, it was not true.

In answer to questions from the judge, he said the squads appeared some of them awkward and some perfect in drilling.

**By the desire of Mr. Hunt.**—The people who went to White Moss did not go secretly, but set up a hooting every ten minutes; they were very noisy on the way.



John Heywood examined—I live near Manchester and was there on Sunday morning the 15th of August. While there, a man came up to me and said “here, lads, is another spy;” they then beat me with sticks as fast as they could. He saw the same body of men marching from Middleton towards Manchester, with flags and a cap of liberty. As they came along, they said they would give me what they gave me short the day before, if I followed them. One of them said, “that’s he that was at the Moss the day before.” I went, on the same day, within four miles of Smedley cottage, and saw Mr. Hunt addressing the people there.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I saw one of the parties who beat me since—he is now convicted for it, and lodged in Lancaster castle. They did not use the sticks as arms, nor was there any command of “make ready,” “fire;” nor did they give me any hint to join them. I heard Mr. Hunt speak that day from Smedley cottage, but what he said I don’t know. I saw him throw up the sash, before he spoke from the window; I was standing in an adjoining meadow.

In answer to questions from Mr. Scarlett, he said he stood about 400 yards from the window.

At six o’clock the court rose, and adjourned the further hearing until the following morning.

Mr. Hunt was cheered as he passed home to his lodgings. He cross-examined the witnesses with great ingenuity, and appeared cool and firm in his deportment throughout the day.

On the second day, the court was crowded soon after seven o’clock. The rush when the doors were thrown open was excessive, and a number of ladies again encountered the pressure of the crowd—they were, however, accommodated with such places as could be spared near the bench. At nine o’clock, Mr. Hunt entered accompanied by the other defendants. He seemed in excellent spirits. Mr. Harmer and Mr. Pearson assisted him as on the former day. Mr. Hunt was cheered by some of the people through whom he passed on his way to the court. Mr. Justice



Bayley took his seat on the bench at half-past nine o'clock. Many persons of rank in the county were also present.

The first witness called was

William Morris examined by Mr. Serjeant Cross—I am a weaver, residing five miles from Manchester, near White Moss; I know a place called Smedley. In the course of the month of August, last I saw many groups of people near Middleton: Samuel Bamford (one of the defendants) used to be among them. Early on the 16th of August, about nine or ten o'clock, I saw many hundreds of people put into regular form at Middleton, with two flags; twenty five men in each section. I know not who formed them into sections, nor how many there were, but there certainly was a large number collected that day in the township—2 or 3,000 at the least. They marched off four abreast, after being first drawn into the form of a square, in the inside of which was placed a chair, in which Samuel Bamford stood, and said, “Friends and neighbours, I have a few words to relate; you will march off this place quietly, not to insult any one, but rather take an insult; I do not think there will be any disturbance or any to do; if there is, it will be after we come back—there is no fear, for the day is our own.” I did not hear him say any thing more. He got off the chair, and spread laurel among the men, who were to command the sections; some put it into their breast, and others in their hats. It was after this they marched off four abreast. Before they went away, a large number of people came, also arranged in form, from Rochdale, with a band of music before them, and bearing two flags, which had an inscription, but I do not recollect it. Both bodies, which were of nearly equal number, joined, and then went off together, each with a cap of liberty. The men had nothing in their hands but bits of switches or small sticks. Before that day I saw the Middleton people forming and arranging both in the fields and high roads. Bamford was with them different times. On the 8th of August they talked of a row at Manchester, but I cannot say that any of the defendants were there. On the 16th, Bamford was in the front of the people. I know John Whitworth, who was a private in



the 6th regiment of foot ; he was drilling the men ; but not on the 16th of August, John Hayward, who was a private in the 16th dragoons, was doing the same.

Cross-examined, by the defendant Bamford. I am swearing the whole truth. I did not see who put the men in form on the morning of the 16th; but I saw you address them from the chair, and heard you recommend them to be peaceable, and did understand you wished them to continue so the whole of the day. There were two flags, but I heard you say nothing of what they were to serve for. I was only a dozen yards from you, and I think I could very well hear what you said. I do not recollect your saying, that when they got to Manchester, every man was to remain around his own banner ; nor that they were to return home quietly and orderly after the business of the day, and that if any stragglers were on the ground, they were not to form with them, but to look out for their own banner. Many thousands went before and followed the Middleton and Rochdale people, who were not formed with them in the march ; they mixed up with them, as well as a good deal of women and children. I know your wife by sight, but it is not every where I see her that I recollect her. I did not observe her or your child in the crowd that day. The crowd appeared promiscuous, I know there were many people and stragglers at the right and left of you, but none in form, except those you led up. Barrowfield was the place where I first saw you with the men. I have seen many processions with music at Middleton of the Orangemen and Odd Fellows, they had flags and inscriptions. I was at Middleton on the proclamation of his Majesty George the Fourth, and I saw then a procession of the Odd Fellows bearing a flag.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I am unwilling to interrupt you, but how does this bear upon the point ?

Mr. Bamford—I mean to show, that it is a common practice in this part of the country to have these sort of processions. I know what marching is, for I learnt it when I was a soldier. You can tell what they were to do, as you were with them.

Cross examined by Mr. Hunt.—It is twenty five years since,



I was a non-commissioned officer in the 104th regiment; I remained so as long as I staid in the service; I was in the habit of a soldier for three years, but I never took an oath, and was therefore not sworn in the oath of allegiance. I did not on that account feel myself bound to remain with the regiment any longer than I thought proper. When I had seen as much of the service as I liked, I wished them good morning [a laugh] I considered myself to be with them, but not as a soldier, though I wore the clothing. When I thought I had been there long enough I made the best of my way home. I was never told that being a deserter, and having violated my oath, I would not be a good witness in a court of justice. I entered the regiment as what was called a mushroom serjeant [loud laughter]. I had so much a man for enlisting on the recruiting service I have been in Ireland, but never happened to see Orange clubs marching there as at Middleton. I never saw the Orangemen with shillelas to defend themselves, but I have seen them with common sticks.

Mr. Hunt.—You were not alarmed then?

Witness—No, I was not, nor was I alarmed at your set—[laughter] I saw no depredations committed on their march, nor can I tell whether people were alarmed or not by them. I saw them insult nobody. The high road from Middleton to Manchester is within half a mile, or thereabouts, of Smedley Cottage; I had nothing to do with Smedley Cottage; it was the learned counsel's (Mr. Cross) question that put it into my head. I will not swear that they did or did not play "God save the King." (He added with warmth, on Mr. Hunt's pressing the question), I did not expect those loyal tunes would be played by them; I did not hear them play disloyal tunes, nor the "Rogue's March," which perhaps I think is your's nor the Deserter's" which may be I'd have taken to myself [laughter] I saw none of them drunk on their way to Manchester. I do not know any thing to the contrary of Bamford's being a peaceable man. Some of the people had small sticks.



Mr. Hunt.—Were any of them large enough to whip an infamous case out of court.

The judge said, this was not the time to make an observation.

John Eaton examined by Mr. Littledale.—I live at Middleton, and am a plumber and glazier. On the morning of the 16th of August I saw a great many people assembling, and Samuel Bamford among them, and in front. They had music and flags (two)—the inscriptions were, “Liberty, and Strength, and Unity,” and something with a cap, on a pole. Bamford had a bunch of laurel in his hand, and many others had a little of it in their hats. Some also had little walking sticks, and were proceeding towards Manchester by the new road.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bamford.—One flag was green and another blue. I saw nothing but small sticks; there were no poles, except such as had the flags and cap of liberty. I don't know whether I could tell your wife, but there were many women and children, three, and four, and five abreast, who appeared to partake of the conviviality of the procession. These were principally in the Rochdale division. I do not think they were in the Middleton. The people did not seem sullen and sulky; they had no angry looks, but were more, as it were, in joy. I have some little property, and had then on my premises. I felt no occasion to go home and shut my doors when I saw this procession. I felt no occasion; if I saw any body else doing it, perhaps I might. The processions of the Orangemen and Odd Fellows (one of whom I am) often move in regular order. I am not a reformer. I know nothing about radical reform, except that it creates a great noise up and down the country, and perhaps it would be as well to lay it aside. I could not suppose the reformers had any particular regard for me. I said nothing about the legality of the Manchester meeting, except that you ought to know best what you were going for.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—I have often walked in our Orange processions, and understand them; but I do not under-



stand yours, and of course did not walk with it. Our flag is called the Union, but it has no inscription. I don't know Mr. Fletcher, the magistrate, nor that he is in our lodge.

Joseph Travis examined—I live at Oldham, and am a grocer; I remember on the 16th of August, parties of men passing through at 9 o'clock, on their way to Manchester. They marched past. I saw "Saddleworth," on one of their flags. After they were passed, I was sent on after them by the magistrates, to count the number that passed. There were five divisions, Royton, Crompton, Chatterton, Saddleworth and Oldham. Flags, with their names at the head of each. Each division was formed into marching sections. They were irregularly formed, some being two, some four, and others eight or up to twelve a-breast. There were about two paces between each of the sections, and a man or commander marched on the left flank of each. They had bugles and flags, and marched like soldiers to Bent-green. I counted 864 marching in ranks but there were many hundreds of stragglers went besides, and some of them frequently went into the ranks. Occasionally they got into a little disorder, owing to the stragglers who fell in, and then the man at each section gave the words "Halt! eyes left!" His command was obeyed, and they speedily formed and went on when the word "march" was given. One leader I saw was Dr. Healy, of Lees (the defendant, who is an apothecary) and led the Saddleworth and Lees divisions. I knew the Doctor.

Here Mr. Hunt rose to express his apprehension that Mr. Milne, of Manchester, who assists the solicitor of the Treasury for the prosecution, was communicating with some of the witnesses. He had, he said, repeatedly seen him go out of court. and he was informed he had seen some of the witnesses. Of course it followed, that when witnesses were to be kept apart, the only intention of so placing them was to exclude them from any communication with the previous business of the court. It was but just this moment that he saw Mr. Milne hand out a letter; he hoped the court would send after it, and ascertain the purport of the communication.



Mr. Justice Bayley immediately asked Mr. Milne to whom this letter was addressed. The latter answered, "To G. F. Merry." The under sheriff followed the messenger, and in a minute or two returned with the letter, which the judge opened, and after perusing it, informed Mr. Hunt that it contained nothing respecting the pending business of this trial.

Mr. Scarlett, on behalf of Mr. Milne, felt it right to say, that the letter was in reply to an application from Mr. Merry, for a copy of his depositions.

Mr. Justice Bayley repeated that there was no impropriety in the matter.

Mr. Hunt said that the appearance at first looked suspicious.

Examination of the witness resumed.—The crowd kept increasing while I remained in sight and marched as I have already said, in regular order as soldiers do.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—I was employed by the magistrates to do this, as a special constable, or else I should not have gone. While I was with the magistrates, I left my father who was seventy-one years, to take care of my shop; I was not alarmed when the men passed; I saw no reason to fear; I have been a soldier myself; I do not recollect what was on the flags: I went with Mr. Chippendale, a gentleman at Oldham, to count the people; he wrote down as I counted; we have talked over the matter together; I do not know that he is here; I believe that he is not; I was forced to come on I saw no drunkenness, no rioting, no threats, no ill usage. I do not know whether Mr. Chippendale was a special constable; he is not an attorney, I was not at all alarmed; nor did I see any reason why I should, as these people passed with the black flag, though the look of it I did not like; I did not stop the flag, which had upon it "Saddleworth, Leeds and Moseley Union" and something like two hands grasped, and the word "Love," also, I did not see what the learned counsel called the bloody dagger upon it; I did not see such a thing upon any of the flags; I do not know the particular reason why Mr. Chippendale is not here to-day though he was subpoenaed,



and though his signature, as well as mine, was to the depositions which went in to the solicitor for the prosecution. I have not heard he was let off by the other side. I saw no caps of liberty among the people, but I have seen the stone cap at the top of this castle; a stone cap is not a cap of liberty; it is only the figure of one [laughter.]

John Ashworth examined.—I was working as an engineer at a factory at Oldham on the 16th of August, when I saw the Saddleworth and Royton divisions come there and join another division which came up before them; they formed altogether, and went on, ten or twelve abreast, to Manchester, by the new road. They might be from three to 5,000, exclusive of stragglers. [He then described the banners nearly in the same terms as the last witness.] Many called out to me by name to go with them but I said they were a week too soon for me; that I could not go till Saturday. Some of them also said they would make a “Moscow” of it before they came back; this occurred at eight o’clock in the morning of the 16th.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I live at Manchester, but am no relation to Ashworth the constable, who was killed there on the 16th. I have a wife and children who were at Manchester that day while I was working at Oldham. They did not alarm me about this Moscow business. I was surprised to see so many people, and I said at the time to those about me, that the words were terrible. I was repairing the factory steam-engine, and could not go to look after my wife at the time. I sent off no messenger to her. Only one or two said, “Moscow.” I saw the cap of liberty with the people, but never saw one before or since. I am not a man of that principle that “bothers my head about caps of liberties or things of that kind.

William Standring examined—This witness was a publican residing at Palesworth, between Oldham and Manchester, and described his having seen the crowds assemble in his neighbourhood about 9 o’clock in the morning of the 16th of August. He saw Dr. Healey while the division halted; many of them, and among the rest, the Doctor came into his house and had a glass of gin, and said, “Victory, my lads, and success to the business of



the day." The Doctor also hoped the people of the house would be true to the cause.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I have retired from the public business, and live now with my brother-in-law. I have my living still to get by my industry. On that day I was much alarmed for my property. I did not, however, remove it to any place of safety. It has been sold since at Oldham, but no person's name was to the bills advertising the sale. I have been in a court of justice before now as a witness. I was once charged for breaking windows one night when I was *full*. I have had the misfortune of being confined in the Lunatic Asylum, but was not latterly in a state so as to feel unnecessary fear. I have been a special constable, but was never in the pay of the police.

Jeremiah Fielding examined—I am a merchant, and was on the road between Manchester and Cheetham-hill, on the morning of the 16th of August. I met there on that road, numbers of people passing towards the town; there were 2 or 3,000 in one groupe, and they marched four or five abreast with music and flags.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—There were no women and children with them when I saw them, nor did they insult any body.

James Heath examined.—Resided at Cheetham-hill; also spoke to the parties that flocked through his neighbourhood on the morning of the 16th, on their way to Manchester; one of a party of three of them, he said looked hard at witness, and said that he would not sleep in that house that night.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—Knew Nadin of Manchester but could not say the three men he spoke of were police runners, for he did not know such people.

James Duncoste examined—He lived at Hollingwood, five miles from Manchester, and was a cotton-spinner. He then described the appearance of the people in his neighbourhood, on their way to Manchester on the morning of the 16th August last. One of them said, "Captain, how do you do?"—(Witness had been a captain in the local militia)—"We are going to West-



haughten," a place where in 1812 a weaving factory of witness's had been burnt by the Luddites in the open day. A corn-mill was since built upon that scite.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I was at Manchester on the 16th of August, in front of Mr. Buxton's house, where I saw you on the hustings, but I was not then a special constable; I left the ground before the yeomanry came, as I thought it not safe to remain there without protection; I saw you near Mr. Buxton's house after the dispersion of the meeting; I came back from curiosity when the place of meeting was cleared; I then thought it safer to be there; I am not a doctor, nor did I on that day assist in dressing any of the wounded; I did not see any body wounded; I did send goods to Manchester on that day; Monday is our day of delivery from the factory; I did not think the goods in any danger, for our cart sets off about seven o'clock in the morning, and I believed would get there before the meeting began; I should have been afraid to have sent them in the middle of the day, our goods were sent to our warehouse in Manchester; I was certainly not afraid to have them there on that day, as they were safely locked up; I was not afraid of being myself in Manchester on that day; I returned home the same evening, and on the way met some officers of the 6th Dragoon guards, and conversed with one of them respecting what had occurred in Manchester; I cannot recollect precisely the description I gave him of the occurrence; I could give him but an imperfect account of the meeting, as I went off before the cavalry came, and did not return until after the people were dispersed. I asked him to take some refreshment, as I would have any other person. I did ask him if he had been at Manchester that day, and on his saying "No, I did not utter the words, "Then you have lost all the fun." My business calls me daily at Manchester, but I left the ware room for the meeting merely through curiosity. I had no other motive whatever. I was certainly aware that a dispersion of the meeting would take place, from the placards I had seen about the town. I had seen notices from the boroughreeve and constables, not exactly saying the meeting would be dispersed,



but from the tenor of them I thought it very likely. I have no copy of that notice, but the substance was a recommendation to people to keep at home their wives, children, and servants. There were no signatures of magistrates to it. I certainly went there at my own risk, but I went away for a short time and returned again to avoid danger. When I went away the field was completely thronged with people—when I returned the military had possession of it, and they were bringing you out of Mr. Buxton's house. There were four hung for burning our mill in 1812; it was burnt, as I heard by the Luddites, and not by the black-faced spies from Bolton. I have not known any of those burnings since the great meetings of the reformers about the country.

Re-examined—I did not think the congregation of such an immense multitude, as from 70 to 100,000 people, at all safe at Manchester. They consisted almost exclusively (except those who went from curiosity) of the labouring classes. Unquestionably among such a multitude there must have been many out of work. I staid there until the commencement of Mr. Hunt's address.

The judge—Was the crowd of such a number and so composed, as, in your opinion, to be calculated to inspire the inhabitants of the town with a good deal of terror.

Witness—Certainly it was.

Roger Entwistle examined—I am an attorney of Manchester. From ten to twelve o'clock on the 16th of August I was at the Albion Hotel, Piccadilly, opposite the infirmary, which is on the line from Stockport; I saw a large body of people marching into the town, like regular soldiers, with banners, and also caps of liberty. Several among them appeared to have the command of different parties, and moved about a yard from the rest, at the side of the front ranks. They had very large sticks, some walking with them, and others bearing them upon their shoulders. When the coach which headed them came opposite the White Bear, Mr. Moorhouse came out of it; one of the men said to me as he marched by, that before night he would have as good a coat on his back as I had. I then went to St. Peter's field, where I



saw the special constables in front of Mr. Buxton's house. Mr. Hunt had not then arrived, and they were preparing the hustings, and the constables formed a line between it and Mr. Buxton's. Soon after I saw Mr. Hunt, Mr. Moorhouse, and several others come up in an open carriage. I saw Mr. Hunt get upon the hustings; several thousands, at the very least, upwards of 100,000, were there at the time, and many of them were chanting "Britons never shall be slaves." There were very few Manchester people there, except out of curiosity, but they chiefly consisted of the labouring classes from the adjacent country. The meeting was most certainly calculated to inspire alarm and terror into the minds of the peaceable inhabitants of the town. I heard Mr. Hunt's address from the hustings; he commenced by congratulating the meeting on the adjournment from the 9th as they had thereby doubled the number in the cause. Shortly after the military (infantry) made a movement in the direction of Dickenson-street. Mr. Hunt immediately pointed to them, and said, your enemies are among you; if they attempt to molest you, "get them down, and while you have them down, keep them down." Soon after the Manchester Cavalry came up to the front of Mr. Buxton's house. Hearing that warrants were likely to be used, I did not think it safe to remain any longer near the hustings, and retired towards Mr. Buxton's house. The moment the cavalry came, there was a great shouting from the mob.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—My profession is that of an attorney; I am also the clerk of the Manchester race-course; I was examined on oath at the Oldham inquest, but I cannot say I said one thing at Oldham and another here; what I said at each place is true; I was on the Albion steps when the people entered the town on the 16th of August, with a number of respectable persons; among whom I class myself. The Stockport division was preceded by the coach in which was Mr. Moorhouse. When the coach stopped at the White Bear the division went on to the meeting. Notwithstanding my first alarm, I went to St. Peter's-field, where my apprehensions became greater at the



sight of such a multitude. My alarm was on account of the immense number, and from knowing that their minds were very much inflamed from the seditious publications about that time published. I have seen large parties coming out of the Manchester Observer office after purchasing such works, and I have heard them recommending their friends to purchase them, and at different times heard some people express their feelings at reading such things, particularly the people from about Hellingwood, Royton and Oldham, who used to crowd round the Manchester Observer office on Saturdays. There were very few Manchester faces at the meeting; I know that many Manchester people bought the seditious works, but the reason they had not the same effect upon them as on the country people was, that one set bought them from curiosity, and the other to take home and read. The meeting consisted entirely of the lower orders, such as weavers and the labouring classes. I admit that many of them (the Manchester people) would have attended the meeting, if they had not been confined within the factories. My own opinion is, that when you said "keep them down," you alluded to the military, and wished not to be molested, but that if you were, you wished the people to keep them, off if possible. The people were peaceable at the time you addressed them. My impression was, that you congratulated the meeting on its adjournment from the 9th to the 16th. I will not swear that I did not use the word "postponed" in giving my evidence at Oldham. On my oath, it is not my knowledge of the law respecting adjourned public meetings, which induces me to use that word now. Though I was alarmed. I wished to hear what you had to say, and therefore I went to Peter's field. I saw the Yeomanry Cavalry advance at a sharp trot from Mr. Buxton's house. I went to the meeting by myself, and returned with you to the New Bailey. I went with the military, as I did not think it safe to go alone amongst the mob, who were in the streets. When I went to the meeting, I thought it perfectly safe to go by myself. I saw two or three wounded persons—a woman in particular; she was carried into Mr. Buxton's house



Seeing such a concourse of people, with the flags, particularly a black one, which more resembled a pall than any thing else, and bearing an inscription, "Equal Representation or Death," I felt much alarmed. I felt all this fear before the yeomanry arrived, as I did not know what would be the result when the meeting broke up. I do not remember the particulars of my evidence at Oldham. I stated at Oldham, that I saw danger the moment I saw the parties coming from Stockport. I might have said at Oldham, that I saw no danger until the cavalry approached, but I then feared some danger might ensue. My reason for stating that, was, that there had been no previous acts of violence, but when they arrived within ten yards of the hustings they were assailed with sticks, stones, and brickbats. My fear was, of what would be the result of the meeting when it broke up. I did not hear a report that the meeting was to be dispersed by the military. I heard that there was a warrant issued against you, and that you were to be arrested. I was not in London since last May, I should call a man one of the lower orders, who was imprisoned for debt or misconduct. I never was so imprisoned. The assignees of a bankrupt and myself, have been served with a petition in chancery, and the case is now pending. Mr. Partington, of London, is the attorney against us. I was never in the Fleet prison in my life.

Mr. Hunt—Then I apologize for asking these questions. I assure you, I have no wish to offend you. I received information from a person in court, which induced me to question you in this manner.

The examination was resumed.—I stated at Oldham, that I was near the constables on the 16th nearly all the time. I knew the yeomanry cavalry were to be brought up. They, as well as the special constables, were ordered out in the morning. I was walking up and down Peter's-field from eleven, until you were arrested. I was not insulted, but I saw several gentlemen who were. Some person said, "he," pointing to one, "is a spy—he," pointing to another, "is a special constable." I was not called a spy. I am not a spy. I was not hurt. I did not wave my hand to the cavalry when they came in. The



black banner was not like a flag; it was not square; it had letters upon it. I did not see two hands, and the word "Love" upon it. There was one flag with a bloody dagger painted upon it. It was painted red; I was not near it, but it appeared to me like a dagger. I swear this. I have never seen that flag since.

Examined by Mr. Barron—I saw Mr. Moorhouse in a coach on that day. I conceived he was leading the Stockport party. When I first saw the coach, it was 200 yards from me; it was near Portland-place. I will swear that the coach did not stop at the White Bear, Piccadilly, ten minutes before the Stockport division came up. It came immediately before them. I saw females in it, but I did not see them alight. I know Moorhouse; he is proprietor of a stage coach which comes daily to Manchester. I do not think I ever saw him drive it himself. I believe the coach stops daily at the White Bear. The men who came after the coach, were called the Stockport division. I knew some of those who composed it to be Stockport men. I particularly recollected one who carried a flag.

Re-examined by Mr. Scarlett.—The black flag was extended by a stick being fastened to the top of it, so that it hung square. All the flags and caps of liberty were at one time on the hustings. I cannot say it was while Mr. Hunt was there or not. I find that some person has published the Oldham evidence. I have read the book. I think if my evidence in that book was compared with what I now have said to-day, they would agree.

Francis Phillips examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—I am a merchant and manufacturer at Manchester. I was on horse-back about 11 o'clock on the 16th of August. Mr. J Birley was with me. We rode on the Stockport-road. When we got to Ardwick-green, about a mile and half from Manchester, we saw a party advancing in file, with all the regularity of soldiers, except that they had no uniform. They were three a-breast. They had two banners, but no music. There were some persons walking by the sides, apparently acting as officers. They were regulating the files and seeing that all was perfectly re-



gular. I think they amounted in all to 1,500. They had no arms, but many had sticks, which they carried different ways, some in their hands and some on their shoulders. One had a large rough stick, which appeared to be newly cut. That man seeing me, took the stick in both hands and shook it at me. I heard them give the word, "left, right," as a serjeant does when drilling young recruits. The latter part of the line sometimes lost the step, but soon recovered it by the directions of their officers. I returned to Manchester and put up my horse. I was a special constable that day. I went to Peter's-area, and there I saw the same party I had before met coming upon the ground. I knew them by their banners, one of which bore the inscription, "No Corn Laws." When I saw them the second time, they were not marching so regularly as before, being interrupted by the crowd I should compute St. Peter's-area to be 150 yards square. I saw different other parties marching into the field, one of which was infinitely more numerous than that from Stockport, and carrying banners also. One party had a laurel-leaf each in their hats, and another had something white; I cannot tell what. I saw Mr. Hunt that day for the first time. I saw a party in a carriage, and I believe he was one of them. He was accompanied by an immense multitude. I heard a very great noise, both from his party and from the crowd on the ground before his arrival. I never saw so large an assembly before. The sight of it excited in my mind a feeling of very great apprehension of danger; it was decidedly calculated to excite similar apprehensions in the minds of all the inhabitants of the town. I saw Mr. Hunt on the hustings; I cannot identify any one else but him; he addressed the meeting with the energy of action usual on addressing large assemblies. I did not hear what he said, and I think but a small proportion of the crowd could hear him. In about ten minutes, I saw Nadin and some other constables approach the hustings. I left the meeting to go to my factory. I told the doorkeeper not to leave his post for a moment, but to shut the door immediately, if any thing occurred. I was much alarmed. I gave those directions because I considered the town



to be in considerable danger, otherwise I should not have done so. Before I left town in the morning, I concealed some old bayonets and muskets, lest the people might call and take them.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I am a merchant and manufacturer. I have also written and published an account of this transaction. [Mr. Hunt handed witness a pamphlet, asking, if he knew it as an old friend.] This is the first edition, I afterwards published a second more corrected. I published 1000 of each edition, the greater part of which I sold. I also gave a great many away.

Mr. Hunt—I know it; you are like many other authors, who if they did not give their works away, would find it very difficult to get them off their hands.

Examination resumed—I sent some to London, and several to members of Parliament. The publication was intended to have been before the meeting of Parliament, but it did not take place until a few days after it. I wished to give facts to the public. The Mr. — mentioned in the pamphlet, is brother to Mr. Birley, an officer in the Manchester cavalry. On my oath I do not know that Mr. Birley commanded them on that day. He was at the head of the corps, but I do not know whether he or Major Trafford commanded them. I consider the shaking of the stick at me as an insult.

[Here Mr. Hunt read an extract from Mr. Phillips' pamphlet, in which it was stated that no direct offence was given before the yeomanry appeared.]

Examination resumed—I heard many taunting expressions used on the field to every man who wore a good coat, and went amongst the crowd. I went a private road on my return from Stockport, as I could not go with equal speed on the high road without danger to the crowd which had passed. I considered that the Stockport men marched very well indeed. I do not admit that either of my editions of the book giving an account of the Manchester business states a falsehood. I considered the town of Manchester and the magistrates to be in great danger I ordered my porter to close the gates, if any thing occurred,



not for the purpose of keeping the workmen in. I gave my men orders to keep their wives and children at home that day. They acted with great propriety as far as I saw. I only saw the first advance of the yeomanry, and after the regular troops came upon the field, I saw the Chester yeomanry come upon the field in a hand canter, but I do not know whether they acted or not. I saw some infantry near Peter's-field, and I also saw two pieces of artillery brought up after the crowd was dispersed. I saw very little of the battle; the dust and the number of constables prevented me from seeing what took place. I saw no blood spilt.

Mr. Justice Bayley observed that questions of this kind ought not be put; that blood had been spilt he believed, and he was sorry for it. The question was not how the military had acted, but whether the meeting was a legal one, and if so, whether it was conducted in that peaceable and orderly manner that would preclude any alarm from being infused into the public mind. To this point Mr. Hunt had a right to examine witness.

Mr. Hunt—I do not think I can better prove that the meeting was quiet and peaceable than by shewing that the people, so far from holding up a finger in resisting a wanton and violent attack upon them, had every man fled from the fury of the military. I bow, however, to your lordship's decision.

Examination resumed.—The people were peaceable on that part of the field where I stood. I should have thought it excessively imprudent in the magistrates, to have sent the constables into such a large assembly, closely wedged together as that was. I never went near the hustings. I have not admitted that the soldiers charged the people.

Mr. Hunt was proceeding to inquire into the conduct of the yeomanry, when

Mr. Justice Bayley interrupted him. It was a point which he meant to leave to the jury, whether a body assembling in such numbers as to excite terror in the public mind was not illegal. A meeting might be illegal though its purpose was legal by using illegal means to attain it; or a meeting might become illegal from the manner of it, as it might from its numbers create



an alarm in the public mind. This was his opinion, so he should state it to the jury.

Mr. Hunt said, without impugning his lordship's view of the question, he hoped he should be allowed to shew that the fears entertained were excited by erroneous notions. When an experiment was made to try the temper of a meeting by sending a few straggling drunken soldiers among them, as if to seduce them to try their power, he hoped he would be allowed to show that the people, so far from offering any resistance, fled for their lives; indeed several of them lost their lives without even attempting resistance.

Mr. Justice Bayley said Mr. Hunt was at liberty to ask any questions tending to show what the conduct of the meeting had been.

Examination resumed—The people were very closely locked near the hustings. I saw them from the steps of the magistrates' house. Those near the hustings had their hats off. They were as close to each other as they could stand. I did not see them arm in arm. I did not hear one word of what you said on the hustings. When you were upon the hustings, I was about seventy-five yards from you. It was natural that those who wished to hear you should crowd round the hustings, but not in the manner they did. (In answer to the judge)—The wish to hear alone would by no means make them crowd as they did. (In answer to Mr. Hunt)—It appeared to me that they were disciplined troops who came to protect you, or fight for you, as they might be called upon, or as occasion offered. I never have seen disciplined troops surround a man in such a way in order to fight for him. The crowd appeared to be ready to fight for you, as you gave them the command. Those persons would have kept away the constables from you. The line of constables did not extend to the hustings. I tried to get to the hustings, but failed. I do not think the line of constables extended to the hustings at any time of the day. I saw the Manchester yeomanry cavalry when they were formed. I did not see them ride down any persons in coming into the field. They behaved with the greatest propriety, as far as I can judge. I am convinced they were sober



I spoke to some, and they evinced not the slightest inebriety. I saw Nadin, but I do not recollect having any communication with him. I did not see him make any attempt to reach the hustings without the aid of the yeomanry. It would have been madness to attempt it.

Jeremiah Smith examined by Mr. Scarlett.—I reside in Manchester; I am head master of the grammar school there; I was at the Star, Dearsgate, on the 16th of August, and there saw that party which conducted Hunt to the ground; I saw him in an open carriage. The Star inn is occasionally used by the magistrates; I do not know that they were there at that time; the party halted opposite the door, and shouted and groaned; I saw Mr. Hunt in a carriage; I heard no signal, but it seemed to be done in concert; the party had music and a banner; I know not how many persons were assembled, but the street was filled for a considerable length, so that a person could not get through; I endeavoured to get to my own house, but after going a little way I found the street so full that I could not proceed, and was obliged to return to the inn. The first part of the crowd proceeded irregularly, but near the carriage, both before and behind, great regularity was observed; the men were marching in rows, and stepping regularly; it had the appearance of a practised step. At the back of King's-street the crowd again halted and acted in the same manner that they had done before the Star inn. There was a white handkerchief displayed from a window between the Star and King's-street, on which there was a great clapping of hands. The police-office is at the back of King's street. The manner in which they proceeded was most certainly calculated to create alarm. They appeared to be mostly strangers. Though this crowd was but one division, I thought it very formidable, but connecting it with others that I had heard of, I became extremely anxious. Most of the shops had their shutters up, but many of the doors were open. I shut my own windows, and locked both the front doors. The crowd about Mr. Hunt had not at all the appearance of a deliberative assembly.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I am the head master of the



free grammar school, in which there is a considerable number of boys. We were in school before breakfast, and I went after breakfast to dismiss them. I have both boarders and day-scholars; I think 140 of both, of which fifteen are my boarders. We desired the boys to go home. I let them go about their business, thinking they would be safer with their respective parents than in school. Our school finishes at twelve o'clock, and I thought there would be more danger in letting them go at that hour than at ten o'clock. I did not see a placard from the boroughreeve requesting people to keep children at home on that day, but I was informed of it. I believed the children would go safely home. My apprehension was not as to what might happen in the course of the morning, but of what might happen in the course of the afternoon. There were some women in the crowd I saw. There was no insult offered to me personally when I went among the crowd. None of the boys I sent home on that day were hurt. On the proclamation of George IV. at Manchester, a great crowd was assembled. I do not know that any windows were shut on that day. I suppose the windows in the square must have been closed.

J. Barlow examined by Serjeant Hullock—I keep the Coach and Horses in Dean's-gate, about 50 yards from the Police-office. I remember the 16th August. I was at home from ten o'clock in the morning until evening. I saw a number of people marching in bodies, in the same manner that soldiers do when drilling. I saw a carriage in the crowd, in which there were four persons. There was a woman in front, with a flag. When they got near the Police-office they stopped the carriage for a few minutes. A number of them turned their faces towards the police, and gave three cheers. The persons in the carriage looked towards the police. There were several banners, upon one of which was "Equal Representation or Death. The cheers were very loud. I closed the shutters for fear of having my windows broken, and burned candles. Two of my neighbours closed their windows also. I remained at home, as I felt alarmed lest there should be some mischief.



Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I have lived thirty years in Manchester, I remember the proclamation of the peace; there were great crowds, but not so large as this. There was much cheering and shouting; it was near my house and also near the Police-office. No offence was offered to me. I felt great alarm during the whole of the 16th. I saw the proclamation of George the Fourth; there was a great crowd. They marched very well, but I think they had not had so much drilling as the meeting on the 16th. The latter had sticks, and several shouldered them as soldiers do muskets. I may have mentioned this to some of my servants, but there are none of them here at present. I do not know whether the crowd who assembled on the proclamation of the peace had banners; I know they had no such flags as those used on the 16th. There never was half so many persons assembled at Manchester races as I saw pass my door on that day. I cannot tell whether ten thousand, twenty thousand, fifty thousand, or one hundred and fifty thousand persons passed my door on that day. I do not know how many persons I have seen at the Manchester races at once.

Thomas Styan examined by Mr. Scarlett—I am a gun-smith, residing in Market-street, Manchester. I saw numbers of people pass my shop on the morning of the 16th of August. They continued passing from eleven o'clock. I shut my shop for fear the windows should be broken, as I saw great crowds coming down the street. I kept my shop shut until two' oclock.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I know Richardson, the gun-maker. I do not know that he sharpens the swords for the cavalry. The crowd which caused me to shut my shop was going in a great hurry. There was no mischief done to my shop. The first time I shut my shop was about eleven o'clock. Soon after some shutters were taken down. I know Mr. Molineux, my next neighbour; he does not know when the shutters were put up better than I do. The first time I opened the door and part of my windows, was between two and three. I do not recollect I ever had occasion to shut my shop before.

Edmond Simpson examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock—I am a hatter, and reside in Dean's-gate. I saw several bodies of



people pass on the 16th of August; they commenced passing about ten o'clock, and ended at one. They had music and colours.—When Mr. Hunt came up there was music with him; he came up at a quarter past one. The people marched about nine or ten abreast, and some part of them went in regular step. I shut my shop before ten o'clock, and kept it shut all day. I closed both doors and windows. I was afraid there would be a disturbance, and I was very much alarmed, and so were my family, at seeing them march in that manner. I have a wife and five children. I looked out of the up-stairs window.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I was very much alarmed on that day; I was not afraid of the cavalry at all. I did not know any thing of the cavalry at that time. I did not hear a report that the cavalry would attack the people. I did not open my shop that day. (In answer to the judge.) Between 4,000 and 5,000 persons passed my house.

Matthew Cooper examined by Mr. Scarlett—I am an accountant at Manchester. I went to the meeting of the 16th of August about twelve o'clock. I have some memorandums which I took on the ground. I think about 100,000 persons were assembled; I measured the ground, and made the best calculation I could as to the number who could stand on a square yard of ground. The meeting seemed principally composed of the labouring classes. The people stood so close that I could not get so close to the hustings as I wished. I saw the flags. I have an account of some of the inscriptions which were upon them, One was “No Boroughmongers;” reverse, “Unite and be free;” another, “Equal Representation or Death;” a third “Taxation without equal Representation is tyrannical and unjust.” There were several others.

I was on the field when Mr Hunt and his party approached. Several who followed the procession had white paper or rags in their hats. I heard some of them say to the others, “lads, take care of your white rags.” Before Mr. Hunt's arrival I saw several on the hustings. Johnson was with Hunt. I saw Mr. Saxton and Mr. Knight on the hustings. I saw others whose names I do not know [here witness pointed out Swift and Jones



as two who had been on the hustings]. Mr. Hunt, on taking the chair, made a speech. I heard the whole of it. I took notes of it on the ground, and they are now in their original state. It is thus [here witness read his notes :—

“ Gentlemen, I must entreat that you will be peaceable and quiet, and that every person who wishes to hear, must keep order, and all I ask for is, that during the proceedings you will be quiet. We will endeavour to make ourselves heard, but it is impossible for us to be heard by the whole. We wish our fellow-countrymen who do hear us will communicate to those who do not. It is useless to observe upon the intended meeting of last week, only to observe that those who by their malignant exertions in taking advantage of a few illegal words, expected they had triumphed, instead of which, it has produced two-fold numbers (there were cheers), and now we have triumphed. He went on to state that two or three placards, signed by two or three obscure individuals——”

While he was saying this, some companies of foot soldiers appeared in Dickinson-street and formed. Mr. Hunt then spoke on, but I did not take notes any further ; I shall give the substance from memory.

Witness went on to state as follows ;—“ He said never mind they are only a few soldiers, and very few compared with us, we are a host against them.” In my judgment the meeting was such as to inspire very great fear in the inhabitants of the town of Manchester. My apprehension did not arise from what I then saw, but from previous circumstances, and from information communicated to me.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barron—I know the appearance of Jones ; I never heard that he was the carpenter employed to build the hustings.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I have no other occupation but those of accountant and law stationer ; I am secretary to a committee, but that arises out of my other occupations. I was secretary to a committee composed of 300 gentlemen, in aid of the civil power. I am not in the employ of the police. I occasionally communicate with the Courier and Morning Post Lon.



don papers. I sent up an account of the Manchester meeting to the Courier. I think my report did not appear. I believe they selected from the other papers. I have been in the service of a professor of the law for nine years. I have been under instructions for the Excise. I was, earlier in life, a clerk to a brewer, to Dawes and Fogg, of Boulton, perhaps twelve months. My father was in the Excise; he was supervisor of the district in which the brewery is situated. (Mr. Hunt asked witness why he left this employment, but he declined answering, at length he stated as follows), I applied to my own use money belonging to the firm, and Messrs. Dawes dismissed me in consequence. That money I have repaid to Mr. Dawes, with compound interest, up to the time of payment. I took the money out of the till, and was detected. I know John Roscoe; he was servant to Messrs. Dawes. I have repaid in all, with interest, £25. It is some months ago since I paid this money; it was the first money I could command. The reason of my not paying it sooner, was, that my father's death left three younger brothers to be supported by me. It was to Mr. Fogg he paid the money. It was paid three months ago. I took the notes since I gave evidence against you at the New Bailey, and since I was a witness on the indictment at Lancaster. I did not take so much as £25 from my master's till, but it being left to my discretion, I thought I ought to do my utmost to repair the injury. I have been three years in business. I never told Mr. Scarlett, Mr. Maule, or Milne, this story. I did not know you knew it. The money which I took was stamped. If I had known that you were acquainted with it, I should have had Mr. Dawes here, as he would willingly come forward for me. I do not know that my father being a supervisor of the district, and having great power over my master, was the reason why I was not prosecuted. I have not been paid by the magistrates or police, except for being secretary to the committee in aid of the civil power. The accounts of the committee were passed at the parish table.

Mr. Hunt—Don't you know this money was paid out of the parish rates.



Mr. Justice Bayley said this was not a relevant question.

I was within a dozen or fifteen yards of the hustings on the day of the meeting. I stood between the hustings and the house where the magistrates were. I saw no disturbance. I went purposely to take notes of what you or any one else should say. The reason why the observation respecting the soldiers were not written down was, that all attention being directed to them when they appeared, I ceased to use my pencil. The cavalry were coming up at the time. I took down the heads of your discourse at the time, and the remainder I filled up from memory. I am not a reporter. All I have read is not down in my notes.

Mr. Justice Bayley—Let me look at these notes—[The notes were handed in.] I think there are the materials here of such a speech.

Cross-examination continued—I have a good memory. I wrote out my notes, and handed them over to Mr. Norris, the magistrate. I have not seen them since. I did not hear you say, “Put them down, and keep them down.” I turned when the cavalry came, and you might then have said it without my hearing you. It was not said before the cavalry appeared. None but the editor of the *Courier* employed me to take notes of what passed—[witness reported the inscriptions on the flags].—There was no bloody dagger on the black flag. The inscription on the black flag attracted my attention particularly. I had not time or I would have taken all the inscriptions. The black flag was attached to a pole as the other flags were. I saw no difference between them. I saw a barbed point to one of the flag poles, it was painted red. The top of the pole was not a fleur-de-lis. I did not see two hands and the word “Love” upon the black flag.

The court adjourned at seven o'clock.

On the third day the same anxiety was manifested to obtain admission which marked the struggle of those who were anxious to be spectators on the preceding days. The ladies seemed still as curious as ever, and the obvious eagerness of their anxiety again induced them to enter court through privileged avenues



so early as seven o'clock in the morning. Each side of the judges' seat on the bench was, as usual graced by the presence of rank and beauty, and Mr. Justice Bayley displayed to them that courteous affability for which he is so eminently distinguished. At eight o'clock the public gates were thrown open, and the galleries and area became filled in the usual manner by a mixed throng, who rushed into every seat and corner of the court, that were not defended by the constables for the magistrates, and attorneys and jurors.

At nine o'clock Mr. Hunt and the other defendants, with the solicitors entered court, and occupied their usual places.

A few minutes previous, Mr. Justice Bayley entered the court, and addressed Mr. Barrow, one of the counsel, for some of the defendants, in the following terms:—Upon a question which arose yesterday, I stated that we could not here enter into a consideration of the conduct of the yeomanry cavalry on the 16th of August. Whether that be proper or improper we are not now trying. But when I say this, I beg the defendants particularly to understand, that it is open to them to show the conduct of every part of the people collected at the meeting on that day, with a view to establish their peaceable character, or the tendency of their acts; also with the view of shewing that there was no desire manifested by them to resist the civil authorities. Into all this they may fully enter, but not into the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the yeomanry. I mention this now, to have what I said yesterday explicitly understood, if it was not so at the time; and also for the purpose of allowing you if you please to call back any witness you may desire to put questions relative to the character of the meeting, but whom you may not, perhaps, have examined on that subject, through any misapprehension of what fell from me yesterday.

Mr. Barrow said, the defendants would avail themselves, if necessary, of his lordship's kind permission.

Mr. Hunt, who had entered the moment after his lordship made this communication, was apprised of it by the judge's considerate repetition of what he had just said. Mr. Hunt then said—My Lord, I was quite aware of your lordship's meaning



yesterday, I know we are not here to try the conduct of the yeomanry cavalry on the 16th of August, but whether the defendants are guilty of a conspiracy to form and attend an illegal meeting, and to inquire whether any illegal act had been committed by that people when assembled. I wish to shew the *animus* of that meeting more particularly as the opposite side have travelled out of the record, and attempted to show that we were concerned in instigating some individuals to inspire terror into the minds of peaceable people, and have produced witnesses to identify us, as it were, who wanted to take a man's good coat off his back—who wanted to make Manchester another Moscow;—and, thirdly, who wish to represent that I pointed to the soldiers, and then said to the people, "There are our enemies; get them down, and keep them down." If I can show that instead of these statements being true as regarded the people assembled, they evinced a conduct exactly the reverse of that ascribed to them, and that their whole demeanour was orderly and pacific, then I imagine there will be an end to the indictment.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I neither meant yesterday, nor do I mean now to exclude any evidence the defendants may have to offer, respecting the conduct of the people assembled on the particular day.

Mr. Hunt—I had hoped we should have been spared the trouble of calling any evidence to shew the character of the meeting, so little has been said to impeach it; but as the other side has travelled farther, we shall be obliged to trouble the court with our witnesses.

Mr. Justice Bayley—If you wish to put any questions to the witnesses of yesterday, touching the demeanour of the meeting, I shall call them back to answer you.

Mr. Hunt—If I shall find it necessary in the course of the day, I'll take the liberty of troubling your Lordship.

The trial was then resumed.

The first witness was Joseph Mills, examined by Mr. Serjeant



Hullock—I keep a public house at Manchester, and know Joseph Healey, who came to St. Peter's at the head of a very large party of men, on the morning of the 16th of August. They marched in files of about four or five abreast. The number was upwards of 3 or 4000, and Healey led them up, in a military way, with a trumpeter, to the hustings or cart, which they surrounded. Healey got upon it, and took from a man who carried it, a black flag, which he stuck up, and shortly returned it to the original bearer, after making a little speech, saying that they must stand steady, for their enemies were at hand. They then cheered him. There was a cap of liberty also. I know one Wilde, who led up a party of men, and who is not now here to my knowledge. [Witness pointed to Johnson as like Wilde, and Johnson addressed the judge and said, "I am no more like him than your Lordship." The defendant Wilde, was ill, and not in court at this hour of the morning. He afterwards entered and was identified by the witness, as having led up a party of the men through Morley-street on the 16th of August.] Wilde, on halting the men, said, "Link your arms, and keep steady." The people immediately obeyed him, quite round the cart. A little after, not thinking they had kept room enough, he ordered them to "fall back," "keep as you are," &c. &c. The people formed in this manner four or five deep in ranks. About one o'clock Mr. Hunt arrived, and the people opened a road for him up to the hustings. Mr. Moorhouse and Mr. Johnson were with him. Mr. Hunt ascended the hustings, on which there were several others; among them was Mr. Saxton, who had been half an hour or more on the hustings before, and who spoke several times to the crowd, and was often cheered. There were, when Mr. Hunt arrived in St. Peter's area, more than 60,000 people assembled, and it was in his judgment a meeting calculated to inspire terror and alarm into the minds of the inhabitants of Manchester. I had been at several meetings before, and never saw the people come into town as they did that

•



day. I never saw so large a meeting before. All former meetings that I saw were composed of parties, who came in at random, and at their leisure, but these came in several bodies in military array altogether.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I am a publican, since last October twelve months, and was previously one of Nadin's runners as they are called. I am jolly and well (witness was a fat jovial looking man,) and would be glad to see you look so well, Mr. Hunt. I was, like many others, a special constable on that day. I am quite sure Dr. Healey came up, heading his party, which formed round the hustings with a trumpeter. He here repeated his direct evidence, and said that Healy might have recommended the people to be peaceable, though I did not hear him. I call them parties, not squadrons; the latter are dragoons, Mr. Hunt. I have conversed with none of the witnesses since this trial, about what has transpired in court. None of the men insulted or assaulted me, nor did I see them molest any body, except shouting. When you came up, they played up "See the conquering Hero comes [laugh]" I did not consider that either an insult or an assault. I don't think I heard "God save the King" "or Rule Britannia" played. I won't swear they were not. Healy's men formed at the back of Mr. Wilde's. The former, I think, did not link arms, the others did, and by the forming and keeping room, pushed back the constables, who were then put about a dozen or fourteen yards from the hustings. I never saw such a thing done at a meeting before, and it alarmed me as well as many others. We did not complain of being pushed back, nor ask them for a more direct communication with the hustings. Wilde ordered them to be firm and steady; he had a tradesman's apron on. If he had said any thing treasonable or violent, I should have, as a special constable, noticed it. I will not swear that he did not recommend peace or order. I saw no act of violence committed by any body in the crowd upon the constables. When you came, they shouted, and you seemed all merry together. Saxton was there half an hour before you. You said, they must be quiet if not, to pull'em down and keep them quiet. I did not hear



you tell the people to pull the soldiers down and keep them down. I heard you say nothing so foolish or wicked.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barrow and Mr. Holt—Nothing material transpired, except that he did not see Moorhouse on the hustings, though he did Saxton, before Mr. Hunt came. Saxton was a reporter to a newspaper, but he could not recollect whether he saw him with a pen and ink.

Mr. Healey—Did you or did you not tell me, the week before, that if I attended that meeting you would take me into custody?—I did not.

Q. Did you or did you not say to one of your customers, that when you saw me on the hustings you marked me down for your bird?—I did not; but I was over, near where I lived at that time, and was called where you were—this was on the 8th of August, and he knew me very well, my Lord, as I once took him up to Lord Sidmouth's office. He asked me, "You have not another warrant for me Mills?"—No, said I, I have not. Then, said he, sit down and take something with us. We then talked over our travels, together when we were in London.

Henry Horton examined—I live in London, but was at Manchester on the 16th of August, to take notes for a London paper. I went to St. Peter's area at half-past eleven o'clock, and saw different parties marching into the area. As they entered they seemed to be conducted by persons who had the command of them. I saw several banners. I cannot say I saw a dagger painted on a flag; but one of the flag poles had the resemblance of a dagger surmounting it, and I think painted red. There were a great body of constables formed from the hustings towards Mr. Buxton's house. I did not observe the hustings removed from its original position. Before Mr. Hunt arrived, I saw Mr. Jones exhort the meeting to be peaceable, and he said the committee had, on the Saturday previous, ordered the people to assemble round the hustings at six yards distance, and to lock themselves arm in arm, in order that they might not be broken in upon. These were not the precise words, but to that effect. I was then about six or seven yards behind the hustings, which were at



that time preparing. I heard Mr. Wilde speak to the same effect as Jones. A Mr. Swift addressed the meeting at greater length than the other two, and obtained a better hearing. All this was before Mr. Hunt arrived. Swift exhorted the meeting to be peaceable until the arrival of their chairman, and not to give their enemies any opportunity of exercising that power, which he knew they were on the alert to do. "By these means," said he, "we shall prove to them that we are not mad as they call us, if we are mad, it is the most pleasant insensibility I ever felt in my life." As I found myself getting nearer the hustings, I thought it advisable to put up my pencil and paper. I was first among the constables, but was afterwards placed about the middle of the circles which encompassed the hustings. There were about eleven or twelve such circles, and in one of them I was locked by persons at each side of me. At that time it was utterly impossible for any man to force his way through that crowd. When Mr. Hunt arrived, there appeared to be a falling back to make way for him. I saw him ascend the hustings, and Mr. Moorhouse in the coach. A female carried a flag on the box of the coach. I heard Mr. Hunt address the meeting, the people standing mostly uncovered during his address. My hat was on and so had many on the front rows; my hands were so locked that I could not get at my hat. Mr. Hunt commenced by entreating silence, and by stating that they should avoid the confusion of calling silence themselves, as such a call only led to greater noise. He also said, "if any body attempts to create a disturbance with a view to interrupt the proceedings, I hope some one will be found to have courage enough to put them down, quiet them and keep them down." On this some man behind me said, but so as not to be heard on the hustings, "why that's killing them," I am sure Mr. Hunt did not hear it. After some prefatory observation, thanking them for the honour they had done him, he said it was unnecessary for him to allude to the proceedings respecting the last intended meeting, and added, that the magistrates had thought they gained a victory in stopping it, instead of which it had caused a greater meeting on this occasion. He then adverted to some placards, signed, as he said, by *Jack Long* and *Tom Short*, or some such



insignificant persons. Interruption then ensued from the appearance of the yeomanry, on whom all eyes were directed, as they came down towards Mr. Buxton's house, where they remained for a few moments. I then heard Mr. Hunt say, "stand firm, my friends, they are in disorder already, give them three cheers." I wont swear these were his words exactly, but they were their import. Mr. Hunt set the example, and a confused cheering followed. The yeomanry then advanced, I was pushed back with the crowd, I saw them advance to the hustings and the people then taken up; I never saw such a meeting any where, I am utterly unacquainted with Manchester, my judgement of the number is scarcely to be depended upon, but I think there were 60,000 persons present, they seemed stout and athletic men of the lower orders of society, such as labourers. I think such a meeting was calculated to create most serious alarm in the town.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barrow.—I came down as a reporter for a London paper, and was on the field at eleven o'clock. Jones was assisting in putting up the hustings; I don't know that he is a millwright; he exhorted them to be peaceable. The numbers gradually amounted to 60,000. He did not know whether it was usual to have some barrier at public meetings, to prevent the crowd from pressing on the hustings; it was a necessary and safe measure, perhaps, or it might be so to form this barrier themselves by linking around, so as that a little space should be kept and all anxious to hear. And this was accompanied by an exhortation to be peaceable.

Cross-examined by Mr. Holt—I heard Jones and Swift address from the hustings, but to my recollection nobody else before Mr. Hunt came. I was within six yards of the hustings, and if any body else came up to speak from the hustings, and was cheered, I must, I think, have heard them. But still possibly it might have occurred, as these were preliminary matters to which I did not pay much attention. Those whom I have mentioned spoke nearly to the same effect repeatedly, and it is very likely that others may have done the same. I think I should have certainly noticed Saxton, if he spoke and was cheered—it must have attracted my attention. I can't how-



ever, conclude that he did not speak, for the observations of the speakers were to the same effect, and as they were all strangers to me, I could not positively say who did, or did not. If Saxton did come forward and speak, I think I must almost of necessity have noticed him. I don't recollect Saxton on the hustings, but can't speak positively, as all the persons there at the time were strangers to me.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt.—The papers I hold in my hand are two of *The New Times*, containing my accounts of the transaction at Manchester, which are the same as I have verbally given in court. I was sent down as reporter to *The New Times*. The accounts in those papers are not perhaps exactly the same as I sent—that is, verbally so, for they were drawn up in a hurry, and may require verbal corrections. It is not usual to alter the tenor of my reports; but hasty verbal inaccuracies may be corrected. I have no other occupation than that of a reporter on *The New Times*, and an occasional correspondent for some country papers. While at Manchester, I was frequently at the Police-office to gain information of passing occurrences. I know Mr. Nadin. I do not communicate any information to the Police-office, as well as I receive it from thence. I merely reported for the paper I have mentioned. I was never employed by the Solicitors to the Treasury, I never saw Mr. Maule until a month ago. I never was at Halifax, except passing through on my way here. I sent no communication of the Manchester business to any other London paper than *The New Times*. What appeared in that newspaper was from my pen. The communications which I sent were of occurrences under my eye. I believe there was a letter sent to the paper from Manchester, but from whom I did not know. I never told any one that my report was made up from what I heard from other London reporters. That was not the fact; I was locked in among the people.

Mr. Hunt.—You must, being so high bred a gentleman, have been curiously situated among the lower orders.

Q. Did you get any thing unpleasant in the crowd?—A. I



felt no inconvenience ; nobody threatened to take my good coat off my back ; I was certainly alarmed.

Q. How came you to omit "the putting down and keeping down" in your account that you sent up?—A. Because I wrote the report in a private room ; the moment I got out of the crowd, I, without reading it over, sent it by an express to town ; I afterward noted down more particulars on refreshing my recollection, and then I remembered that passage in your speech as well as another which I did not know I omitted until the paper reached Manchester. It is not my practice to omit material and transmit trivial points. I did recollect the omission before I saw any other paper, and corrected it the very day of the meeting. I never sent up to have it corrected as I had other things of more consequence to attend to. It certainly never struck me that by making the observation "keep them down, &c.," you meant to put any body to death. I seldom report in courts of justice. There were no military in view when you said "keep them down, &c. ; " it was when you spoke to the people at the back of the hustings. I was very near you at the time, and did not see you point to any one.

Q. Then those who have said, I pointed to the soldiers and said, there are your enemies, put them down, &c. &c. are not correct?—A. Certainly not, according to my recollection. I have not got my original notes, though I knew for what I was coming here. The notes I took on the field I lost on the same day in Mr. Petty's offices, the solicitor at Manchester. I made the greatest inquiries after them without effect. I have not brought down my manuscript reports to the papers ; they may be lost or not, I never saw them since they went. I refreshed my memory from the account in the papers which I hold in my hand. Though there is a verbal difference between parts of the written and the printed account, yet there is no alteration of any matter of fact. I did not hear you exhort the people to any act which had a tendency to lead them to violence and disorder.



Mr. Hunt (holding in his hand a number of *The New Times* of the 18th of August)—Look, Sir, at the early part of the report in this paper—is it yours? *A.* Yes, I wrote it.

The paragraph referred to stated the arrival of Mr. Hunt and others at the hustings, in a coach, accompanied by “Tyas” in the coach.

*Q.* Is that true?—*A.* I cannot swear to it, I was told Tyas was one.

*Q.* Did you not know Tyas?—*A.* No; I was also told Saxton was there; I received my information on the field as well as I could; I don’t recollect seeing Saxton in the field.

Mr. Hunt.—Is this passage, in which you speak of a lady who was on the box of the coach as “a profligate Amazon,” your writing?—*A.* It is.

*Q.* Where did you get that information?—*A.* I received it from some person who told me who were the parties, for I did not know any of them myself. I called her a profligate Amazon, because I thought her appearance in the manner and place where I saw her, justified the observation. I never saw a lady present colours at the head of a regiment.

Mr. Hunt read on from *The New Times* report—“The soldiers advanced and surrounded the hustings, when Mr. Nadin, with the utmost resolution, seized hold of Johnson first, and then of Hunt, and afterwards of several others, whom he handed to his assistants, and the latter carried them immediately to the New Bailey. The banners were the next objects to which the police officers directed their attention, and with very little resistance they got possession of the whole of them. The scene that now issued was truly awful! The shrieks of women and the groans of men, were to be heard at some distance. Every person who attended out of curiosity, finding his personal safety at risk, immediately fled, and where was then the boasted courage of these mad-headed reformers? They were seen retreating in all directions with the utmost speed. The crush was so great in one part of the field, that it knocked down some out-buildings at the end of a row of houses, on which



were at least twenty or thirty persons, with an immense crush. As I was carried along by the crowd, I saw several almost buried in the ruins. Others, in their anxiety to escape, had been trampled on by the populace, many of them to death. A feeling of *saute qui peut* appeared now to fill the mind of every body, and the dreadful result is not yet known."

Mr. Hunt.—What do you mean by six caps of Jacobinism?

A. Those were red caps of liberty, with "Henry Hunt, Esq." on them. It was the colour and the shape, not the inscription, which gave me this notion of them. I have not examined this castle, nor been struck with the cap and the pole surmounting it. I did see several people hurt near the out-house by the pressure of the ruins. I saw nobody cut while I was there. The groans proceeded from the pressure of the crowd getting away from the field. I know as well as you the field did not attack them. I presume they were endeavouring to get away on the appearance of the soldiers, and not from any act done them by the soldiers certainly. I escaped amid the pressure of the crowd; no one attacked me, no one cut at me with a sword, no one cut at my hat with a sword, nor did I ever tell such a thing to any one. I had no constable's staff on that day, nor ever said I saved myself from a blow of a sword by holding up a constable's staff on the day of the 16th of August. I never said such a thing to any brother reporter, nor that a yeoman who struck at me exclaimed, "d—n you, why did not you show that staff before?" I have certainly told people that I was coming here as a witness for the prosecution, and might have said "against Hunt," but I never said "I would do for him in the witnesses' box."

Mr. Hunt again read on from the report.

"Had it not been for the interference of Nadin, the deputy constable, whom these men have particularly calumniated, it is certain that Hunt would not now have been alive, for the military were determined to cut him to pieces."

Q. Who told you that?—A. I cannot recollect now; but I was told it by somebody between the meeting and twelve at



night.—I do not recollect by whom, it was an occurrence which I heard, and as it struck me to be a forcible circumstance I mentioned it, though I cannot think it was likely to be true.

Q. How came you to insert "it is certain," when you say you did not believe it to be true?—A. I did not think it possible, yet having heard it, I felt it right to mention it, as it was related to me, and I certainly wrote "it is certain," merely stating what had been communicated to me. I am employed by the proprietors of *The New Times*, the only one of whom I know is Dr. Stoddart; he is no relation of mine. I did not know when I wrote that account, that you had bills found upon an indictment against that paper for an alleged libel. Though I knew you were proceeding for some libel, I did not know it was for urging people to assassinate you. I did not write what you call a libel. I know nothing about it.

Q. Did you not know that John Tyas, instead of being a delinquent, was, like yourself, a London reporter?—A. No, I never at that time saw him until the Manchester meeting.

Mr. Hunt read on further—"The yeomanry were supported by the 3rd hussars. Among the *spolia opitma* they say are to be reckoned sixteen banners, with seditious inscriptions, and six caps of Jacobinism. At the moment when Hunt was seized there could not have been fewer than 50,000 persons on the ground." The loyal inhabitants of Manchester, and loyal they certainly are, felt themselves imperatively called upon to rescue the town from the odium cast on it by the toleration of these meetings. It is solely from such feelings that they have acted and in so doing they have certainly set an admirable example to the community at large; for though irritated to a very high degree, they have conducted themselves on this unhappy occasion with the greatest temperance and moderation.

He then turned to a leading article in the same paper, which stated that "the wretch" who was foremost in the meeting changed countenance, and that his "grin of malice" gave way to a pallid and sallow hue.

Q. Is that your writing?—A. It is not.

Q. By whom was it written?—A. I don't know.



**Q.** Is it true?—**A.** It is true that you looked pale at the approach of the military.

**Q.** And that my lips quivered?—**A.** I have nothing to do with the garnishing of it; you certainly looked pale, as I have mentioned.

**Q.** Were not the shrieks of the women and the groans of the men calculated to appal the stoutest hearts?—**A.** I heard no shrieks at that time, nor until afterwards.

**Q.** You saw me make no resistance to the constable's staff, it was an instant surrender?—**A.** I saw you make no resistance, but it was rather a seizure than a surrender. I think it was Nadin who seized you. I heard no question put by you to the officer of cavalry. I saw Nadin take Johnson off the hustings by the leg, and it appeared to me he was about to do the same to you: but as I had turned round at that moment, I can't say exactly how he took you.

Cross-examined by Mr. Bamford.—I occasionally saw Mr. Nadin at the police-office, and got accounts of public business from him. It was not he who communicated to me the intention of cutting Mr. Hunt to pieces. I never communicated with Mr. Milne, but I have with Mr. Cowper, the accomptant, sometimes at his own house, and sometimes in the street. Between the time of the meeting and the night, I communicated with a number of persons, whom I don't now recollect.

**Q.** From your appearance, I should presume you have the honour and manners of a gentleman, why not then have communicated to Mr. Hunt the intention to cut him to pieces?—**A.** I did not hear it until after the meeting, and of course could not have made a previous communication.

Cross-examined by Mr. Swift.—I know you, though I did not see you until the meeting at Manchester. I refer these words to you as having uttered them in your speech (some few sentences recommending peace and good order.) Your speech was, I think, applauded, and so was that of every body who spoke.

Re-examined by Mr. Scarlett.—I do not know of any indictment against the paper for a publication to urge any body



to assassinate Mr. Hunt; but I do know there is a charge of libel or something like calling him "a coward;" it relates to some occurrence at the Westminster election, between Mr. Dowling and Mr. Hunt on the hustings. There is nothing, I think, in that article, inciting any body to assassinate Mr. Hunt. I have no recollection of hearing Mr. Saxton address the meeting, but I occasionally left the field. I was not near the hustings the whole time. There might have been others speaking, though I did not hear them. As near as I could, I sent a faithful relation of what I saw, and what was told me by others. I never used the expression "I'd do for Mr. Hunt," or that "I had a constable's staff on that day, either to Mr. Tyas or Fitzpatrick, which protected me from the yeoman's sabre blows."

James Platt examined.—I have been a police-officer, and was situated, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in St. Peter's area, on the 16th of August. About twelve I saw Dr. Healy, whom I had known for twenty years, bring up a number of people to the cart, afterwards to the hustings. Witness then described the formation of the people around the hustings, and identified Healy and Bamford as being there.

Nothing material occurred in this witness's cross-examination, except that the shout which hailed Mr. Hunt's arrival on the ground, appeared to him to be one of defiance rather than joy. He could not well distinguish between one huzza and another, but this meeting was the the largest he ever saw. He said he was bred to the fustian trade, near Oldham. After that he went to London, and lived as a gentleman's servant with Count de Bruhl, the Saxon Minister, and in other service. He had been at the Bank of England with information respecting forgeries, but he was never accused of passing any.

In his cross-examination by Mr. Hunt—*Q.* What is the price of a *flimsy* (we presume a flash phrase for a forged note) now?—*A.* If you want them in flash—why ten *bobs* (shillings.) The prices vary a little according to the execution. The way I know forgeries was, that my father had forged £5 notes paid him for fustian; he offered one at a grocer's shop in Middleton, which



subsequently proved to be bad, and they were returned; the five pound notes were returned by his father to where he got them, and in return he got six or seven forged notes for £1 or £2. This so aggravated witness that he determined to probe the matter to the bottom, and detect the passers. "I went to the people (continued the witness,) and by inveiglement, I got into the secret, and obtained from them a £5 and a £2 note, upon which I gave information to the Bank of England. I subsequently detected the parties, and I would do so again; eight shillings was the price of a *flimsy* then; for the five pound I gave two pound sixteen shillings; the man who gave them to me is now at large in Manchester; he was committed, but not tried; it was this circumstance that introduced me to Mr. Nadin, who acted under the direction of the Bank; by *inveiglement* I detected others since, and one of them was by my evidence, and that of others, hanged.

Q. What price did you receive for that?—I decline answering that question. I never gave false evidence. I have prevented many, and never appeared against one that was *nailed*, I gave no evidence for forgeries at the last Lancaster assizes; besides Healy and Bamford, I saw you, Johnson, Saxon, Jones and Moorhouse on the hustings, I can't say at what time I first found Saxton there. Nobody assaulted or insulted me on the field, nor did any body else offend where I stood, though I am said to be a dealer in *flimsies*.

Here the defendant, Healey, exclaimed with great warmth, that the witness said one thing here to day, and another at the New Bailey. This the witness denied. In answer to further questions, he said he knew Jones and Saxton, and believed they were employed in Manchester. He would not say whether he swore or not at the New Bailey that he saw Saxton on the hustings, between the times of twelve and half past one o'clock—There were not one hundred persons on the hustings, while Mr. Hunt and Saxton were there; he did not know them then; but he had learnt since, that gentlemen from the newspapers were there; he did not, however, recollect to see them.

Re-examined—He certainly thought the meeting of the



16th of August most seriously calculated to inspire terror—I have seen many crowds before at Manchester and other places but never felt such terror as I did at this. The people of Lees, Saddleworth, and Middleton would have to pass through the town in going to Peter's field. There was a score of regular constables, and 200 or 300 special constables out that day.

Jonathan Andrews examined by Mr. Scarlett—I reside at Endham Hall, near Manchester; I was head constable in Manchester in August last; I have some property there. I was on the ground about twelve o'clock on the 16th of August; it was arranged that a line of constables should extend from the house where the magistrates were to the hustings, or as near as possible to them. When I went to the ground there was a line of constables formed from Mr. Buxton's house to the hustings, which were then erected. Shortly after the hustings were removed several yards backwards. I took notice of the different parties as they arrived; they marched in regular military order as I have seen soldiers march; about every fourth or fifth man appeared to have some command over the rest; they were five or six abreast. A great number had sticks, and many carried them as a soldier carries his musket, that is erect upon the left shoulder; I saw a great number on the ground with sticks but they did not carry them in that form. I saw many flags and caps of liberty. When each division arrived, there was tremendous shouting by those who were on and round the hustings; there was also waving of sticks in the air. I was near enough to the hustings to recognize Jones, whom I knew, but I did not hear what he said. I was upon the ground when Mr. Hunt arrived in a carriage. There was then an immense crowd of people assembled, and the crowd which accompanied him was also-immense. I have before seen as many people assembled together as I on that day saw. I think there were between 60,000 and 70,000 persons present, they consisted mostly of labouring people; there were very few respectable persons present. I conceived so large a meeting could have no other tendency than to overawe the respectable inhabitants of the town, and its authorities. The people appeared to have



come from a distance. It was a very dusty day; I think it was a warm day.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barron—Jones was one of the first on the hustings. I do not know that he was employed as a mechanic to erect the hustings. I can't tell whether he was directing the crowd not to press too close or not.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I think it was the division that had a banner with "Equal Representation or Death" upon it, that marched with their sticks shouldered. It was a black flag; I saw them on the ground; the sticks were very large and thick. The people who attended the meeting appeared to me to have come generally with sticks. I said I thought the meeting amounted to 60,000 or 70,000 persons. The sticks I saw were not such as I generally see people use in walking—they were larger; I cannot say whether they were as long as walking sticks; I was not near enough to judge exactly. The size of the sticks varied materially, according to the size of the men. I think they were generally four or five feet long; they were not all as thick as my wrist. I do not know from whence the party bearing the black flag came. They were marching abreast; I do not say that every man had his stick shouldered; but they carried them generally in that position. Some of the commanders also had sticks. I think that division consisted of 3000 or 4000 men; they had sticks generally. I cannot tell how many sticks were among the whole party; I cannot swear that half of the party, or that one in four had sticks; I am positive there was more than one in ten or one in five so armed. I have already stated, that when they came upon the ground they shouted and waved their sticks in the air. I had no particular companion on that day; we had one hundred constables on the field, but I cannot point out any one who saw this at the same time that I did. After the party had waved their sticks they marched towards the hustings in the same order they had come upon the field. I heard no order of "shoulder arms." I saw no use made of those sticks in attacking the constables; I saw no such attack made. I saw other divisions arrive, who appeared to have sticks also; they



might have made use of their sticks without my seeing them. I was chiefly with the magistrates, and therefore had not so good an opportunity of seeing what took place. I saw very few women, and very few girls indeed. The space of ground was so large that I could not make an estimate of the number of females. I was near the magistrates house, when you arrived. I was not at any time near enough to the hustings to hear what you said. I saw neither fire arms, swords, nor any other offensive weapon, but sticks with the crowd. I saw no person that day, but at the infirmary. I saw no person struck, nor did I see any of the constables make use of their staves. I had no occasion to make use of mine.

Thomas Hardman examined by Mr. Littledale—I was a special constable on the 16th of August; when I first got to the ground (about eleven o'clock.) there was but a few people assembled; soon after, several parties came in, in regular military order carrying sticks. Those that I saw carried them in the left hand as soldiers do muskets, and seemed to have some command over the others. They marched towards the hustings and were cheered as they went up. I heard two people speak from the hustings before the whole party arrived. The first speech was, “There has been an order given to stand six yards back from the stage, otherwise you will afford your enemies an opportunity of rushing in with their cavalry and all their corruption” The other speech was soon after, I know not which was first, it was as follows—“If you had ever so stout-hearted a leader, you will do no good, unless you stand firm to your post.”—Both these speeches were made before Mr. Hunt arrived. Jones spoke one of the speeches, the first I believe. I know not who spoke the other. I saw Mr. Hunt come up in a barouch, attended by a large crowd. I was then at a distance, and could not judge how many came up with him. He got upon the hustings, which were at that time removed eight or ten yards farther, from where the constables stood, than they were on their first erection. I think there were 60,000 or 70,000



persons present. The alarm in Manchester was very great then.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barron.—I have an uncle named, James Hardman, a brewer. Jones was some time since employed by him as an engineer and millwright. I do not know that Jones was employed to erect the hustings. I was between fifteen and twenty yards from the hustings, when he spoke. A Mr. Green was with me, and also heard him. I do not know any body else who was present at the time. Mr. Green is here. I think the words are correct, as Mr. Ellis, who was near me, wrote them down. I am not positive that it was Jones, who made the first speech, but I believe that he did.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I am a dry salter, and acted as a special constable on that day. I can't say that a reporter standing within five yards of the hustings and taking notes, is likely to be more correct than myself. I saw the Oldham division march in, in regular order. I never saw a copy of the indictment against you. The expression of one of the men, who appeared to be a leader, attracted my attention to the Oldham division. The commanders had sticks which they carried in their left hands as soldiers do muskets. I did not see any of the men make use of their sticks. I saw no black flag. The sticks were very large ones, but not so long or so large as a musket. They were of different sizes. Some were three or four feet long, and about half as thick as my wrist. I saw no persons injured that day. I remained on the ground till you were taken to the New Bailey. I accompanied Mr. Hay to London.

Mr. Hunt—Did you give the same evidence before his majesty's ministers, as you have given here?

Witness—Does your Lordship think I ought to answer that question?

Mr. Justice Bayley—You may answer it.

Witness—I did. I am not a magistrate.

Mr. Hunt—Did you compare the evidence given to ministers with what you now say?



Witness—I do not think proper to answer that question.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I think you may say whether the evidence given on both occasions be correct.

Mr. Scarlett—I object to this question.

Mr. Justice Bayley (to Mr. Hunt)—Do you mean to contradict the evidence of this witness?

Mr. Hunt—If I can show that he has equivocated, I think I have a right to do so.

Mr. Justice Bayley—You may ask any question tending to invalidate the testimony of the witness.

Mr. Scarlett—I object to this question.

Mr. Hunt—If he gave different testimony at different times, I wish to know where and how he corrected his opinions?

Mr. Scarlett—The defendant has no right to inquire into what has taken place elsewhere, unless he means to contradict the witness; it is under a pledge of this sort that such questions are allowed. But how can the witness be contradicted in this instance, without calling some of his majesty's ministers into court, which cannot now be done? If the witness says that he has not given the same evidence in both places, then the inference will be against his testimony, and I shall have no opportunity of showing the contrary. If Mr. Hunt can contradict the witness in any legitimate form, I have no objection to his going on.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I am of opinion that a general question of this kind might be asked, not for the purpose of being received as evidence, or of contradicting a witness, but in order to go to his credit, and of seeing if his evidence was substantially the same.

Mr. Hunt said, that sooner than put any question likely to disturb the verdict when given, he would wave the question.

Mr. Scarlett—Don't be afraid, Mr. Hunt; if you are acquitted, the crown will not move for a new trial.

Mr. Justice Bayley said, that if he received what was, or rejected what was not evidence, the crown would certainly be at liberty to move for a new trial.



Mr. Hunt waved his question, and the examination proceeded.

Captain Henly, of the Manchester Yeomanry cavalry is a cousin of mine. He was on duty on that day.

Re-examined by Mr. Littledale—The expression which attracted his attention to the Oldham division was used by a man who carried a stick; he said, “who said We Oldham lads durst not come here to day?” I heard nothing else.

Joseph Green, examined by Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—I was at St. Peter’s area on the 16th of August, in company with Mr. Hardman. About the time I got there the first body arrived. They marched in the array that soldiers generally march through a town—in what is called column, I think. I was on the ground until Mr. Hunt was taken from the stage. Various other bodies arrived after that I have first mentioned. They all marched nearly in the same manner. There were also many who came individually. Some of the bodies had music. A cart came upon the ground nearly at the same time with the first body, and that I think was the only hustings. Mr. Hardman and myself had been arranging a line of constables from the cart to the magistrates house. In a short time the cart was removed about six yards further from the constables. I should say that before this removal, the line of constables did not reach close to the cart. The parties as they arrived formed round the cart. I heard no word of command given; I saw no muskets, but some of them had sticks. I heard a short address from a person on the hustings whom I did not then know, but who I have since been told is named Jones; I do not know his person.—[Here witness repeated the first speech mentioned by last witness “an order has been given,” &c.]—Those words were taken down by Mr. Ellis, partly from my dictation and partly from Mr. Hardman’s. In my opinion the meeting was calculated to excite the most alarming sensations in the minds of the inhabitants. It certainly appeared to me far more a general rising of the neighbourhood than of a meeting for any peaceable purpose, and especially for



deliberation. I conceived deliberation impossible. They were by far too great a body of persons at the extremity to hear what was said in the centre. I estimated those who formed the ring, who shouted, and who seemed to take a lively interest in the proceedings of the day, at about 40,000. In consequence of what I had seen, I joined in an affidavit; I made it at my own instance. I went from where I was standing to the magistrates room for that purpose.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barron.—I do not know the name of any one else who heard this, but Ellis, whom I have named. What was said must have been heard on the hustings, if persons attended to it. I was twenty yards from the hustings. The words did not strike me as very extraordinary. A desire had been expressed by the magistrates, I understood, though I did not hear it from their lips, that undoubted testimony should be had of what took place, and this was the first of the proceedings. I did not then know Mr. Henry Horton, a reporter for *The New Times*, London. I have no recollection of his having been there.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt. I am a manufacturer. It was Mr. Moore, one of the principal constables of the town, who communicated to me the wish of the magistrates. Mr. Ellis must have been near me when I handed him my pocket-book. I did not say "Ellis, take my book and write down those words you have heard," as he admitted that he had not heard them. I was boroughreeve from 1816 to 1817. I remember many meetings during that time; they all attracted my attention, but one more than the rest certainly. It was the meeting of the 10th of March, 1817. It was not any one being killed that attracted my attention. There was no one killed at that meeting; it was called the *Blanket Meeting*. I do not know that any one was killed between Manchester and Stockport. I saw no arms on the 16th of August; I saw no sticks shouldered.—I was not personally insulted on that day, nor did I see any other respectable person insulted. I remember a large meeting held in January, 1819, at which you presided. I cannot call it large, compared with that on the 16th of Au-



gust ; I saw several larger meetings than that on the 10th of March. I do not recollect hearing of any actual violence committed by the meeting in January. I witnessed your passing from that meeting by the Exchange. I did not see the meeting break up. I do not know that you dined together on that day. I saw the hustings fall, but I don't know from what cause. I said the cart of which the hustings first consisted was soon after removed. I do not pretend to say that there was one cart or more, but I saw the hustings removed. I saw no planks. I know Matthew Cooper. I always thought him a very respectable man. I have since heard that he was at the meeting as a reporter. I have heard that a Mr. Horton also attended in that capacity. I do not know if their evidence varied from mine, but I have spoken to the sense of the words I heard. I never professed to swear to the exact words. I swear that I have stated the purport of the words ; I cannot call it the sense ; I could not make sense of the words " the cavalry and all their corruption. After your capture I saw one person who had suffered on that occasion.

Re-examined by Serjeant Hullock.—The meeting in January was not to be compared to that on the 16th of August in any of its circumstances. The people who attended the former did not go in bodies. I was twice at that meeting, and saw Mr. Hunt each time. He is not connected with the town. I think that he first appeared there in January. I think that while in town he remained with Mr. Johnson.

John Ellis examined by Mr. Littledale.—I am a bookseller in Manchester. I was a special constable on the 16th of August. I went to Petersfield about eleven on the 16th of August, and saw different parties come up with flags. I took down some of the Inscriptions on the flags. On a cap of Liberty was " Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, and success to the Female Reformers of Stockport ;" on a flag underneath, " No Corn Laws ;" on a black flag, " No Boroughmongering—Unite and be Free—Equal Representation or death ;" " This is the Saddle, Lees and Mosely Union ;" on the reverse, " No Corn Laws ;" " Taxation without



representation is unjust and tyrannical." On another flag, Labour is the source of wealth ; Royton Female Union." On a flag with a pike on the end, " Annual Parliaments ;" in the centre were the rose, thistle, and shamrock ; under that, " Election by Ballot ;" on the reverse was a figure of Britannia, " The rights of man," " No corn laws." No combination acts, " Oldham Union." On a red flag with green border, " Let us die like men and not be sold like slaves ;" reverse, " Liberty is the birthright of man." This flag was, I believe inscribed " Middleton." The next was a cap of liberty and flag ; inscription on the cap, " Hunt and liberty," on the flag, " Major Cartwright's Bill." In the centre was an emblem of Justice, with scales and sword under it. " Election by ballot ;" reverse, " Annual Parliaments." On a blue flag, " Unity and Strength ;" reverse, " Liberty and Fraternity." Green flag, " Parliaments Annual ;" reverse, " Suffrage Universal." White flag, " Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments and Election by Ballot." I saw several other flags, but did not take down their inscriptions. Before Mr. Hunt arrived, I heard a person speak from the hustings. I was with Mr. Hardman and Mr. Green. I did not hear what was said, but I copied it down from the dictation of Messrs. Hardman and Green. [Here the witness read the speech mentioned by the last two witnesses.] I heard it myself, but imperfectly. The hustings were removed about six yards while I was on the ground. I did not hear what Mr. Hunt said when he got upon the hustings. There were 60,000 or 70,000 persons present. I think the meeting was calculated to produce a most appalling effect on the minds of the inhabitants.

Cross-examined by Mr. Barron—I was near Messrs. Hardman and Green, but did not hear the words used. I do not know who used the words.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I was a special constable that day ; I wrote what passed on the hustings from the dictation of Mr. Hardman ; I believe I wrote the words either during the time the person was speaking, or so soon after that it made no difference. I saw no bodies march but on the field ; they form-



ed round the hustings; they formed in a general body as other crowds do. I conceive I was between twenty and thirty yards from the hustings. The people were pressing close to the hustings, but on the speech being made they fell back upon the special constables; I do not know that the constables were injured, but several of them complained of being pushed back from their stations. According to my judgment, the crowd kept back five or six yards from the hustings after the speech was made. The parties marched in regular order into the field; they had a very imposing aspect; I can't tell whether that was the best way of keeping the peace; I can't say that I saw the people go off in any particular road; I remained till three o'clock but a great portion went away before two; I can't say I saw any going off in crowds. I noticed the dispersion: the field was of that extent that I could only see a small portion of it. I cannot particularly describe whether the people came to or went from the field in the more orderly way. I was stationed between the hustings and the magistrates house between one and two, but I saw nothing which particularly attracted my attention. I was occupied attending to Ashworth, a constable, who was injured by the crowd; he was crushed by the crowd, I conceive. It was the crowd of men, not the crowd of horses. He was carried into a cottage near the spot, and I was with him. He was crushed by a crowd of men. I did not see him crushed: he was crushed on the chest. I did not see any cut: I cannot say that I observed any blood; if there was any blood, I must have noticed it, but I do not recollect seeing any. He was not stript in my presence; he did not speak; he died afterwards, but I did not see him after his death. Any one swearing that he died of cuts, would swear falsely as I conceive. When I copied the flags, I did so fairly, I neither added to, or detracted from them. I intended to take them down fairly. I have done so as fairly as I conceive it possible. I was not more particular about the black flag than about the others. If there be any error, it is as likely to be in my account of one as of another. I cannot conceive that I made any omission respecting the black flag. There was one with "No Corn Laws." I cannot tell if there was any



thing else, without referring to my book (here witness consulted his notes.) I have not got the incscription, which was on the reverse of the flag you mention; it is the first flag I have described. I do not know whether the pike I saw was of wood or of steel; it was in the form of a pike. The caps of liberty did not of themselves alarm me. (Here Mr. Hunt handed to witness a Nottinghamshire militia button, with a cap of liberty upon it. I cannot say that the caps of liberty I saw were like this. I saw several persons with sticks over their shoulders, but not as soldiers carry muskets. I was knocked down myself in the hurry of dispersing the meeting; it was by a push from a man, but I do not know who he was. This happened between one and two; but when you asked me if any thing particular happened in that period, I did not recollect it.

W. Hulton, Esq. examined by Mr. Scarlett—I am a magistrate in the county of Lancaster; I was at the Star Inn, with the other magistrates, on that day; from thence we went to the house of Mr. Buxton, near St. Peter's area. It was between ten and eleven. We there received depositions on oath that different parties were approaching the town. As chairman of the committee of the two counties of Lancaster and Chester, it was my duty to attend to some writing. I occasionally went to the window, and saw several bodies assembling; the first came from Mosley-street, they had music and banners, and apparently divided into sections. The persons who marched at their side from time to time gave words of command. I speak particularly of the first. The others approached in the same order, and in a most remarkable manner, because they did not march straight up to the hustings, but wheeled on receiving the word of command. The heads of the columns went up to the hustings, deposited their colours there, and in doing so were always met by the huzzas of those, who had previously arrived. I believe, having deposited their colours, they took their position at a greater distance to allow the other bodies to come up. I observed that they were beautifully exact in their movements in coming up to the hustings. I cannot say so of the party who



came with Hunt, but that which came from Mosly-street, marched very correctly to the best of my belief from having seen soldiers reviewed. I think the first party amounted to 4,000 or 5,000, I cannot say exactly, There was music with each party, I particularly noticed the party that came with Hunt. There were four in the carriage, Hunt, Johnson, Carlile, and I believe Moorhouse. It was the peculiar noise made on the arrival of Mr. Hunt which attracted my attention. It was the wish of the magistrates to establish a communication by a line of constables, from the house to the hustings, but I observed a set of men with their hats off, surrounded the cart and prevented this communication; the numbers attending Mr. Hunt were very great. I could not myself judge of the whole number assembled, but on consulting better judges than myself, I was told that there could not be less than 50,000 or 60,000 persons. They were narrowly estimated. Undoubtedly the crowd did inspire fear in the town. I had received depositions on oath from various persons.

Mr. Hunt—Produce those affidavits.

Mr. Justice Bayley—It will do to give us your own judgment on this subject.

Undoubtedly there were several gentlemen who were strongly impressed with fear and alarm; they came to me as a magistrate. My own opinion was that the town was in the greatest danger. The population of Manchester, men, women, and children, is said to be 100,000; it is crowded with shops, warehouses, and manufactories. We thought it right to issue a warrant for the apprehension of those whom we considered as the leaders. It was given to Nadin in presence of one of the town constables, or handed through his hand to Nadin, I cannot recollect which. I do not recollect that the warrant was brought back after it was taken out. In giving the warrant to Nadin he said he could not serve it without military aid; he refused to serve it without military aid, and he assigned a reason for so doing, which was perfectly satisfactory to the magistrates. When he refused, I wrote two letters, one to the commanding



officer of the Manchester yeomanry, and the other to Colonel L'Estrange, requiring them to come to the house where the magistrates were. They came, and also a troop of the Manchester yeomanry. They came from Mosly-street end at a quick pace, and formed under the magistrates house. The moment they appeared, the crowd set up a tremendous shout, they groaned, hissed, and those men that had sticks shook them in the air, threatening the cavalry. I saw the sticks myself. I was at the window of the first floor, and could see the whole distinctly. I swear most positively that I saw the sticks, and could hear the expressions of the people, who were near the yeomanry at the time. A part of the crowd that were nearest turned round and advanced towards the military. This was while they were forming. When the mob set up that shout and groaning, the cavalry waved their swords. They advanced towards the hustings, the constables and boroughreeve were with them, the latter had been on horseback before, but was then on foot. It was totally impossible, in my judgment, to serve the warrant without the military. I stated that I had written to Colonel L'Estrange also, and I expected they would arrive together; but he did not arrive at the same time with the yeomanry. It was represented to me that it would be dangerous for Colonel L'Estrange to come through a narrow lane, which was the shortest way. He at length brought up two troops of the 15th Hussars and two of the Cheshire yeomanry. When he arrived, I was anxiously watching what was going on at the hustings. As the yeomanry and constables approached the hustings, I saw brick-bats and stones thrown, and a sort of general resistance made. I saw the stones flying about, when Colonel L'Estrange arrived with the hussars and the Cheshire yeomanry. I thought the Manchester yeomanry were totally beat. When the yeomanry got into the crowd, the people closed upon them. When Colonel L'Estrange arrived, he asked me what to do? I said, "good God, Sir, don't you see how they are attacking the yeomanry?" It was the attack of stones and brick-bats which produced on my mind the impression that



the yeomanry were beaten. I saw the sticks lifted up as the yeomanry advanced; they were very large sticks, I believe, but I had rather not swear it, that the yeomanry went four a-breast but their horses being raw not being used to such service, they were in some confusion, as they passed in, the crowd closed behind them. I distinctly saw an immense body of people between the house and the calvary as they advanced towards the hustings. In a few minutes after this, some of the parties were taken into custody. After I had spoken to Colonel L'Estrange, I added, "disperse the crowd." He did so; the dispersion took place upon his advance; I am not sure whether he advanced with all his party. Having spoken to him, I left the window. I cannot say how many persons were taken into custody.

Cross-examined by Mr. Hunt—I declare that I have related every thing as I saw it. I could not distinctly see to know you upon the hustings. I mean by that to say, that I could not distinguish your person from that of another. The hustings were, perhaps, 300 or 400 yards distant from where I stood, but I cannot speak exactly. It was so far that I could not distinguish you from another. I distinguished those linked arm in arm, because they formed a cordon, and were distinguished from the rest by being bare-headed. I solemnly believe they were linked arm in arm. I saw them linked, and I believe it to be arm in arm; they were as close as men could be, and were distinguished from the rest of the crowd. Not only I, but all who were with me, saw they were linked arm in arm. I swear this from my own observation, and not from that of those who were about me.

Hunt—Look round, Sir, and tell me on your oath whether those people in the body of the court, and who are elevated above each other, have their arms linked together.

Witness—The situation of the parties is very different. [Here the proceedings were interrupted by loud cheers and clapping of hands, from almost all parts of the court.] One of the persons who acted in this manner was singled out and brought into court. His name was Kellenbeck.



The Judge said he had noticed the man himself. After questioning him, the depositions of two persons were taken, and he was committed till Monday. The judge then said to him—“ You shall have an opportunity of making an affidavit of your innocence ; but I advise you, in the name of God, not to do it, as I saw you myself making a noise. The question before the court is of importance, and ought to be conducted with decency and impartiality.

I had a much better opportunity of seeing those men in the square, than I have of seeing those men as they now are. I could distinctly see them wedged together, and on my oath, as I believe, linked together.

(By the Judge) I could not see the lower part of their arms, but I could distinctly see the outside men linked, and from the appearance of the others, I have no doubt they were also linked. I have said that I saw a body of men 10 deep, who I believe on my oath, to have been linked together arm in arm, and I could see that many of them were so. There was a space between them and the hustings, in which there were some persons, but the body I describe was of the same breadth and bareheaded. The description of noise on your arrival, was applause and huzzaing. I cannot say that the people were looking towards the carriage when they applauded. I did not see them turn and applaud the constables. But I went from the window from time to time, so that I did not see all that passed.

(Mr. Hulton having smiled)—

Mr. Hunt said, you have seen one example, and you ought not to smile.

Mr. Justice Bayley checked Mr. Hunt for this observation.

Examination resumed.—I did not see the people turn and give a shout of defiance to the constables. I understood the applause to be on account of your arrival. This applause had an influence on me in signing the warrant for your arrest, because you brought a great accession of strength to those already collected. I was president of the committee of Cheshire and Lancashire magistrates that day. The warrant was signed by myself and others. There were several depositions made



upon the morning of the 16th. I conceive the depositions as to the terror of the persons who signed them, were made about half-past twelve o'clock. I speak now not of depositions, nor against you personally, but as to the general alarm of the town. The last deposition was made after you had mounted the hustings, and I conclude, addressed the meeting. The name of the man who signed the last deposition was Owen; he is a pawnbroker. I can't say what was the exact time, but it was after you had mounted the hustings, or at least after the time when the carriage drew up and the persons in it had got out. I have not got the warrant; I gave it to the constables. I believe it usual to have the warrant returned to the magistrate, but as there were names to it of persons older than I am in service, it was not returned to me. I do not recollect the terms of the warrant. I have not seen it since I gave it to Nadin. I believe it contained the names of Hunt, Moorhouse, Knight, and Johnson. It was made out after the last deposition was taken. I had a very strong idea that the execution of the warrant would be a task of difficulty. I have no knowledge of any direction being given to the constables to open a way up to the hustings. It never was proposed to any other person to take the chair on that day. I was never in the army, but I was in the local militia. I do not call what I saw on the 16th of August, service. I gave the warrant to the constables; it was for them to execute it. I wrote to the commander of the yeomanry, and to Colonel L'Estrange at the same time, and the reason why the yeomanry arrived first was, I conceive, that Colonel L'Estrange came a round-about way in order to avoid passing through a narrow and dangerous street. I did not say that on the arrival of the Manchester Yeomanry, the mob gave a shout of defiance. I said they gave a great shout and brandished their sticks. I did think and I think still that the shouting and brandishing of sticks were in defiance of the military. I said that some of the crowd faced and made their approach to the military, in doing so, they hooted, pointed, and clapped their hands at them. I stated that the yeomanry waved their swords; they then advanced to the hustings. If called upon,



I should say that they advanced at a trot, with their horses prancing and fidgetting; they were not in very good order. It was more prancing than a trot. I swear that I saw none galloping; the pace they went was more like walking than trotting. I believe they proceeded on the right of the constables, but the line of constables was uninterrupted at this period. All I can say is, that the space made by the cavalry was instantly filled up, and I mean to express my opinion, that it was so filled up for the purpose of closing in upon the cavalry to cut them off, and I think to injure them, when in their power. I will not say constables might not have been among the crowd. I will swear that the people did not fly when this portion of cavalry got among them; they did fly when they saw the others, that is when Colonel L'Estrange advanced with his squadron. Some individuals might have fled at first, but in my opinion the general flight was not till the squadron came up. There were a good many women undoubtedly in the crowd. There might have been children also, though I did not see them. The women were particularly noisy, and hissed the yeomanry when they first came up. I saw sticks, bricks, and stones flying as they came up, but I cannot swear they were flung at the yeomanry. It did appear to me to denote a general resistance, and before I ordered Colonel L'Estrange to advance, I did see what I thought to look like the yeomanry being overcome, and I then did say, "for God's sake, Sir, don't you see how they are attacking the yeomanry, save them and disperse the people." I had not time to consult my brother magistrates, who were at the window, and heard me, for the danger seemed so imminent. I did not take the responsibility singly of ordering the military. The other magistrates were actuated by the same apprehension I entertained for the safety of the yeomanry. I cannot say how many magistrates were in the room at the time. Mr. Tatton and myself had previously in vain attempted to force into the crowd, in the hope of having some effect upon them, but were forced back. This was not previous to the military advance. It was between the advance of the yeomanry with the constables to the hustings, and the arrival of Colonel



L'Estrange's squadron. I did not attempt to go amongst the people to expostulate before the yeomanry came, for if I had I could not probably have ever got back. We knew how the populace had insulted the Inn where we assemble; I did not know that Nadin had been walking about among the people, and until now I never heard it. I will not swear he did not; but I have no recollection of seeing him. I saw the parties march into the field in regular order, and it was in beautiful order, yet still calculated to create great alarm in the town. Many of them carried sticks over their shoulders, but chiefly the party that came in from Mosly-street. Soon after the order for the dispersion of the meeting I quitted the window. The order was given to Colonel L'Estrange.

Q. Was the carnage too horrible for you to survey?—A. I'd certainly rather avoid looking at it.

Q. Then you had given orders, the execution of which you had not the courage to witness?

A. I gave the orders to save the yeomanry.

Q. And you intended to disperse the people by force and bloodshed? I never thought we should have had to resort to a forcible dispersion, for I hoped to bring in the prisoners named in the warrant, would have made any further application of force unnecessary. I will swear we had no previous intention of dispersing the crowd.

Our limits will not allow us to give at full length the remainder of this most interesting and extraordinary trial, nor is it in fact requisite, as the examination of the many witnesses, went merely to corroborate the statements of the former. The case for the prosecution being closed, Mr. Barrow addressed the court, on the part of Moorhouse and Jones, and Mr. Holt on the part of Saxton.

On the fifth day, Mr. Hunt proceeded to address the court.

My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury—Rising, as I do, under very peculiar and multifarious difficulties, I have to entreat your indulgence while I lay my case before you, in answer to the serious charge attempted on the part of the prosecution to be substantiated against me. I have in the first



place to inform you that I arrived at York labouring under a heavy cold, which has since been increased by the draft of the door behind me, and by my anxiety and attention, until it has placed me in a situation, in point of health, of great difficulty and no little danger.—It was on this account I made that application for the Court not to sit until ten o'clock this morning—an application which was unfeelingly opposed by the Learned Counsel opposite.

Mr. Justice Bayley,—Pray, Mr. Hunt, don't use the harsh term "unfeeling;" let us refrain from personalities.

Mr. Hunt.—I was in hopes that I should have been able, step by step, to read the evidence through before I came to my defence; but when I left this court last evening I was so indisposed as to be obliged to call in an eminent medical man who recommended me by all means to abstain from any business which might cause anxiety or irritation, and to keep myself as quiet as possible. This, gentlemen, prevented me from reading over the evidence with that care which I should otherwise have devoted to it. If under such discouraging circumstances I should be under the necessity of taking up much of your time, I hope the delay will not create in your minds any prejudice against me, but be attributed to the real and only cause—When I put in this claim, I do so on the score of health; I claim not I want not to excite improper sympathy. A conscious feeling of rectitude has always dictated my motives and governed my actions and intentions, and will now I feel confident, enable me to bear up against multiplied difficulties with honour to myself, and, I trust, with satisfaction to you. When you heard, gentlemen, the opening speech of the learned Counsel, I am sure you must have felt that you were about to try a very different question from that which has since been detailed to you. I am sure you thought you were about to try some monster in human shape, who, devoid of feeling, integrity, and of character, sought the overthrow of all good Government, and of all the most sacred institutions in the coun-



try. You have heard the evidence which followed the speech for the prosecution, and I now ask you, where are the proofs that any man here is such a monster? To your oaths and your consciences I calmly leave that appeal. The Learned Gentleman set out with expressing to you his congratulations at the removal of this trial to your county from the neighbouring one, and in the pleasure it gave him to find it about to be tried in a place where local prejudices were not liable to have particular operation. He made this congratulation, as he said, on the part of the cause of justice, as well as in behalf of the defendants. But with what sincerity, Gentlemen can you receive that congratulation, when I tell you that the Learned Counsel himself, with the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, Mr. Raine and the whole array of the Crown Lawyers, employed all their combined talents and legal accumen to deprive you of having the performance of that duty on which he now congratulates you, and to prevent my having this opportunity of obtaining an unbiassed Jury of the county of York? Has it also come to his knowledge that unfair means have been resorted to even with a Jury here? This Jury, he knows, were struck with the Sheriff at the side of the selector. Does he believe that no improper means have been resorted to? Does he believe that no improper means have been used by the Under Sheriff, or that no letter has been written to an individual called on the Jury, but who has not attended?

Mr. Justice Bayley—Mr. Hunt I must interfere, This is quite extraneous matter. If any such interference were used, there is another way of investigating it. The party making that interference is answerable for it, but it is foreign to our present business.

Mr. Hunt—I state, my Lord, what I am informed I can prove. I am well advised upon it, and I do not hesitate to say, that it would form a good and valid ground of objection to any verdict tainted by such means. But I here confess I have no such feeling. If any such attempt has been made up-



on any individual in your box, Gentlemen of the Jury, I am sure, that instead of creating an undue impression against me, it will operate in my favour—and that you will feel no leaning towards the man who has dared to do it, and who shall hereafter, face to face, answer for his conduct. I must, however, say, that much prejudice has been imbibed against us. The opening speech of the learned counsel has gone forth through the London Papers to the world, while we are yet upon our trial. They have been here circulated in a public coffee-room by some of the witnesses convened for the prosecution, a false impression has been thus created, and nineteen out of twenty of the people of England have ere now been exposed to its operation. I am not only charged in this opening speech, which has been disseminated throughout the world, with being a man on his trial for an attempt to overthrow the constituted authorities of my country, but also to extinguish, in the flame of infidelity, the altar of our holy religion. It has been industriously promulgated that I was connected with Mr. Carlile; it has been propagated that I am a man of his principles—where is the proof? Without it, why should the imputation have been cast? I shall not advert to the conduct of Carlile, because the law has imposed its punishment upon him, and he is now enduring the reward of his temerity. It would therefore be improper and imprudent, and unjust for me, in open Court, to touch upon such a subject; but why was the topic introduced? I will tell you, Gentlemen—to connect our cause with irreligion, and to identify that of the reformers with Mr Carlile's. I am not here, I openly avow, either by my evidence or my speech, to convey in the slightest degree, any intention of disavowing the appellation of being a Reformer. I am not a man to hold one opinion in private and another in public, with regard to my political sentiments. I have no crooked expediency. I profess to be a Reformer, but not a Leveller. I profess to be a lover of liberty, but not of licentiousness. Sweet, lovely Liberty, Gentlemen, is pure and amiable as sacred truth. Licentiousness is as disgraceful as darkness and falsehood. Liberty is as contrasted with crime



as truth is with some of that evidence which has been given in that box on the part of the prosecution. Who that has read the learned counsel's speech, and heard his allusion to a bloody dagger, encompassed and surrounded by the people of the Manchester meeting—a dagger too which has now been seen through the public prints by 19-20ths of the empire—who, I say, but must not think, that the vile criminal so impugned, is a monster, a low bred, vulgar villain, a desperado of life, plodding violence and rapine, treason and murder—instigating his fellow creatures to hurry on with him in his career of desperate and atrocious criminality? What proof is there in evidence to entitle the Learned Counsel to draw this “air-drawn dagger,” save indeed the evidence of one uncorroborated witness—a man, too, bearing the rank of high life; a Gentleman and a Magistrate; he, of all, only doted to utter this breath of slander, and to implicate us, or any part of the meeting, in any acts of tumult or violence. This having been done, it is incumbent upon us here to repel by evidence, this false and infamous calumny which the Learned Counsel, though he uttered, did not dare to prove by one corroborating evidence.

Mr. Justice Bayley—Pray do not use opprobrious epithets, I cannot bear them.'

Mr. Hunt—My Lord, it is charged upon me that I have been criminally connected with public meetings, at which, among other emblems to instigate the people to acts of bloodshed and violence, I was a party to bringing the emblems of a bloody dagger on a flag—Where, I ask, is the dagger? Where is the flag? I answer, no where but in the perverted imagination of the man who uttered it to excite a prejudice against us in the minds of the jury. He smiles (Mr. Scarlett was observed by Mr. Hunt to smile)—He may smile, but let him remember that, like the story of the boy and the frogs, what was fun for him, may be death to me. If there was this emblem, gentlemen of the jury, you will have seen it here, for you recollect Shawcross said that the banners, the revolutionary emblems, the implements of war, were all here. Why did not the learned gentleman, whose witnesses had them, call for their production?



No, no, gentlemen, his observation at that moment was, "Let us close the case." Where was their witness Nadin, who is here; why not a single witness to prove the existence of this bloody dagger? Where are the dreadful ensigns? Why not produce them here to justify their clients? See the effects they were calculated to produce, and do you think the prosecutors would have lost it, if it were possible to be obtained? Where are the bludgeons that were shouldered like wooden muskets? They were part of the captured spoils; Mr. Jonathan Andrews saw them four feet in length; where are they? No, not one is here. The bludgeons then, the stones that were hurled at the yeomanry, Mr. Scarlett's bludgeons, Mr. Hulton's bludgeons, brickbats, and stones, are only to be found existing in the mind of the learned counsel and his solitary witness. They know well that they had no other existence. The learned counsel said he knew Mr. Hulton much better than I do. I dare say he does and I give him joy of his acquaintance. Mr. Hulton was about 3 or 400 yards from the hustings. He is yet the only man who dares to swear to the flinging of stones and the brandishing of sticks, to the face about of the people against the military, their being attacked, and, as it were, cut off. He only speaks to the hissing and hooting. I shall contradict that man. Why was he not corroborated by his brother magistrates, nine of whom were with him in the room when he saw all these indications of violence? Why should testimony so important want the confirmation of his brother magistrates, who could, if the story be true, have corroborated every word of it; we know that the whole of the nine other magistrates were here on the first morning of the trial; we know that Mr. Hay was here, and Mr. Norris; we know that when witnesses were ordered out of court, they went out among the rest, from that box where they had taken their places. All went out—for what? to enable them to be called as evidences; and yet not one was brought to corroborate the most strong of them all. All Lancashire did not furnish a brother magistrate to corroborate Mr. Hulton; of the whole police who take oaths by the hundred every year, there



was not one to prop up such an assertion of our guilty acts. No, not one could be found to swear after Mr. Hulton. Gentlemen, if this question were merely the simple one of my guilt, or innocence—my moral guilt or moral innocence—I declare to God, that, knowing as I do the judge who tries this cause, his high character, his great integrity, I would let the evidence go to you as it stands, and demand upon it your verdict of an honourable acquittal. To that judge whose character—

Mr. Justice Bayley—Let me beg of you not to allude to it in this manner.

Mr. Hunt—Well then, gentleman, I cannot give vent to those feelings which it would gratify me to utter. I shall only say, that out of all the evidence brought forth on the part of the crown, there has not been a single one whose cross-examination did not elicit a contradiction of the charge brought against us. I have said, that if my private interest were alone concerned, I should leave the evidence to you as the prosecution left it to you. But there are great national interests involved in it, and which must here be decided. I feel, then, I must combat the tissue of misrepresentation that have been sent forth against us. I feel that I must undo the criminal force of the learned counsel's accusation, which has now gone far and wide throughout the country. When I see, therefore, the absolute necessity of calling evidence to rebut such gross and unfounded imputations, I must crave your indulgence to allow me the opportunity. It is, gentlemen, no part of my character to be the flatterer of any man, or to fawn before any personage. To such language, or such sycophancy, I am an utter stranger. If I then approach the learned judge with the humble tribute of my praise—

Mr. Justice Bayley—Mr. Hunt, you must not, I cannot hear it. Pray forbear.

Mr. Hunt—Gentlemen, I said I could not be a flatterer; but I mean to speak the honest language of truth, not of adulation. If I said else, I know it would have only the effect of exciting in your minds a prejudice against me. During the whole course



of this trial, the learned judge (and I hope I may be permitted to say it) has exercised a patience, has shown a temper often tried, and I will admit, perhaps, not a little by myself, as well as by others.

Mr. Justice Bayley—We must not suffer those allusions to be made; I thank you to say nothing about it. Go on to what is material for your defence.

Mr. Hunt—Well, Gentlemen, I must desist from gratifying my feelings; his Lordship's hint of disapprobation shall ever induce me to desist from pursuing any course that may be disagreeable to him. After these preliminary observations I ask your patience, Gentlemen, while I go through as well as I can the principal parts of the evidence for the prosecution. But first I must call your attention to the nature of the indictment. It is for a conspiracy; a very fashionable and convenient mode now-a-days of proceeding by indictment; for by so proceeding there is no limit to enquiry—every action of a man's life may be scanned to shew his character; his whole career may be raked up. Every possible degree of criminality may be left to be inferred from the *animus* with which he transacted any affair of his life. Now, Gentlemen, in this indictment they had this wide scope. I ask you, then, what proof of evil intention have they adduced against us? None—none whatever. I was, you have heard, at Stockport, where I received the kind and hospitable treatment of Mr. Moorhouse; I went from Stockport to Manchester on the Monday, and yet Chadwick, who was the whole week watching from Manchester to Stockport, and from Stockport to White Moss, can only bring out this material fact, that has been so much dwelt upon, namely, that as I passed along the road I said, 'Let us give one shout, lads.' Is this a conspiracy? No. What, then, is it meant for? Why, for this purpose, to excite a prejudice against me, by attributing to my popularity, the collection of this great meeting. I will bring a witness to prove the circumstances attending this shout. I will put into that box a lad who has been in my service for seven years—a simple country lad, who has attended me at all public meetings



for the last seven years. Get out of him, if you can, any act of criminality. The learned counsel, who will, I know, condescend to any thing here—can enter the recesses of my stable and my private chamber; let him, through my servant, scan every event in my house. The fact of that shout is this;—I am, as is it known, long accustomed to meet crowds of people, and whenever I saw the least disposition in the multitude to hiss, and give offence of any kind to any individual, it has always been my practise to draw their attention from the object of their dislike by proposing three cheers, or a shout of some kind to divert their attention and exhilarate their minds. If I see a wish to hurt the feelings of any body I always say, “No, no give them three cheers.” What a contemptible vanity am I not charged with! To excite a shout from the people—what did I want of it? I needed no such stimulus to them, if I were weak enough to resort to such means. They always gave me enough of shouting when I appeared among them, without using any such foolish means to obtain their applause. When I got to Bullock’s Smithey, I found that the meeting of the 9th of August had been prohibited by the magistrates, and declared illegal.—Mr. Hunt, you have called this meeting, no, it was not Mr. Hunt who called it—it was the inhabitants of Manchester—who called it by public advertisement. A requisition had been sent to the boroughreeve, signed by from seven to 1700 householders of Manchester, each name having the trade and address of the party annexed to it, desiring that a meeting of Manchester and the vicinity should be convened—for what? “to adopt the most legal and most effectual means to procure a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. This requisition was published in the papers, with the names of the inhabitants subscribed to it. The boroughreeve would not call the meeting, and they then called it themselves. This was on the 7th of August, two days before I at all arrived in the neighbourhood, and yet this was the meeting said to have been called by a man who had neither residence, property, or connexions in Manchester—a man who was in fact out of the town for two days after. I was invited to preside at that meeting, because



I imagine they knew I had presided at others where peace and order prevailed. There was not one public meeting I ever attended in the course of my life that was not so conducted. I tell you frankly and freely, that I was never invited by my countrymen to take part in any public meeting at which I did not attend. This may be attributed to my vanity and ambition. What vanity? What ambition? Was it the ambition to do evil?—No; it was the ambition to do that good, which I thought it in my power to accomplish. When did I show a disposition to do evil? The meetings are described as composed of cordons and martial array, and all prepared to fight against any one, and for me; and where did I misdirect their power?—I keep no notes of my speeches—I trust to the feelings and dictates of my heart, which are foreign to violence; and I speak what I feel. I ask, then, on what meeting in the whole course of my life did I, by even any single casual expression dropped in the heat of the moment, use one single word that had a tendency to excite the people against their constitution, and the authorities of the state? If I had attempted so bad a course, I do not believe the people would, in any instance have followed my example. I never entertained such sentiments. It has ever been my desire to induce the people to uphold the honest, noble, dignified, free born character of Englishmen; to make them lovers of their free constitution, its authorities, and its laws; and perhaps in only two or three individual instances have I ever seen a single being who was desirous of doing unlawful acts. I never wished to remedy any imaginary or real evil by any other than legitimate means—"the most legal and most effectual means," as are specified in this requisition, always constituted the doctrines I sought. You have heard of burning mills. What mills did I ever point out for conflagration? What farms did I point out for partition? What butcher's or baker's shops did I ever designate for plunder? None. If I ever had so misconducted myself, do you think, gentlemen of the jury, you would not have heard of it during this trial? Do you not think that the prose-



cutors, with the whole treasury of England at their back, would have found it out, and made me answerable for it this day? I never in the whole course of my life used a single expression that had a tendency to induce the humbler walks of life, or the lower orders as they are denominated, to obtain a single farthing, except from the fruits of their own honest industry. The reporters, who have been examined, all prove that I never used a single phrase but what was an exhortation for peace and order. Roger Entwistle alone says, I pointed to the soldiers and said, "there are your enemies, get them down and when you have them down, keep them down." Mr. Horton says, this was not addressed to the soldiers, and I will prove to you, that I could not, from my position, have seen the soldiers at the time. So much for Roger Entwistle's fact. Next came the charge of martial array and wooden muskets—the symptoms of violence and disorder—not a single bludgeon is produced—not a single individual in that immense crowd offers an insult to any one. Mr. Green, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Hardman come here and declare their dread of the meeting without hearing a single expression used to justify their alarm. In this immense population, consisting of 60 or 70,000 people, you have only spoken of in evidence four or five verbal insults, and the principal of these too used before the people entered Manchester. One man said, "Manchester would be made that night a second Moscow;" and yet see the impression this awful denunciation made on the witness who heard it, a man who had at the time his wife and children in the very town that was so soon to be in a state of conflagration, and yet what effect did it produce upon him? Why he remained pursuing his ordinary occupation in the factory, where he was at work: he felt that it was an idle and a ridiculous phrase, and being under no alarm for his family, he never cared about returning to Manchester until his regular hour at night. Do you think, if the man thought the observation any thing but a vain boast, he could not, unless he were a monster, have refrained from flying



before that populace, and rescuing his wife and children from the impending danger. Then comes Mr. Francis Phillips. He it seems, rode out to Stockport, and eyeing a man very close, got a stake or a club in return, and therefore denounced the meeting as illegal. This was the author of the celebrated pamphlet, a man who has done more to circulate the grossest misrepresentations respecting the Manchester business than any other man in the country.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—Take care, and do not go out of the way to cast aspersions.

Mr. Hunt.—Then Mr. Phillips tells you he returned, and made certain depositions before the magistrates. But yet, from what had fallen from the other witnesses, it would appear that so far from the danger arising on the morning of Monday, in the eyes of the magistrates, they had actually met on the Sunday, to try and frame depositions upon the subject; but not being able to agree upon the point, had deferred the matter until the following day. And yet they tell you, they never felt alarm until the morning of Monday; so that their alarm appeared in the result to be not sudden and imminent, but the counsel of two days. The great discussion—the great arrangement, was how to break up the meeting without reading the Riot Act—the famous Riot Act. The counsel for the prosecution did not bring a single witness to prove that it had been read—they knew very well that if they attempted to do so, the evidence of the individual would have been kicked out of court. They knew it was never read. I did not put the question to Hulston, because I knew his answer would have been “*Yes, bang.*”

[Mr. Justice Bayley—“You cannot know what his answer would be, Mr. Hunt.”]

But though I did not put the question, I got full enough from him in the cross-examination, that no such thing had been done. I made him to all intents and purposes swear that no Riot Act was read. I asked him, “Did either you or any of your brother magistrates go forth and caution the people that their meeting was illegal? Did you give them any notice before



you dispersed them? Did you try to persuade them to desert from what you thought was their object, or make them in any way believe that you intended to drive them away by force? "No," said Mr. Hulton. I, continued Mr. Hunt, knew that the Riot Act was a notice—that it was a proclamation to the people. I put my question, therefore, so as to get the answer without hinting to the witness the fact I wanted to extract from him. I knew that no Riot Act had been from first to last read. Mr. Scarlett knew that, and he did not venture to ask the question. He knew the impression produced in the House of Commons by that circumstance, and how it reverberated throughout the country. Why not call the Rev. Mr. Ethelstone? Did not the learned gentleman know that Mr. Ethelstone sent a message to the Oldham Inquest, that he could prove he had read the Riot Act? He sent in the message, but he did not dare go before a jury and swear to the fact. Where were Mr. Trafford, Mr. Tattan, Mr. Hay, Mr. Norris, Colonel Fletcher, Colonel L'Estrange, and all the other gentlemen who were present, to prove the reading of any Riot Act? They knew what Mr. Hulton had sworn, why not then have come forward either to corroborate his testimony, or supply his deficiencies? Mr. Hay, indeed, did not wait; he put himself into a coach, and drove off from York instantly; we were, I suppose, expected to follow him with a subpoena. I am too old a soldier to be caught by such a manoeuvre. Nature has given me common understanding, and I have seen a great deal too much of the consequences of bringing a hostile witness into the box for an examination in chief. But if they had put him up at the other side, as they must have at first intended by bringing him here, then, indeed, I should have given a *Jew's eye* for his cross-examination. This was the Mr. Hay, who got a living of £2,500 a year for his conduct in this business. If Mr. Hulton get his reward for his share in the service, there is no gift the crown can bestow too great for his deserts. Mr. Hulton is truly, Gentlemen, the boldest man I ever saw. I know and feel that when a man of rank and character speaks before a jury of gentlemen to facts, his evidence is necessarily



calculated to make a stronger impression on their minds than when the same information is derived from persons of meaner consideration.—True, the rich and the poor man are equal in the eye of the law. But still I can see the different impression which will be made by the same circumstances reaching your ears through a different channel. It is, perhaps, natural and proper that more weight should, in such a case, attach to what falls from a man of rank and property. The common feelings of our nature, in a certain station in society, induce us to give a preponderating weight to the testimony of our equals, in preference to others, and makes us reflect that a person so placed has a great stake in maintaining his integrity, and that if he forgets what he owes to his own conscience and his God, he must expect, as the consequence, to forfeit the rank and consideration he holds in society, and that when such a man, be his rank what it may, becomes perjured, he falls to the earth. I shall bring the most unequivocal testimony before you that Mr. — is a — man. That he has told you that as a truth, which has not the least shadow of probability. I know you will not take this from my mouth. I am aware you will require the strongest evidence to convince you that a man of his station could be guilty of that which I charge him with. But if I do not prove what I now say, let me be the villain that I am not, and he the innocent man. To prove what I say I shall put in the box, not men of humble station, but men in the higher ranks of life—men totally unconnected with the Manchester meeting—men of equal rank, and character and education with himself, and of ten times his property—men who cannot in any manner be pointed out as partizans of the people, assembled on the 16th of August. They will prove that they had every means and opportunity of watching that meeting, and that they saw no brandishing of cudgels, no flinging of brickbats, no facing about upon the military, no cutting off the yeomanry. Not one of these acts did they see—not one of them, if they had been committed, could have escaped their attention. Not one finger did they see raised against the yeomanry when they advanced to arrest the persons on the



hustings. When I prove all this, and not until then, but *then* I shall call upon you to dismiss from your mind the whole of Mr. Hulton's evidence upon this point. I repeat, that if the case merely concerned myself individually, I should have this evidence rest upon its own improbability. I'd let it stand as it does, totally uncorroborated by the whole weight of a treasury prosecution; but the question involves more than my individual fate; it comprehends more than a verdict of guilty or not guilty upon the defendants now on trial: it will decide no less a question than this—whether, hereafter, there shall be a particle of rational liberty left in the country? You will decide whether the meetings of the people, or of gentlemen like yourselves, shall in future meet under any other better security, that you shall not be cut down by sabres, at the discretion of any hot-headed young magistrate? You will have to say whether in future it shall be lawful for any such person to send among a mixed meeting of men, women, and children, a set of drunken infuriated yeomanry, to inflict upon them, while peaceably assembled, military execution? I am charged with being guilty of the grossest misrepresentations upon this subject. You have now to ascertain at which side the grossest misrepresentations have been given.

I shall now call your attention to the main points urged by the witnesses for the prosecution. Lomas, the Cheshire yeoman, who was actively engaged riding between Stockport and Manchester, from seven o'clock on the morning of the 16th of August until two o'clock, had not had his attention, he says, drawn to any particular act throughout the whole of that time. He appears to have been merely called to show that the Cheshire yeomanry, though they bore off the spoils from the field, had taken no part in the honour of the battle. The people were fled when he entered St. Peter's area; and yet, according to Mr. Hulton, the people were on the spot at the time, and encircling the yeomanry cavalry, when the 15th hussars and the Cheshire were, according to Mr. Hulton, sent to their rescue. Next came the evidence of the *Mushroom Serjeant*, who heard Mr. Bamford address the Middleton division of the pro-



ple, and tell them that he expected no disturbance, at least until their return. Now it will be proved that no such words were ever uttered by Bamford; that he never said "the day is our own;" and that the explanation he gave of the banners was the real fact, namely, to prevent the people from straggling about among other divisions, and straying behind in public houses, or idling, instead of coming home. Then came the midnight drilling, yet, except in the case of the police runners account, this was done not at midnight, but in broad day. It was said, "why call in the adjoining people to a Manchester meeting?" To this he would ask, why had the boroughreeves and magistrates, in 1812, just in the same manner convened the twenty-four townships and people of the neighbouring counties, to congratulate his Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the prosperous and happy state of the country, at a time when they knew the labouring classes in that very district were suffering, from the pressure of the times, the greatest distress? That advertised meeting in 1812 did not take place, because the boroughreeve heard that some independent man meant to oppose the thing and the authors of such a delusion upon the public. If to convoke such a meeting was not a conspiracy in the boroughreeve, how could it be in the people last year? I am sure, Gentlemen, it could not have escaped your observation, that the principal part of the case on the side of the prosecution has been to connect the persons who met at Manchester, with the atrocities, the dreadful atrocities committed at White Moss. I know, if it could be proved that such a connexion existed, we would be legally and rightly responsible for the conduct pursued there. For this purpose, Chadwick, the witness of all work, is brought before you; and he swears he never knew the solicitors for the prosecution until about ten days ago, until within ten days of this trial; but what does he prove affecting us? Why, because the Learned Counsel in his opening, said something had been done at the dead hour of night, something must be done; and so he sets off by night from Manchester, and arrived by day-light at White Moss. Well, he travelled at all events



at the dead of night. He swears that what occurred there could be seen by all who passed, and that there were from two to three hundred spectators present. Then a second witness—is he there at the dead of night? no; but he sets off from Manchester about twelve o'clock at night, and arrives at White Moss between two and three o'clock in the morning; but he arrives on the other side of the Moss, and not at that side where the drilling was going forward. Shawcross, another witness, starts off about the same time; but it comes out, in his cross-examination, that he did not arrive at the place of drilling, until four o'clock in the morning. They all travelled in the dead hour of the night, and staid there till about seven o'clock.

Next comes Hayward, who arrives between six and seven o'clock; but neither of them saw what Chadwick saw; they heard no firing whatsoever; they only saw marching and training, &c. Well, how is all this to connect us, who are the defendants, with the drilling at White Moss?—Oh, says the Learned Counsel, I'll inform Mr. Hunt, and I shall tell him how grossly and criminally I can connect him with it. How is it done, however? Why the only possible proof given of any persons being at the Manchester Meeting, who were seen at White-moss on that morning was, as to the man who headed the Middleton division, and when I asked him who that man was, he could tell me, Bamford; but when Bamford was sitting in this Court—oh, then, he knew nothing at all of him. Why, the truth is, the fellow knew very well no such thing happened; and no such thing did happen.—But if there exists the shadow of a doubt on this subject, either in the mind of your Lordship or of the Jury, we will prove to you that Bamford was at home and in his bed until nearly ten o'clock that morning (I believe it was on Sunday morning), which perhaps made him lie there so long. Bamford, I admit, led up the Middleton division, but did that connect him with the atrocities at White Moss? certainly not. We have here a witness by accident, a cousin of Bamford's, a girl 15 years old, who lives with his family and who was one of those that went with Bamford's wife and others to Manchester arm in arm, on the



day of the meeting—who saw Bamford pull off his shoes, and throw them under the table, and then go to bed. She went to bed at 11 o'clock, got up the next morning at six, and his shoes and the clothes he had taken off were then in the same situation in which she had seen them the night before. The transactions at White Moss flew like wild-fire through the country, and well they might; and they produced all that disgust and horror which every honest man should feel on such an occasion. At six o'clock in the morning, she saw Bamford with his wife in bed, and told him of the occurrences that had taken place; we have found out that witness of all work, Chadwick, we have discovered who and what he is—we know he is a character not to be believed upon his oath, and we have evidence to prove that in the presence of his fellow-shopman, he declared he would swear for any man who would pay him. We know him to be a manufactured witness, and have sent for people to prove him unworthy of credit. The next thing is Hayward, who said he saw the Middleton division go towards Smedley Cottage, and why? because he was told I was there. So that, Gentlemen, you see, if the dove-tail did not fit one place of the machinery, it would surely fit in another. But in his examination it turned out, that the cottage where I was, was a mile out of the road to town, and so much for that connexion. But somebody who was at White Moss was going to Manchester, I do not doubt it; perhaps his own companion, perhaps the very persons who attended before the Grand Jury at Lancaster, when the Bills were found against us. Another attempt to connect the link, and what is it? Why, that the multitude at Withy Grove stopped my carriage, and that I commanded the people to hiss at the house of Murray. Where is the proof of this? What does Murray say?—that the carriage halted; that I looked out of it, while the hissing proceeded; and if I did, what was more natural?—what more natural than to stop and ask why the people hissed? Then I also bade them cheer; and what was that for? Was it to please my vanity?—No. But seeing the people so disposed, it was to



divert their attention, and to prevent the continuance of that line of conduct they were pursuing. No witness confirms that most important of all important facts, that Hunt stopped his carriage, looked out of the window, took the command of the people, and desired them to hiss. Murray says, when they hissed, no carriage was there; and of course I could not have taken the command.

Mr. Justice Bayley—You are wrong Mr. Hunt, as to the evidence of Murray.

Mr. Hunt—I suppose Murray to have said a carriage was there. I shall prove to you his memory to be incorrect; I shall prove to you that on Sunday, the 15th, in which he alleges a Magistrate to have taken his deposition, no such deposition was sworn to, but sworn to several days afterwards, namely, on the 21st, he did not swear positively that the person in the carriage pointed up at his house; but suppose he did, if I saw a disposition of the sort manifested, it was but natural that I should look up and see what attracted so much of the hostility of the people. Suppose it true, was that halting—was that taking any command—was that desiring the people to ill-use Murray? I hope, Gentlemen, in what I shall still have to urge to your consideration, that I will not make the slightest misrepresentation, either to save myself, or the defendants who are now joined with me. When Murray was asked, if he said, “he’d be better pleased to go home in a boat rowed in the blood of the Reformers, than to walk home on the pavement,” he feared to say so. When also asked, if he ever said, “Were he a General on the 16th of August, he’d destroy all the b——y Reformers;” he recollected Chapman’s going to Liverpool, when he found the many persons who were here that knew him, he answered, “No.” First he swore that he was quite sober; and then as such expressions might not suit with a sober man, he was tipsy; he was a drunken fellow, he was any thing that could seem to palliate the oath he had taken. If however, the point to be made by Murray’s evidence is good for any thing, I am sure the nature



of his testimony will destroy it in the minds of any twelve honest men. We cannot put a man into that box to prove his expressions; I know it would not be legal, and is not therefore competent to us to do so. But this man, Gentlemen, is one of the partizans of those, who said he would not believe the Reformers on their oaths. This is the amiable, the enlightened language of those, who are sent as evidence against us. Well, on goes Mr. Hunt, he comes to the Exchange, and then is taken up to the Star, whose name I no more know to be the Star, than I know the different stars of the firmament. The people hissed at the house of a respectable man; but there was no Hunt's halting and taking the command and urging the people to continue such a conduct. Is there any proof I did any of those things? No; but there is proof of the reverse. A respectable Clergyman swears that the Magistrates were not then there; Hulton says they were not there, so that falls to the ground. Gentlemen, I would here entreat you to divest yourselves of those false impressions which have been falsely instilled into you; you have seen, and you must see not only that an attempt has been made to destroy me, but to impose on you, and to get by these false representations, twelve as honest and as honourable men as ever trod the earth, to violate their oaths.

Mr. Justice Bayley—That is very wrong, Mr. Hunt.

Mr. Hunt—I challenge Mr. Scarlett to show his brief.

Mr. Justice Bayley—That cannot be done.

Mr. Hunt—I hope your Lordship will excuse me, but a man having as much at stake as I have, and placed in my present situation, cannot always measure my language, or methodise my thoughts. But, Gentlemen, you shall see, and so shall his Lordship see by my conduct on this day's trial, if I be that violent demagogue, that cruel, deceiving man I have been represented to be. Yes, Gentlemen, you shall judge if aught that occurs this day can justify this calumny. I feel myself incapable of doing any thing contrary to the feelings of a man, an Englishman, and a gentleman; and if I do, let the whole weight of such a conduct come against me. If I go out of the



course and give any resistance to authority when fairly administered, you will let it go against me. Here he referred to the speech of Mr. Scarlett, as reported in one of the London Morning papers in which he was charged with stopping at Murray's, and the Star Inn, and as abetting the hooting at the house where the Magistrates were assembled, and continued. Look at the respectable Clergyman who stood in that box, and I'm sure you'll recollect I treated him with that becoming respect due to his situation, but what did he say? did he say that the people in the coach hissed?—certainly not.

Mr. Justice Bayley—He said the coach stopped and the people hissed.

Mr. Hunt—But not, my Lord, that those in the coach also hissed; he saw no military car—that has now become a barouch, but that respectable gentleman, if I had got up and halted and pointed to the house, and hissed, would certainly have seen me, and on that, he says not a word in contradiction. Then, Gentlemen, again I entreat you not to trust to those misrepresentations of my conduct, which have been so profusely laid before you. Then came Barlow, who proved, that when passing Deansgate there was a shouting, by the people—a shouting, which is also made an offence; but where is the proof that those in the carriage joined the the shout? Why are charges like this to be accumulated? What can be their object, if not to misrepresent me and the other defendants? Edward Simpson, who being near that place, did not hear any noise at a quarter before ten o'clock; but it is scarcely necessary to go much into his testimony; it amounts to little any way. Then as to Matthew Cowper and those who follow him. You have heard of a poor fellow who was a lunatic, confined in a lunatic asylum, of the mushroom serjeant, who acted in such a manner that his oath is not to be believed, and who told the fine story of his having gone to Ireland, when, in point of fact, he said so merely to disguise his being a deserter; and next of Cowper, who admitted his being turned off from his employment about fourteen years ago, for the robbery of his



master, but who within the last few months since this prosecution commenced, was employed by a Committee of those who gave their evidence against us, and since then and not till then, was able to repay what he had stolen. You have heard of these men, Gentlemen of the Jury; yes, they are the three men, who have been brought up in one lot for the purpose of supporting this prosecution. A lunatic I say not so to disparage him; it is much to be lamented, it is a great misfortune to him, but such is the man called upon to prove some expressions of Dr. Healy. If the proofs that those expressions were used, was deemed a matter of any consequence, why was not his wife, who was always sane, who knew so many of these transactions, why was not she called to prove them? They were not used, or if so, they were of no consequence. Thus, Gentlemen, to prop up the cause, you have a lunatic, and a deserter, and a confessed thief. The Learned Counsel may say, what wonderful discoveries we have made; he may affect astonishment at our finding out what we have done. I can tell him we have no public purse at our back, enabling us to discover them, but that they were recognised by persons, who knew the characters, and they sent me in the account on a slip of paper, of which I have not failed to make some use. Cowper will not dare contradict the fact of his having robbed his master for we have a fellow servant of his to prove it. Then he comes as reporter to the hustings, and tells you first, that he was there of his own accord; but that was a sort of under play, and it then comes out he went there for *The Courier*. He and his friend Roger Entwistle are at variance, and they again differ materially from another of their amiable and proper associates. All who reported on that occasion differed, except in one point—that I said to the people “Put them down, and when you have them down, keep them so.” What said Roger Entwistle? That I said, as the Yeomanry were advancing, “There are your enemies, if they attempt to molest you, put them down, and when down keep them so.” Then others did not go so far; no, they would not swear so well. Next comes Mr. Platt, the



gentleman so intimately acquainted with the *flimsies*. All he has proved has been contradicted over and over again, but whether it has or not, we shall be able to disprove it. He swears at one time he saw Saxton on the hustings for half an hour, and at another time for an hour and a half. Then as to Bamford's being on the hustings after my arrival we shall prove it to be false, and that he was standing in the midst of the crowd during the time I was there. It was necessary, however, to connect him with the proceedings, and of course he wished to have him on the hustings. He also swears he saw Moorhouse on the hustings, a man who never was there, who never intended to be there; (not that I admit for a single moment there was either disgrace or crime in being there), and who, I believe, did not even think of attending at the meeting. Here there is one circumstance which I must beg leave to recal to the attention of your Lordship, and of you, Gentlemen of the Jury, as to the testimony we extracted about the *flimsies*. I allude to an occurrence that took place in this Court—an occurrence that never should be tolerated in a Court of Justice, upon a question which I asked Mr. Hulton. A general sensation pervaded the Court, and one man, who clapped his hands, and made some other improper demonstrations, was taken, but not hurried to prison, as I have seen men treated on other occasions, very often, indeed, but upon oath taken as to the fact. Well; but, it is not a little remarkable on this occasion to see who appeared to state the facts. Now who comes forward—Why, Mr. Platt. He hears, it said the man had clapped his hands, and he instantly comes forward to swear it. These are the sort of men we see, who come forward against us; but this is not enough; another affidavit might be necessary to the fact, and he looks up to the gallery, and there he finds another of his brother witnesses, for whom he vouches, that he can also swear it. Worthy witnesses indeed! Why, Gentlemen, when such persons are employed in any prosecution, can you rely upon the motives that have produced or given your belief to the instruments engaged to sustain it? Platt, you see, was not tired of swear-



ing, and I don't know if he'll be as successful here as in his prosecution of the *flimsy* business, for in that he never failed of *nailing* those against whom he had appeared. Ellis and Cowper and another reporter, differed in their accounts of what occurred, and for one, certainly, if his levity did not induce him to send forth all that was said about the cavalry, would not fail to do so from his malignancy. Then Ellis swears to what Mr Greene and Mr. Hardman tell him they saw, yet he was on the ground, but his testimony amounts to nothing. I am placed gentlemen, in the very unpleasant and unfortunate situation of being obliged to answer and explain as to Moorhouse, what a learned counsel took a very considerable time to mystify. The learned gentleman usually mistook, or he did perhaps what was worse, but quite usual with counsel to do, endeavour to make the jury mistake. He appeared as if he had in his hand an issue.

Mr. Justice Bayley—This comment is unfair; it is not allowable, it is uncalled for.

Mr. Hunt—My Lord, if the mode of defence adopted by the counsel for Mr. Moorhouse, tends to commit me, I consider myself entitled to comment upon that procedure. I felt a thorough conviction in my own mind that the proposed meeting of the 9th was not illegal. I felt assured, because I knew my own disposition, that if I presided, nothing illegal should take place. Presiding as chairman, I should not have allowed it.—What could be the object of endeavouring to connect the meeting of the 9th with that of the 16th? the former was given up. The thing was quite at an end. How, then, could it be represented by the learned counsel, as a question of law between me and the magistrates of Manchester, as a subject to be discussed on the 16th, which Mr. Moorhouse was desirous of hearing? It seemed as if such observations were calculated to convey to the jury the same sort of impression sought to be produced from another quarter. I am accused of staying a whole week in the neighbourhood of Manchester after the 9th. This is evidently intended to show, by implication, that I was concerned with the other parties in a conspiracy, that I was connected



with all those plans, all those secret meetings and drillings, all those horrors which are represented as certain to arise from the meeting of the 16th, had not that meeting been dispersed. With respect to the placard issued by the magistrates, for preventing the meeting of the 9th, no person who saw it, and had the slightest acquaintance with grammar, could deny that it was foolishly worded, that it was perfectly ridiculous. It was to this circumstance I alluded, when I spoke of the nine tailors. I can prove that, two days before the 9th, the meeting was called by 700 of the inhabitants of Manchester. Under such circumstances, I no doubt expressed regret that it was put off; but so far from intending to be present at that appointed for the 16th; so far from remaining, as was represented, about the country for the purpose of presiding at it; I can bring witnesses, who will leave no doubt on your minds, gentlemen of the jury, that I was determined not to remain; that I stated distinctly it would not be in my power to remain. I went to Smedley Cottage, and my servant will prove to you that when I came to Bullock Smithey, it was my intention to return, and proceed homewards. The manner in which I was induced to stay, shall appear in evidence; the solicitations that were used, the persons who used them, and the motives that prevailed on me to comply; I feel pride in this heart, I am delighted at the thought of having remained, I should to the close of my life feel compunction, I should ever accuse myself, had I not performed that duty to the public, to my Manchester friends, and to that great body of people who assembled on that occasion, I should for ever blame myself, had I not stayed to exercise all the influence I possessed for preventing those dreadful consequences that followed, and the still more dreadful consequences that might have followed. I suffered in my own person; I suffered most seriously; that I do not regard. I was placed in solitary confinement; I was assailed, even while in custody, with the most violent blows; and being immured for eleven days, while endeavours were making to trump up a charge of high treason, I demanded that the warrant under which I was detained might be



shewn me ; it was refused ; I frequently asked for it, but it was not produced. At length it turned out that the charge against me amounted only to a misdemeanour ; a bailable offence, gentlemen of the jury. I offered bail ; two most respectable men, a Mr. Grundy and a Mr. Chapman, the former an independent man a person of the highest respectability ; it was refused ; I was hurried down to Lancaster, and confined unnecessarily for 24 hours. Whatever were my sufferings, had they been much greater, had I undergone the worst that malice and persecution could inflict, it shall never deprive me of the satisfaction I feel at having done my duty, at not having acted in such a way as must have placed the people of Manchester in such a situation, that they could not now have me making their defence as I do. I can bring forward witnesses who shall prove to you, that during the week I remained at Johnson's, I never went two miles beyond the house, though I had many invitations from various gentlemen of respectability in the neighbourhood. If I went neither to Middleton, to Rochdale, to Bury, nor any other part of the neighbourhood of Manchester from which the various divisions were said to have marched on the 16th, how can it be said, how is it possible for any twelve men to say that I was during all that time, arranging the ramifications of this great conspiracy ? Another circumstance that proves most clearly the innocence of my intention is this :—On the Saturday previous to the meeting, I got intelligence that a warrant was issued for my apprehension ; I went to the magistrates of Manchester ; I informed them that it came to my knowledge that a warrant had been granted for some offence, or supposed offence, the overturning, as I heard, of a woman with a basket of eggs by some persons. I was told that there was no warrant against me ; Mr. Nadin was called ; the question was put to him ; he said there was no warrant against me, no intention of issuing it. I mentioned that the information was brought to me by one of the police, and the answer was, who is it ? Tell us his name that he may be punished. Upon hearing that there was an intention of apprehending me, a friend of mine, a man of opu-



lence and respectability, went to the office, and avowed his readiness to give bail. He was informed that there was no such thing, no such intention, nor any ground for it. Did I not, by acting in this manner, treat the magistrates with respect? Did this show any disposition to insubordination, any wish to disturb the public peace? Did I not, on the contrary, by thus acting, give proof of the manner in which I was disposed to treat the authorities? I have been for many years an extensive farmer, occupying 5000 acres of land, engaged in a variety of business, in the course of which, whenever the occasion arose, a magistrate had nothing more to do than send me a note, and I always attended. Was this to treat the authorities with disrespect? I could not show them greater respect than by going immediately, when I heard there was any charge against me, inquiring what the nature of it was, and professing my readiness either to give bail, or to act in any way most conclusive to the ends of peace and justice. Is such conduct a proof how I would treat the authorities? Yes, it is a strong proof in my favour. What have I done after the meeting appointed for the 9th was prevented? I confess, that circumstance occasioned great agitation; it produced a strong impression in Manchester and the neighbourhood, but did I leave the neighbourhood upon this occasion? Did I fly to avoid any inconvenience that might arise? No, I remained; and mark gentlemen of the jury, this was imputed to me as a crime. I remained, and for what purpose? I shall prove it by undeniable evidence, that I stopped to do every thing in my power, to exert all the influence I possessed, for quieting the minds who were irritated, on finding that the meeting of the 9th was prevented. This I shall show, as well from the advice I directed by letter to the people, as from oral testimony.

[Here Mr. Hunt read from some newspaper an address to the people of Manchester, exhorting them to peace and order, and calling on the magistrates to disabuse them if they were in error.

This is the way that I treated the authorities. I invited



them, I begged of them to come among the people when they assembled, to watch their proceedings, to see whether any thing improper was said or done, to instruct them if they were wrong. I can now, after all that has occurred, lay my hand to my heart and say, with pride and pleasure, that there is nothing connected with the meeting of the 16th for which I feel a moment's regret or remorse, except that which ensued from the violence with which it was dispersed. You, gentlemen of the jury, have heard the evidence of many persons, some of them, no doubt, honourable men, stating that they felt alarm. One of them, a clergyman, Dr. Smith, did, however, under the influence of such a feeling, one of the most extraordinary things that could be easily conceived; a thing which, I imagine, must prove to the mind of any unprejudiced persons, that his alarm could not have been very great. After Mr. Phillips and others had given in their depositions as to the fears they felt for the public peace, Dr. Smith sends home to their friends, through the streets of Manchester, the children under his care. Had he felt any apprehension of serious danger; if there was any likelihood of hostile invasion, any fear that they must encounter, on their way home, such difficulties as might have rendered it, I will not say perilous, but even greatly inconvenient, was it natural to suppose that he would allow them to go into the streets, to encounter the hazards of a mob, or to mingle with the atrocities they might commit? Some of the witnesses were intelligent and respectable. It will be my business to produce witnesses equally respectable, equally intelligent, and perhaps equally nervous, who shall prove to you, that upon this occasion, they felt no alarm at all. I now come to Jonathan Andrews, with his large sticks mounted on the shoulder, like muskets. He and Mr. Hulton were the only persons who deposed to this circumstance of the sticks. Andrews spoke particularly of the Lees division, consisting, he said, of 2000, most of whom had sticks four feet and a half long, which they bore upon their shoulders. Next came Joseph Travers, who was, it would appear, appointed to count this division. He said that he felt no alarm, and he did not speak



a single word about the sticks being shouldered. As to Jonathan Andrews, he is an opulent man, in a respectable situation; no person could suspect him of misrepresentation; what he said however, with regard to the sticks, the black flag, and the party that bore it, was contradicted by every other witness. I shall therefore say no more about him. As to the last gentleman, connected with *The New Times*, who gave evidence upon the present occasion, it is not necessary to say much about him. He was called only for the purpose of proving a fact; but, gentleman, you will please to observe, that he proved his having attended many meetings at which I either presided or was present; that he never heard me urge to violence or breach of the peace; that nothing of the kind ever occurred upon any of these occasions. You saw the manner in which the other gentlemen connected with that paper gave his testimony, and I beg of you to attend to the way in which the account of this transaction came before the public. It was first sent home by the reporter, and then manufactured or doctored just as the editor pleased. I hope this sort of testimony will have but little effect upon your minds. I shall prove to you by another reporter, who was present merely by accident, to whom I was utterly unknown, whom I never saw before that day, that the representations made by the other reporters are in many particulars totally false. I shall show you, by testimony of which you can entertain no reasonable doubt, that the motive assigned for locking arms and removing the hustings are completely unfounded. You will see that Jones was employed to erect, with the assistance of two carts, the best and most convenient hustings he could. I will distinctly show, that at a former meeting, in consequence of the pressure round the hustings, they were broken down, that much mischief ensued in consequence, and that the only object they had in locking arms was to preclude the recurrence of similar accidents, not, as was stated to prevent cavalry or corruption from coming in; for me, I declare I never saw or suspected any thing of the constables. I had no idea that they meant to arrest any person present, not the slightest suspicion that there would be the least tumult or dis-



order of any kind. I can prove that neither at the time I arrived on the field, nor before it, did I entertain any suspicion that the military would act. It never entered my head, I can prove. I can prove that all those who surrounded the hustings were locked together, except at that part where an approach was opened for the constables. There was at the back a body of constables, from the public house, called the Windmill, up to the hustings. They kept a free passage, and there also it can be proved that there was no locking of arms in such a way as could interrupt them in their approach. They passed easily up and down; I can prove, that any number of constables, however small, one, two, or three might come up, and arrest whom they pleased without the smallest difficulty. They could come at farthest, within fifteen yards of the hustings, and any intimation of their intention communicated to me would prevent further trouble. Had I known that there was a warrant in existence, I should, without the least hesitation, have acted in such a manner as to prevent the dreadful consequences that followed. Mr. Hulton deposed, that he saw the first of the military who advanced, assailed with stones and brick-bats; that he observed sticks waved in the air to resist the approach of those fifty drunken soldiers, who were sent forward for no other purpose than to provoke the multitude to trample women and children under foot. It can be proved they were seen, with their eyes closed, cutting at all those around them. If I can bring forward men of the highest respectability, totally differing in politics, men who were as near the hustings as I am to you, gentlemen, who saw every thing that occurred, my word is not worth a farthing unless they prove that not one brick-bat, not one stone was thrown; unless they prove, as I stated, that the military cut to right and left without any such provocation. They were even observed urging on their horses to jump over the heaps of unfortunate beings that were lying before them, and to force a way through a solid mass of poor wretches that were desirous to escape, but had it not in their power.

Mr. Scarlett submitted that the conduct of the cavalry formed no part of the case.



Mr. Hunt thought he had a right to allow the meeting was peaceable until the cavalry began to act, and that they were the aggressors.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I cannot allow you to call evidence as to the conduct of the cavalry, as it forms no part of the case at present. You may bring evidence to prove the quiet disposition of the people.

Mr. Hunt—After the observation which has fallen from the learned judge, I shall not endeavour to proceed with the detail of those horrible proceedings. I shall confine myself as much as possible to the direct case before you; and although I am free to admit that I will at all times most willingly listen to any admonition from the court, yet that I will as boldly assert any thing that is likely to strengthen my case. I ought to apologize to you, gentlemen, and his Lordship, for the indulgence you have shown me in the course of this day, and the attention which you have exhibited to the evidence produced before you. I hope you will not think that I am trespassing upon you with any light or trivial circumstances, or that I have introduced any irrelevant matter. I will, however, trouble you with a few other observations. The learned counsel, in his opening speech, in describing the transactions at Middleton, stated that Bamford was seen at the head of 1000 men, who bore all the appearance of a military body; but where is the proof of this assertion? Had they any pick-axes, battle-axes or fire-arms? Had they any dark lanterns, or combustible matter? A few sticks, I understand, have been brought to York from Manchester, that were said to be taken from the field. But why are they not produced? If they had done so, there might have been some pretexts for the learned counsel's asserting it; it would have produced a conviction on the minds of the jury, that such had been brought and used; not one of the flags with their seditious and inflammatory inscriptions; not one of the revolutionary emblems, as they are called by the reporter of *The New Times*, have been produced, and yet they are in the possession of the prosecutors. Where is the black flag, that emblem on which



so much stress has been laid? They have been all taken from us, and we were most anxious that the latter should be produced. I shall lay before you, gentlemen, a model of the flag, I will produce to you the person who bought the calico; I will produce to you the person who painted it, and he shall state to you that he painted the inscription on it while white, but finding that the letters showed through, and disfigured the others, the mottoes being written on both sides the flag, he found the only alternative was by painting the flag one colour, and the letters another, and such was the reason why this flag was painted black; but I conceive the colour is of little or no importance. A black flag, I believe, is the colour of a pilot's flag, as a warning to all the world, and could any harm be construed from that? The motto, I allow, may be tortured into any thing, but I will tell you gentlemen, that "Equal Representation or Death," as used in this instance did not mean that they would have it, or death, but it meant that unless they had equal representation, starvation already on their heels, death must ensue. How did it happen that, in the statement of these mottoes, the learned counsel had not the candour to tell them that one of the banners represented justice, holding in one hand her scales and the other empty?—If Justice had been represented in her proper form, with scales in one hand and the sword in the other, that would immediately have been seized hold of, and painted to the jury as a crime of a black and heinous nature. As to the caps of liberty, look, I say, Gentlemen, at the emblem on your own Hall: there is represented the cap of liberty and the Roman fasces. Are these emblems of revolution? If I understand the meaning of a cap of liberty, it is an emblem of a most sacred nature. In Rome when a slave had performed any great act for the benefit of his country, he was usually rewarded with a cap, to signify his freedom, which was the gift for such act, and he wore his cap among the freemen, as an emblem of his emancipation. The rewards given by our Saxon forefathers were of a different nature, they were rewarded with a sword and spear. How then could



the representing of these emblems be considered of a revolutionary nature? Ancient custom has handed them down to us, as a sacred trust. The people of Yorkshire had thought so, by placing them on the front of their hall; and surely what was considered a pride in Yorkshire, could not be esteemed a crime in Lancashire; if so, where were the boasted rights of Englishmen? I only contend for those fair rights and liberties, which are the birth-rights of Britons; I agree with the poet, who says—

“ He who contends for freedom  
Can ne’er be deemed his sovereign’s foe.”

In asserting that right of freedom, I have done nothing that indicated any desire to destroy the constitution or the executive authorities; I have used my humble endeavours in the sacred cause of my country’s welfare, and will still continue to exert them to the utmost of my ability. As to the subject of reform when we had agitated that question, we were told that it was confusion and disorder that we were seeking; the doctrines of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage were ridiculed as wild and visionary; but I assert, that every Englishman has a right to demand what we ask; we don’t want equal representation of property, but an equal representation of right; what we demand is, that we may not be taxed beyond a fair proportion to the produce of our labour, and that in the imposing such taxes we may have a voice by our own representatives in the legislature, chosen from the free voice of the people, and who will attend to the fair rights of the people. I have for the last ten years been a public advocate for these principles, during which time I have been most scandalously vilified and calumniated; I have been stigmatized as an itinerant orator, and by none more so than the employer of one of the witnesses produced against me—I mean Dr. Stoddart.

Mr. Justice Bayley here said—Mr. Hunt, Dr. Stoddart is not in the cause.

Mr. Hunt continued—You must all recollect, gentlemen of the jury, those worthy men who spent an age in going about, endeavouring effectually to abolish that horrible system, the



**Black Slave Trade.** I meant their once worthy representative Mr. Wilberforce, and many others. I have never heard it attributed to them that they were guilty of crime, and why should it be imputed to me? If I am wrong, show me how I am so, and endeavour to set me right, but don't construe my error into crime. I am pursuing those principles, which will not suffer a man to be dragged from his bed, wife, or home, and sent to fight for his country, without his having some voice in that legislature which enacts the laws by which he is thus dragged from his domestic felicity and retirement. I advocate those principles which were so strenuously pursued by those patriotic statesmen the Duke of Richmond, Lord Raymond, Sir William Jones, and several others. The Duke of Richmond's exertions were crowned by the highly-merited reward of his country, he was in consequence created master of the ordnance.

Here the learned judge again reminded Mr. Hunt that he was travelling from the question, and that this could not be received in evidence. Mr. Hunt bowed and thus continued—In 1817 I was called upon by some very respectable individuals to attend a public meeting at Spa-fields. I knew nothing of the persons so requesting me, but I felt myself bound to attend their call. At this meeting resolutions were adopted, and petitions agreed to, one to the Prince Regent, and the other to the Common's House of Parliament. It fell to my lot to have the honour of presenting the one to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, through the medium of the Secretary of State, and the other to the House of Commons. The venal and corrupt press in its invectives has branded us with vulgarity, and accused us of being illiterate. The progress of these petitions falsified those most false assertions; they were received by the House of Commons, read and ordered to be laid on the table. From that time, the seed of corruption had shot forth, and flourished with additional strength. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in order to prevent the people from meeting; when that was renewed, a bill was brought in to prevent their meeting but



on certain conditions, namely, that no meeting should be held within one mile of Palace yard during the session of Parliament, or while the courts of law were sitting. Meetings, however, were still held at distant parts, without any objection being made to them, and without declaring their illegality, until the late bills passing, which entirely put an end to all public meetings. Mr. Hunt here read extracts from Lord Sidmouth's speech on the Seditious Meetings' Bill, which he styled as no mean authority, although his Lordship was not a lawyer. Among other things, he called upon the House to adopt some measures for the suppression of multitudinous meetings; that it was impossible to secure the constitution from inroads without entirely putting them down, and further stated, that under the law as it now stood, there was no provision against meetings convened under the most alarming symptoms, bearing banners and flags, and accompanied by bands of music, &c. There said Mr. Hunt, I agree with his Lordship, I join issue with him, and wish to impress on your minds, gentlemen, the nature of the observation; it affords you a criterion by which to direct your verdict—it decidedly shows that the meeting was legal, and that at the time it took place there was no law which made it otherwise. You have not to give a verdict which shall have the effect of putting down meetings of this sort, that is already done. It might certainly be an inducement in the minds of many honest men, to give a verdict which should act as an example in future but here none was wanted, the possibility of meeting under such circumstance was entirely taken away, and you have only to try a great question, whether or not the laws of the country have been offended. Mr. Hulton told you, in his evidence that he thought it proper in this case, to make an example of the ringleaders; the people were deluded by them, and it was owing to their vile machinations alone that they were induced to attend these meetings. Now, gentlemen, I shall have the gratification of placing some of these deluded men before you in the witness box, and I think you will find they are not quite so illiterate as the Hogarth's eleven days' men



mentioned by Mr. Scarlett. Mr. Hunt again read extracts from Lord Harrowby's speech on the subject of the Seditious Meetings Bill, in which he declared the right of persons to meet and discuss grievances was admitted, and that there was no statute against it. Indeed, said Mr. Hunt, his majesty's ministers were of opinion that the law was not sufficient, and had in consequence enacted fresh ones. I will just refer you to some observations of one of the law officers of the Crown, I mean Mr. Warren, the chief Justice of Chester. —In describing the Manchester meeting, he says, that among the banners, one bore a figure representing a woman bearing a bloody dagger, This had been echoed also in the opening speech of Mr. Scarlett; I have made all the inquiries human head can divine, I have sent to the person painting, carrying, and making the banners for the 16th of August, I have applied to every one I know was there, and cannot obtain the least information of it; but hearing Mr. Scarlett mention it, I thought we should certainly be provided with some proof; and what must the jury think in the absence of such proof? It was a circumstance which is calculated to prejudice my case most seriously with you, and is contained in the most eloquent part of the counsel's speech; what, I again say, can you think, gentlemen, of such conduct? It could be only done, and Mr. Scarlett knows it was done for no other motive, than to connect me with blasphemy and assassination, and with that detestable plot lately discovered in London, when the counsel well knows, that I was singled out as one of their victims. I firmly believed that this dagger never existed but in the tortured and fevered brains of Mr. Scarlett and Mr. Warren. Mr. Hunt was here proceeding to read a paper, which he said had been circulated in the town, not sold, but given away, containing the substance of Mr. Scarlett's speech on the subject of this dagger, but the learned judge again interrupted him, and said, that if the papers had been improperly circulated, the persons doing it would be subject to future punishment; he could not suffer it to be produced, indeed the jury by their oaths, were bound not to hear it. Mr. Hunt, after stating to the jury



that they were circulated with the most malicious motives, and with a view to prejudice him in the minds of the jury, concluded to the following effect.—Having said thus much, I think I should not discharge my duty to you, gentlemen of the jury, and his lordship, did I not return you my sincere thanks for the attention you have shown me; and I hope, if through the immense mass of evidence produced, I have omitted any important observations, that they will not be lost on you. Indeed, I cannot contemplate that twelve men of your stamp and condition even could, if selected as the organs of corruption, entertain this question and make up your minds to return a verdict of guilty. I take to myself the whole merit of bringing the case before you; I sought you with confidence, and now leave my case with you with equal confidence; even if I could obtain a fair jury in Lancashire, I feel such conscientious satisfaction in my course, that I would willingly have left it to them, but when it was probable that Mr. Hulton himself, or some of the yeomanry, without affording me a fair pretext to challenge them, might be called on the jury—it would have been indeed, sacrificing my own interest in submitting to it—A trial in Lancashire under such circumstances was synonymous with a verdict of guilty.—He was about to pass some personal observations on Mr. Hulton, when the learned judge again stopped him, by observing, “that Mr. Hulton’s was a situation of a very distressing and serious nature.”—Mr. Hunt continued—as Mr. Hulton’s evidence is totally unconfirmed by any witness, even a police officer, and with all its contradictions, formed a material part of the case, I shall be able fully, by unquestionable evidence, to disprove every word he has said, I hope, to your entire satisfaction. As respecting the banners and training, I have already told you the nature of the evidence I intend to produce; with respect to the music, it shall appear to you, that the greater part of the persons employed, have been in the habit of playing in churches, and that the tunes they played were of the most loyal character. I know the learned counsel has the opportunity of reply; I won’t give him more credit than his talents deserve! I know



he possesses great influence here ; but I conjure you not to be led away by his eloquence, and before you pay any attention to his observations, let him produce testimony to corroborate what Mr. Hulton has advanced, and let him explain what he meant by the dagger.

Mr. Hunt said, that Wild, who had not yet made his defence, was very ill, and that he declined addressing the court.

The defendant here concluded his speech, which lasted from eleven o'clock in the morning till a quarter before three in the afternoon. He appeared to be quite exhausted in body, but at the same time, as collected in his mind, as at the commencement. As he sat down there were great applauses among the audience, which in decency, the judge repressed in a dignified manner. It immediately ceased.

The jury retired for a little time, at the suggestion of Mr. Justice Bayley. On their return, and that of his Lordship, the evidence for the defence commenced.

The following witnesses were then called :—

Edmund Grundy examined by Mr. Hunt.—I am not in any business. I live at Billsworth, near Bury in Lancashire. I was a calico printer, but have retired from business. I have not made any depositions. On Tuesday, the 10th of August, I was at Smedley Cottage. I saw you there. I recollect a conversation relative to the then approaching meeting. You said you were returning home immediately. I endeavoured to prevail upon you to remain till the meeting of the 16th took place. You said you would consider of it. I think I left you then. Nothing positive was decided on at the time. I left a printed letter for you on the next day (Wednesday). I next saw you on Saturday, the 14th of August, at Smedley Cottage. I recollect communicating to you that there was a report of a warrant being out against you, and you said it was so. In the course of that day I waited upon Mr. Norris, the Magistrate, in company with Johnson, the defendant. Mr. Norris is, I understand, the Chief Acting Magistrate. I told him if there was any charge against Mr. Hunt, I would put in bail for any time which he chose to appoint. Mr. Norris said



there was no information or warrant against you, nor any intention of issuing one. I reside about seven miles and a half from Manchester: I was not in Manchester on the 16th of August; I saw some persons going there, but not so many as is represented to have gone. I saw no persons armed. I have property in the neighbourhood, but nothing which occurred that day inspired me with any fears for its safety. I have several relatives and friends residing in Manchester. I saw nothing on that day, which gave me any apprehensions for their safety.

Cross-examined by Mr. Scarlett.—I was not in Court to-day before. I knew Mr. Hunt about twelve months' since. I dined at the Spread Eagle in his company. I saw no one with Mr. Hunt at Smedley Cottage on the 10th, but Mr. Howard, who went with me. I went to pay him a visit, but did not remain long. I only knew from general report that he was there. I saw a letter posted up in the town. I was subsequently his bail.

James Dyson, examined by Mr. Bamford—I am a weaver, and reside at Middleton. I was on the Barrowfield on the 16th August last, between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. There were 600 or 700 people, both men, women, and children; I saw you there: you were walking about when I first saw you. I did not hear you say any thing until you got upon a chair and addressed the people; you said, "Friends and neighbours—those of you who wish to join in the procession will endeavour to conduct yourselves orderly and peaceably, so that you may go as comfortable as possible. If any persons insult you or give you offence, take no notice of them. I make no doubt but there will be persons who will make it their business to go about in order to disturb the peace of the meeting. If you should meet with any such, endeavour to keep them as quiet as possible; if they strike you, don't strike them again, for it would serve as a pretext for dispersing the meeting. If the peace officers come to arrest me, or any other person, offer them no resistance, but suffer them to take us



quietly. And when you get there, endeavour to keep yourselves as select as possible, with your banners in your centre so that if any of you should straggle or get away, you will know where to find each other by seeing your banners, and when the meeting is dissolved, keep close to your banners, and leave the town as soon as possible. For if you should stay drinking or loitering in the streets, your enemies might take advantage of it; and if they could raise a disturbance, you would be taken to the New Bailey." That is as much as I recollect; it is, to the best of my knowledge, the substance of what you said. I think I recollect something of your saying, "I believe there will be no disturbance." I neither expected or believed from the tenor of your address, that any disturbance would ensue on the return of the party. I saw some few with sticks, but none with those who were not in the habit of using them, I thought to take a stick myself, having experienced the fatigue before, but I was prevented. I took one to Barrowfields, and there I lent it to a man named John Barlow, who was also going to Manchester. The procession had not gone more than a quarter of a mile before he returned it to me again; and this being observed, several cried out, "No sticks shall go with us." They said it had been agreed that no sticks should go. I said one stick could not make much difference; and they said I was as well able to go as they were, and I must leave it behind and so I sent it home with my father-in-law. I went to Manchester with the procession. I saw nothing on the way but peace and good order. We walked four abreast. There was no disagreement on the way. Saw no insult offered to any one; there were some jeering words used, but nothing worth notice; they were used to the by-standers who were looking on. We went in this order to Petersfield. You led the party up, and got upon the hustings yourself. This was before Mr. Hunt's arrival; I saw him arrive. You were then standing near me, about forty yards from the hustings. You did not go upon the hustings afterwards to my knowledge. When Mr. Hunt arrived I removed about fifteen yards from the hustings, and I



saw you no more that day. I did not see you upon the hustings after that period.

Cross-examined by Serjeant Hullock.—I can't tell where Bamford went after I left him. We were not joined by any party before we left the ground. The Rochdale people passed us, but we met and joined with them in the town. About half the meeting were men. I cannot exactly say how many persons joined in the procession—perhaps 1,000. Some persons had laurel. I had none. I know not whether those who wore laurel were officers; those who were in front wore it. There was no one in particular to give the word of command.—I don't know that Bamford was Commander-in-Chief on that day. I was not a Serjeant. There were men by the side to keep order, and when the step was lost, it was recovered again by their calling out, "Left—Right." When we met the Rochdale party, they fell in behind us. I do not know how many persons were in the Rochdale procession. Perhaps there was not much difference between their numbers and ours. It was said to be agreed upon that no sticks should go. We had two banners that day, one of which was left on St. Peter's-field.—Upon a green flag we had the words "Parliaments Annual"—"Suffrage Universal." Upon a blue one we had—"Liberty and Fraternity"—"Unity and Strength." We never had been mustered before to my knowledge. On a Sunday morning, a few weeks before, a party of Middleton people marched down through the town, and I went by the side of them.—After going through the town they dispersed. It was said they had assembled on the Tandel Hill. It was after six o'clock when I met them. They were not all Middleton people. I might have remained near an hour on the hill, looking at what was going forward. There were several men drilling, as it is called. I never was drilled in my life. I marched to Manchester as others did. Bamford was not present on that day. There were 2000 or 3000 persons assembled. I think this was on the Sunday week before the meeting of the 16th; but I will not swear it. There were women and children present. The wo-



men were not drilling. I never saw a drilling party before.—The Rochdale party had banners, but I do not recollect the inscriptions upon them: We did not go from Middleton to St. Peter's Field by the nearest road. I do not know the reason why we went round. We had music on that day; we had a drum; they do not use it in church music unless at oratorios. We have sacred music sometimes in church, at Middleton; we also have bassoons and clarionets, &c. occasionally on Sundays. The bassoon in our party, belonged to the man who played it; the drum belonged to a man who keeps a farm. We left Middleton about 10 o'clock. On arriving at St. Peter's-field, I saw many flags and banners on the hustings; ours were taken to the hustings, but Mr. Bamford ordered them back again; we joined the other parties on the ground; our line was broken and every man went where he liked. I never heard Mr. Hunt speak before that day. I was not at the meeting in January. I did not write down Mr. Bamford's speech; I took it from memory; I suppose it has been in my head ever since I made a deposition to Mr. Pearson, and I then saw it.

Mr. Serjeant Hullock—How long is it since you saw your deposition.

Witness—How long? Why you seem to want to know the time particularly. I saw it about the middle of the week before last, at Samuel Bamford's house. After the words, "If they strike you, don't strike again," were the words, "for it would serve for a pretext for dispersing the meeting."

Mr. Serjeant Hullock—Go on.

Witness—Must I go on?

Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—Yes; you seem to have forgotten it. You had better begin again.

Witness—No, no; but you seem to hurry one on like.

Witness went on to repeat the speech, nearly in the same words as before; but not precisely in the same order as before.]

—I cannot exactly recollect the words Bamford put to me.

Re-examined by Mr. Bamford.—I know Thomas Ogden, a musician; he did play in church, but I don't know whether



he does so at present. I know Thomas Fitton; he and Ogden played with our party.

To questions by the Judge.—My wife did not go with me on that day, but the wives of several of the party accompanied their husbands. There were several hundreds of women with our party and the Rochdale party. I saw many of them in Manchester; several boys also accompanied us, I saw several on the ground that I knew; I saw no Middleton women on St. Peter's-Field that I recollect; it appeared that the women did not wish to press so far into the crowd as I did; the women who accompanied us were relations of the men who marched in the procession. It is customary at our *wakes* and *rush-carts* in Lancashire to have banners and music; the rush-carts are held of a Saturday, and on the following Monday, the men walk in procession, but they do not keep the step.

Mr. Justice Bayley asked an explanation of the term *rush-carts*.

Mr. Bamford said, that it is an annual custom to have a cart on which rushes are neatly placed; this cart is drawn by young men decorated with ribbons, and preceded by young women, music, &c.

John Barlow, examined by Mr. Bamford.—I am a weaver residing at Middleton; I am a married man; I recollect the people assembling in the Barrowfields on the 16th of August; you addressed them. You commenced by calling them "friends and neighbours."—[The only difference between this witness and last, respecting Bamford's speech, was, that the latter heard him (Bamford) exhort the people to proceed to Manchester as in the performance of a solemn duty.]—I went to the meeting with you. I saw no one insulted by the way, nor on St. Peter's field. I saw you on the ground; when we got in the field you went upon the hustings, remained there about five minutes, and then came down again and stood not far from me, opening an avenue between the people. I saw Mr. Hunt arrive; at that time you were not upon the hustings; you stood near me; you were not upon the hustings while Mr. Hunt remained. I



stood at about fifty yards from the hustings. The Middleton party had two banners.

Cross-examined by Mr. Serjeant Cross.—I have no knowledge of any Committee. We did not meet the day before the meeting of the 16th. I had no connection with any meeting. I had nothing to do with the Oldham party before that day. I was once on the Tandel Hill—it was on the Sunday but one before the meeting. I went there between six and seven in the morning. There might be 600 or 800 persons present, or perhaps more. They were what I call being in companies when I saw them, possibly about thirty in each company. I do not know how many companies there were. I do not think there were 100 companies, perhaps there might have been eighty. Those who passed me had companies. I heard the words “march” and “halt.” I waited until they were dismissed, which was about eight o’clock, before that they were all in one line, and stood two deep. I do not know who gave the command when they formed in line. I did not know any of the leaders. I do not know whether the man who gave the command was in our party to Manchester on the 16th. I heard of drilling and I went to Tandel Hill out of curiosity. I rather doubted that there was any drilling before I saw it. They had no sticks. I have been in the local militia, and have seen soldiers drilled. The drilling there was the same, as far as marching and halting. I did not see much counter-marching. I fell into the ranks at Middleton. I cannot say who the man was that formed the hollow square. I have never seen him since. When the word of command was given, I had no occasion to move. I heard from rumour that there was to be a muster on the Barrowfields on the 16th. I live there. I saw Bamford before. I saw him mount the chair; and tell us how to conduct ourselves. I do not know that he assumed the command; those who were not commanders got laurel, as well as those who were. I got none. Those who went to the chair got some. We got no instructions from any one but Bamford. The man by whom the square was formed, did not mount the chair. I took no



notice of him. I do not know who formed us into line again. I understood that we were to meet several other divisions at Manchester.—I not do recollect Bamford's saying, that if there was to be any thing to do, it would be after we got back. He cautioned us against going into public houses. I did not take my wife with me. I must have gone to Manchester on an errand, even had there been no procession on that day. We halted at Harbour Hay, and after that, we did not halt till we got upon the ground. We joined those whom we found there, and remained stationary.

Re-examined by Mr. Bamford.—Barrowfield is a public place. There were 200 or 300 women and children standing by as spectators on the morning of the 16th. There were many spectators on Tandel Hill. The training was quite public. There appeared to be no secrecy. As we came back from it, we came by the high road. The people who were on the hill marched through Middleton. We proceeded a mile and a half at least on the public highway. It was between eight and nine in the morning. There were many women and children attending the party to Manchester on the 16th. I knew some of them to be related to persons in the procession; it seemed to be a pleasure to them. I never before appeared in a court of justice to give evidence.

To questions by the Judge.—I did not see any of the women in Manchester, but I saw them near the town. I had no thoughts about taking my wife there; she had something to do at home. She did not express a wish to go.

W. Kendall examined.—Before I quitted my house I left my wife and child there with my son at home. I saw nothing particular in the movements of the people, except their passing to and fro. I saw no bludgeons among them, but a few old persons walking with common walking sticks. I saw them from an eminence, from which I could watch them. They went on with a deal of women and children, and seemed very joyful. I saw no symptoms of alarm on the road. I am no reformer. I don't profess to be one of any political knowledge, though I am a member of the Loyal Orange.



Cross-examined by Mr. Littledale.—I knew a good many of them; they were doing no harm at Middleton, and marched off regular. Some women, by the side of them, and others after them, joined in the procession.

James Frankland examined by Bamford.—I reside at Middleton, and am a clogger and leather-cutter, and farm a little by keeping a few cows. I have eight children and a wife. I remember the people assembling in Middleton on the 16th of August, and afterwards going on. I looked after them. They were on the way to Manchester. I heard the substance of what you said, which was, that they would be conducted to Manchester in a body as they were, and when they got to the place where the meeting was to be held, they would remain in a company by themselves, and not intermix with others, and return in a body also, when this meeting was over, without straggling in the multitude. You also recommended them not to mind any insult, nor to be induced to resent it, if offered. The people were all quite peaceable. I do not belong to any body of Reformers, nor did I go to Manchester with the procession, though I had a son nearly eighteen years of age who went. I knew of his going, and gave no orders to prevent him. I believe he marched in the procession, and did not apprehend any danger or riot, or I should not have allowed him to go.

Cross-examined by Mr. Scarlett.—I have known Mr. Bamford for a great many years, but I did not know who was to take the command of the party. My son did not tell me he was to go. I saw him in the procession, and it was mentioned in the family he meant to go. There have been several public meetings of the reformers in our neighbourhood, but my son is not one of them. I know nothing of private meetings. I don't know whether my son took either refreshment or money in his pockets for the march to Manchester.

John Turner, a tailor and draper at Middleton, examined by Bamford.—Recollected the procession there on the morning of the 16th August, and its music and banners. He saw a number of women and children among them. I saw no large sticks, but a few old men carried their common walking sticks.



I was no ways alarmed while they passed, as I had no occasion to be alarmed. I saw none drunk or riotous. I am not a reformer. I gave never a penny to the concern, nor ever did I see Mr. Hunt in my life, unless I see him in this court, and yet I don't know him. I felt no alarm for Manchester by any means.

Mr. Serjeant Hullock.—Well, then you have had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Hunt by coming to York.

Mary Lees said, she resided at Middleton, and had five children. Her husband was a plumber and glazier. Recollected the procession passing her house on the 16th of August. She was then standing with her children at the door and was afterwards assisting the mistress of the public-house opposite in filling liquor for a great many who called as they passed. They all seemed quiet and cheerful. They paid for what they got. These people came from Rochdale, with a great number of women, both young and old. I heard them drink several toasts, and among the rest "God save the King," which, though not a common toast, is made use of by the country people. I saw many of the people return in the evening, while I was again called upon to assist at the public-house. Then many of them burst into tears, and others remained silent.

Cross-examined.—"God save the King" was not a common toast. "Hunt for ever!" was often heard; but she did not know whether this was good or bad.

In answer to questions from the Court, she said she saw Middleton women go with the procession, and return back again in the evening. She did not know whether they were relatives of the men who went, but they (the women) were persons of good character.

Two other witnesses were examined.

On the following day, being the sixth of the trial, the witnesses merely corroborated the statements of the former witnesses; Mr. Tyas, the reporter of the Times newspaper was examined, who gave the following evidence.

"I attended at Manchester in August last in consequence of a public meeting that was to be held there. I recollect



sending an article relative to something, that occurred at the police office previously to the 16th. It was intituled, 'Another Bounce of the Orators.' I had heard much conversation about the meeting of the 16th. I went to the ground about eight o'clock. I was on the alert, the paper to which I belonged always giving the most voluminous account of things of this kind. There were very few people on the ground when I arrived. I saw the people marching in St. Peter's-field. About half-past eleven, the first body of reformers arrived on the ground. I recollect the black flag coming into the field. It belonged to the Mosley and Saddleworth Union. I remember when the parties approached the hustings, 'God save the King,' and 'Rule Britannia' were played. I did not observe any persons marching up in military array, as it was called, shouldering staves four feet and a half long, and as thick as a man's wrist. I was induced to remark that circumstance particularly, because I saw it stated in the Courier, prior to the 9th of August, that the people who escorted Mr. Hunt into Manchester, were armed with stakes, that might be converted into pike handles. I saw not an act committed by any of the parties, which excited the slightest apprehension on my mind, for the safety of the town. There were a great number of women and children present. I did not see Mr. Hunt when the carriage arrived opposite the Star Inn, standing up in it, and order the people to hiss and shout. The carriage did not stop there, but I think that was occasioned by the people not getting on before. There was, however, hissing and hooting at the Star Inn, and afterwards opposite to the police office. I saw several banners in the middle of the crowd, and many women amongst the multitude. The crowd was more dense and jammed together than any I ever observed, before or since. The first circumstance that took place after Mr. Hunt arrived, was the election of a chairman, and Mr. Johnson proposed that gentleman. (Mr. Tyas here read his notes of the proceedings which he took after he arrived on the hustings commencing with the election of Mr. Hunt as chairman, and terminating with his capture, which have already been detailed



in the evidence of the other witnesses.) The cavalry advanced as far as I could judge, at a quick trot, and formed near Mr. Buxton's house, where the magistrates were. Mr. Hunt as I recollect from my notes, ordered the people to give three cheers, which they did, for the purpose, as it seemed to me, of showing the military, that they were not daunted by their unwelcome presence. The cavalry advanced, and Mr. Hunt told the people it was a mere trick to disturb them, but he trusted, they would all stand firm. He scarcely had said these words, when the Manchester yeomanry rode into the mob, who opened for them in the most peaceable manner. The cavalry directed their course to the hustings, and when they arrived there, took a number of individuals into custody. I recollect an officer went up to Mr. Hunt, with his sword in his hand, and desired him to surrender. He said he would not surrender to a military officer, but if any peace officer came up, he would surrender. Nadin then came, as it appeared to me, from under the wagon. Mr. Hunt immediately surrendered, after first desiring the people to be quiet. If there had been groaning, hissing, and hooting at the extremity of the crowd, the cheering of those round the hustings would have prevented me from hearing it. I saw no sticks flourished by the people as the cavalry approached. Had they been flourished, I must have seen it, I saw the special constables using their staves. They beat the people with them, and of course raised them in the air.

On the seventh day Henry Andrews was examined by Mr. Hunt—I have been your servant seven years, I have been at many meetings. I accompanied you to the three meetings at Spa Fields, London; to the public meetings at Bristol, Bath, the county meetings in Wells, Wiltshire, and Salisbury, and the public meetings at Westminster. I have heard that you are a freeman of Bristol. I know that you have property in Bath, you have houses, a large yard, and out premises there. You are lord of the manor of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, and have a farm there. I perambulated the bounds there for you. You also have farms in Wiltshire and Hampshire. I



I know you are a liveryman of London. When you attended the Westminster meeting, you resided there. I accompanied you to the Manchester meeting, as well as to all the others, which you have attended. I never saw any riot or breach of the peace committed by any of the persons composing those meetings. You were always called the poor man's friend. I never heard you urge any meeting to acts of violence. You were called the poor man's friend, as you said, that if a poor man worked hard all the week, he ought to have enough to support a family. You were generally visited by Squire Wigmore and Mr. Hutchins, the clergyman of the parish. I never saw you or any of your company intoxicated in my life.

Cross-examined—I never saw Thistlewood or Dr. Watson in company with Mr. Hunt. I saw Mr. Hunt and Mr. Johnson go in a carriage to the meeting on the 16th of August. I believe Knight also was in the carriage. There was a fourth person, but I do not know who he was.

Edward Baines was then examined by Mr. Hunt—I am connected with the Leeds Mercury. This witness repeated in substance the account of the meeting given by the other witnesses for the defence, particularly the 15th and 18th, denying with the same certainty and distinctness the presence of any person armed with bludgeons, the violence imputed to the populace, and the irritating language ascribed to Mr. Hunt. The following is his sketch of that gentleman's speech:—

“ Friends and fellow countrymen; I must beg your indulgence for a short time, and beg that you will keep silence. I hope you will exercise the all-powerful right of the people in an orderly manner. (Here the witness said that the words “orderly manner” were not in his notes.) I wrote it a few hours after from memory that was usual with reporters; he proceeded to read—And any man that wants to breed a disturbance, let him be instantly put down. For the honour you have done me by inviting me to preside at your meeting, I return you my thanks, and all I have to beg of you is, that you will indulge me with your patient attention. It is impossible that



with the most patient attention we shall be able to make ourselves heard by the whole of this immense assembly. It is useless for me to attempt to relate to you the proceedings of the last week or ten days in this town and neighbourhood, you well know them and the cause of the meeting appointed for last Monday being prevented; it is therefore useless for me to say one word on that subject, only to observe that those who put us down and prevented us from meeting on Monday last, by their malignant exertions, have produced a two fold number to day. It will be perceived that in calling this new meeting, our enemies, who flattered themselves they had gained a victory, have sustained a greater defeat. There have been two or three placards posted up last week, with the names of one or two insignificant individuals attached to them, one Tom Long or Jack Short, a printer.”—At that moment I observed the cavalry come on the ground at a rapid pace, from the direction of St. Peter’s church. As the cavalry approached Mr. Buxton’s house, Mr. Hunt said, “You see they are in disorder; this is a trick, be firm.”—The cavalry after halting about three minutes, brandished their swords and advanced. I saw no attempt made to resist them, nor did I hear any encouragement to do so. My eyes were directed towards the cavalry, till they began to advance to the hustings, when they had got about ten yards into the crowd, I turned away; I saw no stone or brick-bat thrown, nor any sticks lifted up against them. I had heard nothing from Mr. Hunt after the words “be firm” but the words were reported as were the words “be firm”

Mr. Hunt—Did you not see something done by the cavalry which, according to your impression, was calculated to cause resistance on the part of the people?

Mr. Justice Bayley—I cannot allow the witness to answer that question, and for this reason, because the jury would be trying the question from prejudice, and not from the evidence I have thought much upon it, and I am of opinion that the question ought not to be asked, I have taken a note of your observation, and you shall have all the benefit arising from it.



When I got off the hustings I met with no impediment but from the density of the crowd. I did not hear Mr. Hunt say when the cavalry arrived, "They are only a few soldiers, very few, and we are a host against them."

By Mr. Barrow—I did not see Jones on the hustings.

By Dr. Healy—I saw you on the hustings, you desired the people to be quiet.

Robert Harrop was examined by Mr. Hunt—I live at Lees and manage a spinning concern for my father. I recollect directions having been given to buy linen to make a flag. Some white bleached cambric was bought. I was to make a flag to go to the Manchester meeting. Directions were given to have inscriptions and devices put upon it, and they were put on accordingly, but it would not answer, because when the printer began to letter it in black, the lettering was seen through, and it prevented the reading. We determined to have it of some other colour, and the printer having no paint but the black with which he was painting the letters, we agreed that the flag should be painted black and that the inscriptions and devices should be painted white. This was the sole cause of the white flag being made a black one. It was never pointed out to us, nor had we any idea that a black flag was more offensive than a white one. I saw the cavalry go to the hustings.

By the Judge—I did not see the people do any thing to resist the cavalry.

Cross-examined—I did not put on the flag the words, "No Boroughmongering," "Unite and be free," Saddleworth, Lees, and Mosely Union, on the one side, and on the other, "Taxation without Representation is unjust and tyrannical," "Equal Representation or Death." There was a hand holding the scales of justice, and the word justice under it. On the other there were two hands clasped, and the word "Love," under them. (Here the flag was produced; it was about six feet long by three or four broad)—That is the flag; the women, I think, put the white fringe upon it. I selected some of the mottoes.

Mr. Hunt—I perceive there is a piece cut out of the flag;



I hope it will not be said the bloody dagger was upon that piece.

Witness.—No. There was not a bloody dagger on the flag.

Dr. Healey—I was afraid you would not produce the flag, Mr. Scarlett, and so I have brought a model of it.—(Here the Doctor produced a small model of the flag, with the inscriptions, &c. It was fastened to a stick, suspended from a hole, as hanging signs are over shop doors or windows.)

Mr. Scarlett observed that the word “Death” was in small letters on the model, but on the flag itself the letters were large.

Mr. Hunt—Are you quite sure that there was no bloody dagger on the flag as described?

Witness—I am sure there was not.

Mr. Scarlett—I shall explain that by-and-by.

On the eight day Robert Grundy was the next witness examined—I am a woollen manufacturer. I reside in Salford. I attended the meeting of the 16th of August. I saw some of the processions going to the meeting. I went to the field at half-past eleven. I was a special constable on that occasion. I saw no insult or violence offered to any person whatever. I was surrounded by a thick multitude. The persons round me were aware that we were special constables; some of the constables showing their staves. I perceived no insult offered to them.

Examined by the Court—No opposition was made to the cavalry on their advance. They were neither hooted at, hissed at, nor groaned at.

By Mr. Hunt—From what I saw of the meeting, I was not at all apprehensive for the safety of the town, or of my own person.

Mr. Hunt asked, if the witness was alarmed at the military.

The witness was not allowed to answer the question, as the conduct of the meeting alone was under inquiry.

Mr. Scarlett—Supposing that at that meeting, speeches had been delivered of an inflammatory nature by various speakers,



and in the ridicule and contempt of the local magistrates, would you have considered the town safe with such a meeting?

Witness—I should conceive that speeches of that kind would have at all times a bad effect certainly; but I never heard any in my life, and therefore cannot be a judge.

Mr. Scarlett then read an extract from the *Manchester Observer*. It went on thus:—"The farce of petitioning is over; a million and a half have petitioned for reform. The greater part of these were rejected, and none have been attended to; and should the people ever again stoop to any thing in the shape of petition, they well deserve what they now suffer, for their dastardly conduct, but we are confident the spirit of the country will never again condescend to pray to those, whom the people themselves ought to delegate. The most determined men in the country are in the ranks of the reformers. The clans of corruption, where can they find such writers?"—

Mr. Scarlett had read thus far, when Mr. Hunt objected to this extract.

The Judge said, that the prosecutors had a right to suppose that any speech, however bad, was delivered at the meeting, for the purpose of asking whether, on the opinion of the witness, such a speech at such a meeting would have produced danger to the town.

His Lordship having taken the whole of the extract into his notes. It was read to the witness. It went on to ask where could the clans of corruption find such writers as Cobbett and Wooler, and such determined men as Wolesley and others? It then alluded to what it described as the state of the country burdened with taxes, with crowds of black cattle, the bishops, and a pampered soldiery ready to give a bullet when the people ask for bread.

"Now," continued Mr. Scarlett, "suppose such a speech, as this had been delivered at the meeting, would you consider the town safe?"

Witness—I should consider the speech as very improper, but I cannot say positively that I am competent to answer the question; I am no politician.



Mr. Scarlett—Suppose such a resolution as this had been proposed.—(Here the learned gentleman read one of the resolutions which were proposed and carried at the Smithfield meeting, where Mr. Hunt presided. Its substance was that after the first of January 1820, the people should not conceive themselves bound in justice or equity to obey any act of that body calling itself the House of Commons, except it proceeded from a full and fair representation of the people.)—Suppose—continued Mr. Scarlett,—such a resolution as this had been passed would you have considered it dangerous?

Witness—I think it would be likely to produce irritation.

Re-examined by Mr. Hunt—Suppose that a public man of great talents and high legal knowledge, had made such a speech as this.— (Mr. Hunt had in his hand a volume of Parliamentary debates, and was proceeding to read an extract from a speech of Mr. Scarlett on the question of the Manchester affair, when he was interrupted by

Mr. Serjeant Cross, who objected to the extract being read, or to any question on it being put to the witness.

Mr. Hunt—It is not one of your own speeches Mr. Cross. I dare say I shall never have to select from any of your speeches in Parliament.

Mr. Justice Bayley—I must have no observations of this sort.

Mr. Hunt—My Lord, I am here supposing a case of a speech delivered somewhere, in which advice is given to the whole nation to demand an inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester, and I wish to ask the witness, whether if such a speech were delivered at the meeting, would he consider it dangerous?

Mr. Justice Bayley—I think you have a right so to do.

Mr. Scarlett observed, that Mr. Hunt was here putting a report of a speech in Parliament as evidence, which ought not to be received.

Mr. Hunt denied that he offered this as a speech delivered in Parliament, as evidence, and observed, that what Mr. Scarlett had said was a falsehood.



Mr. Justice Bayley—Mr. Hunt, I must tell you, that if you do not conduct your case with decency, I must act with the firmness, that belongs to my situation here.

Mr. Hunt—I hope your Lordship will not think that I offer this as a speech in Parliament.

Mr. Justice Bayley—If Mr. Hunt had put this extract as a speech delivered in Parliament, and asked an opinion of the witness on it, that certainly could not be allowed. But here the case is different. The question is whether such and such speeches, if addressed to the meeting on the 16th would have produced danger to the town of Manchester? It is in that sense alone that I could allow the question to be put, and it was on the ground that the language of the former extract was from Mr. Scarlett's own imagination, that I allowed it to be read. It is a matter of delicacy, and I myself would rather the question were not put; but still I think the defendant has a right to put it.

Mr. Hunt—Your Lordship has now allowed me to put the question, but I should not be doing justice to my own feelings, if I were to put it after what has just fallen from your Lordship. I shall therefore, my Lord, wave it.

On the ninth day, a few unimportant witnesses were examined; the Rev. Mr. Hindmarsh being examined, gave the following evidence. I am a dissenting minister, and reside at Salford. I was in Manchester on the 16th of August last. I saw several parties pass on to the meeting on that day. They appeared to me to be perfectly peaceable and quiet. I was upon St. Peters field nearly an hour and a half; I made it a point to observe what was the character and complexion of the meeting and therefore I traversed every part of it. I went there merely as a spectator. I every where heard congratulations on the peaceable complexion and character of the meeting, and every one hoped it would terminate quietly. In the course of my perambulation, I went near the house in which the magistrates were. I saw a double line of constables leading to the hustings. The crowd were close to the constables. I saw no disposition in the people to insult them. The line of constables



reached a considerable way into the crowd. I remained upon the field until the cavalry arrived. I saw nothing before their arrival which excited any fears for the safety of person or property, or the safety of the town; I had not the least idea of any such thing, I saw nothing which in my judgment, could excite the fears of any rational, temperate, sober-minded man. I am not a radical reformer. I should not from what I saw expect the crowd to follow bad advice. I think they were not disposed to acts of violence. From the first to the last I saw nothing done either to intimidate, or insult, or oppose the military. If any hissing, hooting, groaning, or brandishing of cudgels took place on their arrival, I think I must have seen it; but there was no such thing within my hearing and sight. I kept my eyes on the cavalry until I found it necessary to provide for my own safety. I saw no stones brickbats, or sticks hurled in the air, or at the cavalry.

Mr. Hunt. My Lord, this closes our case.

Mr. Scarlett then rose to reply. Mr. Hunt had chosen to say, that, after the close of the evidence for the prosecution, and the hearing of counsel for the other defendants, when he Mr. Hunt asked that the court might meet an hour later on the following day, to allow him to prepare himself for addressing the jury, labouring as he did under infirmity of body and anxiety of mind, the request was unfeelingly opposed by "that man" (pointing to me, said the learned counsel:) nothing could be more untrue than the insinuation here made. The jury would recollect that when the defendant applied to the court to meet an hour later on the Tuesday, he (Mr. Hunt) did it upon the ground, not that he was indisposed, but that he might have a little more time for going through the great mass of evidence which had been taken in the case: he (Mr. Scarlett) opposed the request, because he did not think it necessary for the defendant's preparations. The next personal remark to which he would allude, was, that which had been made by the defendant at the expression of satisfaction which he (the learned counsel) had uttered in his opening speech that the cause was to be tried by a Yorkshire jury. He accused him (Mr.



Scarlett) of expressing that satisfaction while he knew that he had a retainer to oppose a change in the place of trial from Lancaster to York. The defendant knew that this was not true at the time he uttered it, but he thought that the statement would prejudice him (Mr. Scarlett) in the opinion of the jury and therefore he resolved to make it. He would now tell them the truth, and briefly explain to them the real state of the facts. The defendant had applied on the last day of term, to have the *venue* altered from Lancaster to York. He (Mr. Scarlett) heard his honourable friends, the attorney and solicitor general, say, that the object of the defendants was only delay, that they could never be brought to agree on coming to York, and that the trial would be postponed, but he (Mr. Scarlett) did not speak a word or utter a syllable upon the subject. His (Mr. Scarlett's) private friends well knew his sentiments, and were well aware that he was pleased with the change of place for the trial, and that what the defendant said was totally untrue. And he must do his learned friends the attorney and solicitor general the justice to mention to the jury, what in his candour and gratitude the defendant had concealed—that so far were they from any desire of taking an undue advantage of him, after the court had decided upon the change, that they had actually lengthened his recognizances, the recognizances of the defendants having been forfeited.

Mr. Hunt here interrupted the learned counsel, and denied that the recognizances had been forfeited, or that he had received any favour from the law officers of the crown.

Mr. Justice Bayley said, that they had been forfeited, that the record was sent down too late.

Mr. Scarlett continued.—he mentioned these things not to defend himself—for he required no defence from such a charge,—coming from such a quarter, and that in a place where he was known, but to show the temper with which the defendant conducted himself. He had gone on to say that he (Mr. Scarlett) wished a brief in the cause against the magistrates, but that he (Mr. Scarlett) could not get any counsel to bring for-



ward their conduct properly in the Court of King's bench. Now, in answer, he would say, that if Mr. Hunt had wished to bring the cause before the Court of King's bench, there was not a counsel who would have objected to undertake it, or would not have lent him all the assistance in their power. But instead of applying to any gentleman of the bar, who according to the rules of court, and the regular administration of justice must conduct such proceedings, he thought of making the application himself, though he was aware, he could not be heard.

Mr. Hunt again interrupted the learned counsel, declaring that he could not allow such mis-statements to pass uncontradicted. He had applied without success to the attorney general.

Mr. Scarlett said, that if such an application was made, it was a mere application of impertinence. The defendant well knew that the attorney general never came into the Court of King's bench, unless called there to perform an official duty. In proceeding with his personal attacks, he (Mr. Hunt) stated that he (Mr. Scarlett) had invented part of the charges against him, and that the bloody dagger of which he (Mr. Scarlett) had spoken, only existed in his distorted imagination. To show that the bloody dagger was not the creation of his fancy he would read the part of the brief from which he obtained the statement regarding it. [The learned counsel then read a sentence to the effect stated.] The statement was not indeed supported by the witnesses, as no dagger was painted on the banner, but the mistake admitted of easy explanation. The standard alluded to, had not indeed a dagger painted upon it, but the top of the staff was painted like a dagger as had been stated by one of the witnesses, and painted red. And then the gentleman, who, among his oratorical figures, had tears at command on the mention of this charge, shed a tear of sorrow and mortification, declaring, that he, on the contrary, so far from being connected with Carlile, held his principles in detestation, that he disliked them so much, that if Carlile was not suffering already the infliction of the laws, he would have expressed what



he felt at his temerity in attacking the sacred doctrines of religion. What had been proved in the case? Mr. Hunt had put into the box a witness (this most respectable witness,) of the name of Tyas, who said that Carlile and the defendant were in the carriage and proceeded to the hustings together. The defendant had asked, why the magistrates were not called and he was entitled to take the benefit of the absence of their testimony, until the reason of it was explained. He (Mr. Scarlett) would now state the reason which would give the jury a clue to the whole case. Whether the magistrates on that day acted discreetly or indiscreetly, in exercising their authority to disperse the meeting; whether the constables told them what was true or false, or behaved with moderation or violence; whether the yeomanry did right or wrong in approaching the hustings, or in their conduct afterwards, had nothing more to do with the cause, than whether Mr. Hunt is lord of the manor of Glastonbury, or is visited at Middleton-cottage by squire Wigmore and the clergyman of the parish. On the first day, the solicitor for the crown not being aware of the cause of the examination, or how the learned judge would direct the proceedings, had summoned the magistrates as witnesses, and had them in attendance. But the inquiry into the conduct of the magistrates had no more to do with the inquiry now pending in the conduct of the meeting, than any other two events whatever. If the jury were trying the magistrates, they would be trying a more important cause than the present, and which being connected with a deeper interest, would, if brought into view on the present trial, only tend to prejudice the public mind. This was his justification for calling the magistrates. His lordship concurred in his opinion, and the jury would observe that the examination was always broken off or interrupted, when it came to involve them. The charge on the record was to be tried in the same manner as if no magistrates, no constables, no yeoman had appeared on the field during the day. If the meeting was in its original formation and concoction an illegal meeting, it was immaterial to this issue, whether it went through all its proceedings, and dispersed of its own accord without any



acts of violence, or was dispersed by the military, or on its dispersion, committed acts of violence. Though the motives of the law in declaring meetings illegal, were grounded on the apprehended result of violence and riot, it was not necessary that result should be consummated, to constitute its illegality. Was it safe, was it reasonable, that one man should be allowed to assume the power of commanding 80,000 or 100,000 people? His lordship had tried several riots.

Mr. Justice Bayley—No, I have not, Mr. Scarlett.

Mr. Scarlett had thought so from the long experience of the learned judge; but he (Mr. Scarlett) had witnessed many such trials, and he had never seen a large body of the rioters themselves called to prove that there was no riot. But if, instead of forty witnesses, the defendant had called 4,000, what would their evidence amount to? They might have said that they had gone to the meeting, some with their wives and some with their daughters; but he would show by-and-by that this was no ground of defence, and he would also show the whole of the defence was one of craft. It had been stated to the jury that the meeting of the 16th had been called by several hundred resident householders of Manchester. Was that proved? Did any of the friends of the Doctor (Healy) give any proof of this? Why not call some of those householders? Did Mr. Hunt think that the jury were to be caught by such chaff as this? Why not call them? Did the jury think that this would not have been done by Mr. Hunt, or his legal adviser would not have called some of those people, if it was thought they could stand the fire of cross-examination? But no, there was not one single tittle of proof that the meeting had been so called. If any man preached at a public meeting the doctrine that Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage ought to be the law of the country, he might as well say that there should be no representations at all, but that very measure which was to operate as a law, should be put separately to parishes and let them decide; and had any a right to say, that the doctrine of Universal Suffrage should prevail, that every man should give his opinion upon every law, or that death should be the



alternative, if such doctrine were not allowed. Suppose that Mr. Hunt could prevail upon Bamford or any other of the defendants that the opinions of the "immortal Paine" were correct, he might with the same justice say, no king or death, or no republic or death. He might, it is true, hold his opinions of those different modes of government, but he had no right to say at a public meeting, that we should have such government, or none at all. As well might Carlile say that reason should be the law, and that we should have no religion. If such was his opinion, he might say that human beings perished like the beasts of the field, that man ceased to exist at all when he ceased to exist in this world, that the universe had no soul; that the heavenly bodies had no arrangement, that salvation was a fable, and the Bible a fabrication, invented by the rich to keep down the poor, and that therefore it should no longer be believed. Such might be his (Carlile's) opinions, but had he a right to preach those opinions at a public meeting? Having mentioned the name of Carlile, he would ask, who was it that had invited him to this meeting—this man who had been notorious as the salesman of the *Deist* and the *Republican*? Was it his fame and the knowledge of his principles, which procured him a seat in the coach with the lord of the manor of Glastonbury, and the cultivator of 5,000 acres? Had Mr. Hunt told them what brought him thither? Let them now look at the proofs which have been offered, and would any one say, that they had not been sufficient to support that indictment? At a meeting, which was held in Smithfield before the close of Parliament, the last summer—a meeting at which Mr. Hunt presided—certain resolutions were agreed to. Those resolutions were handed to Mr. Fitzpatrick, the last witness, whom he had called. He (Mr. Scarlett) had not read those resolutions before, because he did not know whether they could be proved—he had only to allude to the substance of them. The jury had heard Mr. Hunt say, that if no heads were broken, no houses demolished at any of these meetings, therefore they were lawful. This he denied—that circumstance could not constitute legality, and he would show



that, whether their result were peaceable or otherwise, the object was a delusion of the people—not a reform in Parliament, but a destruction of the government of the country. He would read some of these resolutions to the jury. The first was a declaration that every man born in the British dominions was a freeman. The next resolution declares that it was expedient that a code of laws should be provided. But why provide a code of laws—had we not a code of laws already?—a code of laws which we were bound to obey, and which could not be altered in the body except by violence. But it seemed a provisional administration was to be appointed. Why a provisional administration? He supposed until Mr. Hunt should frame this code of laws. The next resolution was, that every man in the kingdom had a right to a voice in the making of those laws, of course that a lunatic had a right. The next was, that in order to raise a fund for supporting such a system of government, every man should pay his proportion of taxes. He did not know whether this resolution met with the applause that Mr. Fitzpatrick stated had been given to others, at least it was not so marked. He (Mr. Scarlett) however, denied that the consent of every man was necessary for the imposition of a tax. The next resolution stated that the House of Commons was not formed as it ought to be that might not be true, its construction might be the best, but their own government had within itself the means of removing those grievances which might arise, and no person should presume to inculcate on the minds of the people their removal by force. To the next resolutions, he begged to call the particular attention of the jury; they were, in substance, that after the first of January, 1820, no man was bound in equity to obey any act of that body calling itself the House of Commons, unless it was chosen by a large proportion of the people; that books should be opened in every parish for the purpose of enrolling the names of all those men, who were of sound mind and proper age, and who should have a voice in choosing representatives. This was soon known at Manchester, and it was also known that at Birmingham the people had proceeded to elect a legis-



latorial attorney. Accordingly it was found that the people of Manchester were to be induced to follow the example, and for that purpose a notice of meeting was publicly announced, at which the unrepresented inhabitants were also to choose a representative of their own, and to adopt Major Cartwright's plan of reform. Henry Hunt was announced as the chairman. The boroughreeve or constables were not mentioned; they would not do, but Mr. Hunt was to preside. Sir Charles Wolesley, Pearson the lawyer, Godfred Higgins, Esq., Wooler, and others, were to be present. And here again he should observe, that not one of those whose names were said to be affixed to this notice, had been called to prove, that they had signed it, and thus began the head of this charge against Mr. Hunt. What did he dare to do? The boroughreeve and constables were advised to attend. To preside? No; to attend and listen to what was brought forward. They, as became them, advised the people to abstain at their peril from such a meeting. The legality of the meeting at common law, was to be decided by the circumstances connected with it. Mr. Hunt had defended it as a meeting no less legal than an assembly of citizens in Palace-yard. But who could ever contend that all the people of England might meet there? The meetings in Palace-yard were of a description that was well known to the constitution. The meeting at Manchester on the other, was convened by some secret committee assisted by Mr. Hunt. It was not a county meeting, nor a town meeting but a meeting of every person, who might be pleased to attend. It was, in fact, calling on all those, who had any grievances real or imaginary, to come forward, while Mr. Hunt preached his political doctrines to them. The hard question for the jury to decide, was whether this was, or was not a lawful assembly? He contended then—and he called on the jury to come to the same conclusion—that the intention of Mr. Hunt was either to call on the people to meet for the election of a member to serve in Parliament, as had been done at Birmingham, and of which purpose notice had been given on the 9th of August, or else to pass such resolutions as were



agreed to at Smithfield in the month of July. If they were of opinion that the parties had either object in view, then the meeting was clearly illegal. But, even independent of that, if the mode of assembling, if the vastness of the numbers of the system of organization which appeared, if their circumstances taken together, conspired to impress terror on the minds of peaceable men, it was an unlawful meeting.

The learned counsel then went through the evidence applying such parts respectively as seemed to affect the different defendants.

Mr. Justice Bayley then, after a short pause, proceeded to address the jury.—The great point for consideration was the conduct of the crowd on this occasion, and as the acts of the magistrates, of the military, and of the constables might create a prejudice in their minds, he had cautiously abstained from suffering them to be investigated or entertained in the course of the trial. The propriety of the conduct of the individuals to whom he alluded, could not then be discussed, and the jury must not suffer their minds in any respect, to be influenced by the consideration how far their verdict would operate either in favour of or in prejudice to the magistrates, constables, or military employed on the occasion in question. He should now proceed to point out to the jury the nature of the present indictment. It contained a charge of conspiracy; it contained a charge of unlawful assembly; it contained a charge of riot. But, on the subject of the charge of riot, he would not propound to them any observations, because he conceived that the consideration of the other charges alone remained for them. The circumstances of the conspiracy, as they were stated in the indictment were these:—The indictment set forth, “That the defendants conspired to meet, and to cause, and procure other persons to meet, for the purpose of disturbing the public peace, and the common tranquillity of the king and realm.” This was one count, and it would be for the jury to say whether any conspiracy was made out, so as to authorize them to find a verdict of guilty. The count further charged, “that the defendants met together for the purpose of raising and exciting



discontent and disaffection in the minds of the subjects of our lord the king, and also to incite them to contempt and hatred of the government and constitution as by law established. Therefore there were here three heads of charge—first, that a seditious meeting to disturb the public peace; a second purpose was to raise and excite discontent and disaffection in the minds of the subjects of the king; and the third purpose was to incite the subjects of the king to contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm as by law established. The unlawful assembling was stated to be with two different views, and if the existence of either one or the other of those views were made out in evidence, it would be sufficient to warrant a conviction.

The learned judge went very fully into the law of conspiracies and illegal assemblies—adverting particularly to the opinion of Serjeant Hawkins, that a public meeting may be lawful, with respect to some of the persons constituting it, and unlawful with respect to others.

The learned judge then proceeded to recapitulate the voluminous evidence, briefly commenting on it, as he went on. He observed that a meeting of 60,000 persons, if they all came to a certain point, with a common knowledge of what was to be done, might create terror. With respect to the banners, he again observed that those who only showed that they were favourable to any motto inscribed on them, by carrying, or immediately marching under them, could be considered as liable to any penalty which the illegal nature of any of the inscriptions might warrant. With respect to the inscription, “Equal representation or Death,” if it meant that those who adhered to such a standard would lose their lives, unless they procured what they deemed “Equal representation,” it amounted to sedition, but if the inscription merely meant that if they could not procure equal representation, they would be starved to death, it would not come within the character of sedition. Again, the inscription of “No Corn Laws,” left the jury to consider, whether the meaning of it was, that the corn laws



were so oppressive, that every means legal or illegal, were to be taken in order to get rid of them, or whether it was a mere expression of disapprobation. In the former case it would certainly be sedition, in the latter it would not. He said the phrase sworn to by one of the witnesses, as having been used by a person going to the meeting, namely, that they would "make a Moscow of Manchester," seemed to be inconsistent with the general intention expressed by the reformers on that day. There was every reason to believe that Mr. Entwistle was mistaken in the expression of Mr. Hunt about their enemies as applied to the soldiers. With regard to the shout set up when the military appeared, it might be the shout of consciousness of innocence, and determination to remain on that consciousness, or might be the shout of intimidation. Its nature was to be determined by the circumstances in which it was uttered. There was no other witness that spoke to threatening expressions but Mr. Francis Phillips.

The learned judge having proceeded through the evidence given on the first three days, and the hour having arrived at which the court usually adjourned, said to the jury, that he would desist and adjourn the court, if he fatigued them. No answer being returned, he continued for another hour, when an intimation was given, that as the business could not terminate to-day, it might be convenient to adjourn now (at half-past seven.) This was assented to by the learned judge.

On the following day, being the tenth, Mr. Justice Bayley proceeded to deliver his charge to the jury, commencing with retailing the evidence, with respect to the part taken by Mr. Hunt at the Smithfield meeting, the resolutions of which on the 21st of July, his Lordship read *seriatim*, the jury were from a consideration of the tone and temper of those resolutions to form a judgement of the disposition of the individuals who recommended them. He commented with severity upon that one which pointed out, that the people were absolved from any obedience to the laws, except on such conditions as was therein expressed, from and after the first of January 1820.



How far such resolutions were consistent with the due subordination of the laws, he left it to the jury to consider, as well as how far they were or were not calculated to bring his majesty's government into hatred and contempt.

The learned judge then resumed his charge, and said that with respect to Bamford, all that had been proved in his speech was a recommendation to peace and order. So far in favour of Bamford. With respect to Saxton, the crown had abandoned the case. In behalf of Mr. Hunt, three different propositions were established in his favour, by the witnesses produced in his defence. First, that the procession moved to the field in the utmost order—that all the exhortations to the people were in the spirit of peace. There was no insult, no offence given except some few loose expressions only implicating the individuals using them, and not fairly attributal to the bulk of the people. There were none who saw sticks thrown, nor bludgeons, nor brick-bats, no panic in Manchester, all was tranquil and free from apprehension up to the moment the military arrived on the ground. It was admitted that the people shouted when the cavalry came, some said this was in defiance, but for the defendants a different construction was put upon the act, and that it merely signified their confidence in being legally assembled, and their determination to remain in the discharge of what they considered a justifiable duty, without fear of interruption. If the object were legal, then the people had undoubtedly a right to remain while so conducting themselves, and there was no proper reason why they should be disturbed. Under such circumstances the people had a right to stand firm. It was also deposed that besides the promiscuous group of women and children who came in Manchester, there were many others, to all appearance respectable females, who walked to and fro among the multitude without seeming to apprehend any danger from their situation. There was also in evidence, that marks of respect were paid to loyal tunes, that not the slightest indication of disturbance took place, and that no stones, brick-bats, or sticks were flung up in the air during the day, nor hooting, nor hissing at the cavalry. The learned



judge then enumerated the witnesses who spoke to the peaceable character of the meeting. As to the drillings, if it were only intended to promote regularity and convenience at the meeting, then it was illegal. He thought they might put out of their consideration the words "These are our enemies," were addressed by Mr. Hunt to the soldiers in Dickinson-street, for that must have been a mistake, such an expression could not have occurred according to the witnesses for the defence, or they must have heard it. This was the summary of the evidence for Mr. Hunt—(Mr. Hunt suggested that when he saw the black flag, he expressed his opinion to those around him that it was very foolish. The learned judge assented that it was in evidence, Mr. Hunt made that remark)—The learned judge then proceeded to notice the cross examination of the witnesses for the defence. The learned judge said he would next call the attention of the jury to the inscriptions upon the flags, and again reminded them that such as were illegal could only effect those who carried or who follow them, assenting to their meaning and character; to such only could the flags apply. They would see, from a perusal of the inscriptions, whether any or which of them have any similitude to the resolutions of the Smithfield meeting already adverted to. One of them (the Stockport) bore the inscriptions, "Annual Parliaments—Universal Suffrage—Vote by Ballot." If these inscriptions were merely to express an opinion in favour of such doctrines, and merely an opinion without meaning to act upon it illegally, then they were not guilty of a criminal intention. The same observation applied to the inscription of "No Corn Laws," many opinions prevailed respecting these laws, and there was no illegality in expressing them, provided the intention was not to intimidate or overawe the legislature. "No Boroughmongers," the phrase had certainly a reference to one of the Smithfield resolutions. "Unite and be free." If that merely recommended harmony as essential to the enjoyment of freedom, it was harmless, if it meant to insinuate a unity of efforts to promote an object inconsistent with the spirit of law, then it is criminal. "Equal Repre-



sentation or Death." The same observation there again applied. It might be harmless with the meaning attached to it by one of the defendants; but it held out the alternative of risking life for the attainment of a particular object, then it was for them to say whether it was not a criminal allusion. "Taxation without Representation is unjust." If by that it is meant to inculcate the opinion that it is criminal and unjust to levy taxes upon that man who has not a direct share by a vote in returning a representative to Parliament, then it was for the jury to say whether such an insinuation had not a tendency to excite in the minds of the king's subjects a hatred and contempt of the constituted authorities of the realm. The learned judge recapitulated many of the leading points of his charge, with respect to Mr. Hunt they had evidence of his being at Smedley Cottage, on the eve of the intended meeting at Manchester on the 9th of August, that he had on that day expressed himself in terms not very respectful of the local magistracy; that with reference to Johnson it appeared he had gone from Bullock Smithy to Manchester, with Mr. Hunt; he had appeared with him on the hustings whether according to a previous concert, and for an illegal object, the jury, according to their construction of the evidence, must decide. As to the case of Moorhouse there was evidence of less participation. Swift was on the hustings, but there was proof of his not being criminally engaged there, or for an illegal purpose, if his witnesses' statement were correct. Against Healy there was the black flag, if they inferred any criminality from that emblem. The inscription it bore was as follows:—"No Boroughmongers; Unite and be free; Equal Representation or Death; Saddleworth, Lees, and Mosley Union; No Corn Laws; Taxation without Representation is Unjust and Tyrannical." Another party was led up by Wylde, but what their banners were did not appear in evidence. Jones merely put up the hustings. The learned judge was then once more about to revert to the Smithfield resolutions, when

Mr. Hunt begged leave, with great deference, to submit to his lordship, whether a chairman who merely received such re-



solutions at the moment of the meeting and possibly without his concurrence in their formation; ought to be held so strictly responsible for their contents.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—The law imposes upon a man so acting the responsibility to which I allude. I have in my charge, Mr. Hunt, done fairly by you, in putting to the jury those circumstances which may bear on your favour, as well as those which may have a contrary operation. I have done so, I hope impartially, I know conscientiously: and I solemnly declare, that if this were to be the last moment of my life, I should charge as I have now charged. The learned judge then proceeded to refer to the evidence, and to enforce upon the minds of the jury, that the main question they had to try was whether the meeting was or was not according to its manner, calculated to produce terror, either in the manner in which it was formed, or in the circumstances that ensued before its dispersion. “Find no defendant guilty, gentlemen,” said his lordship in conclusion, “whose guilt is not in your minds clearly established by the evidence—find no defendant innocent, if you think the evidence establishes his guilt, whatever doubt arises, the defendant ought to have the benefit of it.

At a quarter past twelve o'clock the learned judge closed his charge, and the jury retired.

Shortly before five o'clock the jury returned into the box. The foreman held a paper in his hand, and said the jury had agreed upon their verdict, which he read as follows:—

“Moorhouse, Jones, Wylde, Swift, Saxton—*Not Guilty*.

Henry Hunt, Joseph Johnson, John Knight, Joseph Healy, and Samuel Bamford, *Guilty* of assembling with unlawful banners, an unlawful assembly for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the King, to contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established and attending at the same.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—Do you mean that they themselves intended to incite?

The Foreman.—Yes.



Mr. Littledale.—This verdict must be taken on the fourth count.

The jury withdrew for a few minutes and returned with a verdict of *Guilty* generally on the fourth count, and *Not Guilty* upon the remaining counts.

Mr. Justice Bayley.—Let the defendants now additionally, in court enter into their own recognizance to keep the peace and good behaviour for six months, Mr. Hunt in the sum of £2,000, Mr. Johnson of £1,000, Bamford and Healy £500 each.

On the 27th of April, Mr. Hunt and the other defendants impeached this verdict in the Court of King's Bench on the following grounds.

The Lord Chief Justice addressing himself to Mr. Hunt, who still acted as his own counsel, you can now inform us of the nature of the application you propose making to the court.

Mr. Hunt.—I move, my lord, for a rule to show cause why the verdict obtained against me and the other defendants at the last assizes at York should not be set aside, and a verdict of Not Guilty entered on the record, or why a new trial should not be had.

The Lord Chief Justice.—For yourself and all the other defendants.

Mr. Hunt.—Yes, my lord.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Now state upon what ground it is that you make this motion.

Mr. Hunt.—The first ground my lord, is a misapprehension of the learned judge, in rejecting evidence which ought to have been received. It was evidence as to the acts of aggression of cutting, maiming, and killing, committed by the yeomanry cavalry and other military, upon the person of those who attended the meeting at Manchester. The next point is, the learned judge's admitting evidence of certain resolutions of a meeting held in Smithfield and the admission of evidence of certain trainings and drilling at a place called White Moss. The third point is a misdirection of the judge which arose in consequence



of these points. The fourth ground is that the jury gave a verdict contrary to evidence.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Have you any other ground.

Mr. Hunt.—Yes, my lord; I have a fifth and last ground. It is that the jury gave a verdict contrary to the direction of the learned judge.

On the 8th of May, the Court proceeded to give its decision on the above application, when the judges delivered their opinion *seriatim*, unanimously refusing the rule to shew cause applied for by the defendants, in which the Attorney General proposed that judgement should be immediately pronounced. Mr. Hunt however requested that the defendants might have time to prepare, and the request being considered reasonable by the Lord Chief Justice, the defendants were ordered to be brought up on the 15th of May for judgement.

On that day at an early hour the court was crowded to excess in expectation of hearing judgement pronounced upon Mr. Hunt, and the other defendants convicted at the last assizes at York. At half past eleven o'clock, all the judges having taken their seat on the bench the Attorney General prayed the judgement of the court upon the defendants, who were not then in court. They were sent for, and soon after appeared in court.

Mr. Hunt addressed their lordships, and said that he and the other defendants had a number of affidavits to put in. [They were accordingly tendered by desire of the court, though it was the wish of Mr. Hunt to withhold some some of them, until he heard whether the Attorney General meant to offer any affidavit in aggravation. The latter declined stating what affidavits he would produce, until those for the defendants were read.]

After some important interlocutory matter, the clerk proceeded to read the affidavits of the defendants.—The first was from Henry Hunt Esq. and it stated in considerable length the whole meeting at Manchester on the 9th of August the circumstances of the assembling at that of the 16th of August,



and the calamitous events that attended its violent dispersion by the yeomanry whereby a number of men women and children were killed and wounded. It went then to a description of the personal injuries he had sustained. His first connexion with the meeting, was by invitation, to consider the best legal and constitutional means of obtaining Parliamentary Reform. He also described his having in consequence of a rumour that a warrant had been issued against him, called on the Manchester magistrates, on the Saturday before the meeting, and received answer that no such warrant was in contemplation. He further said that if any constable had appeared with a warrant at the meeting, he should have instantly surrendered or that if any magistrates came to read the riot act (which he did not believe was ever read on the 16th) he would have tried to have obtained for him a hearing, and immediately afterwards dissolved the meeting. Mr. Hunt also urged the great expence, this prosecution had entailed upon him.—The statements in Mr. Hunt's affidavit were fortified by affidavits of the other defendants, who also declared the object of the meeting to have been a legal and constitutional reform of the House of Commons, and alluded in very strong terms, of the military and police at Manchester, and complaining of the heavy expence imposed upon them by what they considered an unmerited prosecution. An affidavit was then put in from the ten gentlemen who first signed the requisition for the meeting at Manchester, setting forth their having called on the borough-reeve to convene the meeting, his refusal after consideration, to do so, but his refraining from attaching any illegality to the object, which was then said a legal and peaceable one, and that they had invited Mr. Hunt to take the chair. The next was from Nicholas Whitworth, corn dealer, who stated that from motives of humanity, he had inquired into the circumstances attendant upon the meeting, and that the result of his inquiries gave every reason to believe that great outrages had on that day been committed on the people.

The Attorney General submitted that this affidavit was in-



admissible, as it did not speak to the actual knowledge of the deponent himself.

Mr. Hunt contended that it did.

On reference, however, to the affidavits the only part which was deemed admissible was, where the deponent stated that he had seen nearly 400 persons who had been wounded by the military on that day. An affidavit was next put in from W. Cordingly, and I. Lees, of Oldham, who accompanied the defendant Healy to the meeting, and contradicted the evidence given on the trial by a witness named Standrick, who said Healy drunk gin at a public house on the road, and used certain violent expressions. They denied this altogether, and charged another of the witnesses with instigating the crowd to hoot and hiss on the way to the meeting, and tried to inflame them by violent expressions.

The Attorney General said that such an affidavit as this was inadmissible. Evidence to contradict the credibility of a witness ought to have been produced on the trial.

Mr. Justice Best—Certainly ; and that too, where the witness is actually charged with instigating persons to commit acts of high treason.

Mr. Hunt—Aye, my Lord, the affidavit goes on to state that the fellow was the hero of his own story, which he wanted to apply to others.

The court said they were willing to allow the fullest latitude, which reason and justice could admit to the reception of affidavits, but they could not allow that to be introduced now, which ought to have been matter of evidence on the trial.

Mr. Hunt said, that this witness' evidence was much relied upon at the time of the trial.

The court, however, overruled the admissibility of this affidavit.

The several other affidavits of the different defendants were put in and read ; and Healy, Johnson, and Bamford severally addressed the court, and urged all those reasons and points which their principal had before done in moving for a new trial, and other terms addressed to the court.



The Attorney General then replied upon the whole case, and at six o'clock Mr. Justice Bayley proceeded to pronounce the judgment of the court on the several defendants. After commenting on the nature of the offence of which they had been convicted, the learned judge said the judgment he was instructed to pronounce upon the several defendants, was as follows:—The defendant, H. Hunt, was sentenced to be imprisoned two years and a half in his majesty's gaol at Ilchester in the county of Somerset, and at the expiration of that term, to find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in £1000 and two sureties in £500 each. The other defendants, J. Johnson, J. Healy, and J. Bamford, were severally sentenced to be imprisoned one year in Lincoln Castle, and at the expiration of that time to find security for their good behaviour for five years, themselves in £200, and two sureties in £100 each, and to be further imprisoned till such security should be entered into.

Notwithstanding Mr. Hunt and his associates had been convicted after a most impartial investigation, presided over by a judge, even in their own opinion, most impartial, and determined by a jury of their own choice, and in a county of their own selection, yet the result was by no means satisfactory to their feelings. Mr. Hunt, therefore, determined to apply to the court for a new trial, and the arguments were accordingly heard before the whole bench of judges. On Mr. Hunt being asked by the lord chief justice, the grounds on which he moved for a new trial. Mr. Hunt replied, first, the learned judge refused to receive evidence of the acts of aggression, cutting and maiming, and killing, committed by the Manchester yomanry, and other military, upon the persons of those who attended the meeting. The second was, the learned judge receiving evidence, which ought to have been rejected. The third was, that the learned judge admitted evidence of certain drillings and trainings, at a place called White Moss. The fourth was, a misdirection of the judge, which arose in consequence of those points. The fifth was, that the jury gave



a verdict contrary to evidence. The sixth was, that the jury gave a verdict contrary to the direction of the noble judge.

The judges not having before them all the notes of the trial the consideration of the points urged by Hunt, was postponed until the following Monday, the 1st of May, and Mr. Hunt retired from the court with all the other defendants.

On Mr. Hunt leaving the court on his way home, he was served with an execution for £426, at the suit of the high-bailiff of Westminster, for his share of the expenses of the hustings, &c as a candidate at the late election for that city; Mr. Morris having obtained a judgment against Mr. Hunt for that sum. A friend of the latter waited upon Mr. Francis Smedley of Ely Place, the deputy bailiff and attorney of Mr. Morris, and proposed to pay £200 down, provided he would give Mr. Hunt six months time to pay the remainder. Mr. Smedley professed a great desire to oblige Mr. Hunt, as the high bailiff, he said, bore no hostility towards him; but after some consideration, Mr. Smedley said, that unless his full demand was complied with within one hour, the execution would be placed in the hands of the sheriff's officer. This threat Mr. Smedley strictly performed, not forgetting to send Mr. Hunt's bail notice, that he should also proceed against them at the same time. Upon the officer executing the warrant, the whole sum of £426 was instantly paid down by Mr. Hunt.

At the appointed time, Mr. Hunt and the other defendants appeared on the floor of the Court of King's Bench to hear the opinion of the judges on the motion made by the former for a new trial, when Lord Chief Justice Abbott first stated his sentiments on the subject, pronouncing against the defendants in every point which had been urged. The other judges concurring in that opinion, the rule was refused, and the sentence was accordingly put in force.

The condition of Mr. Hunt in Ilchester goal was any thing but pleasant, and so far from being treated with any of that lenity or indulgence which ought to have been shown towards an individual imprisoned for an act, which the greater part of the country



considered both legal and as constitutional, he was treated with a severity that was at once a disgrace to the nation and to the magistrates who had the controul over the prison and its inhuman jailer. In regard to the latter, Mr. Hunt had not been long an inmate of the prison, when such acts were committed by Bridle the jailer, that Mr. Hunt made a formal complaint to the magistrates, who seemed most unwilling to grant any redress, or to check the jailer in the perpetration of his tyrannical acts. It would appear, however, from Mr. Hunt's own statement, that Mr. Bridle had selected him as a victim on whom he could practice with impunity all the severity of his office, at the same time, we can not exactly give our assent to the extraordinary statement sent forth by him, that it was at the particular request of Bridle, that Ilchester was chosen the place of his imprisonment. The following, however, we give in Mr. Hunt's own words

“ When the boroughmongers sent me to be incarcerated in this bastile for two years and six months, I believe that they thought they were sending me amongst my enemies, far away from all my friends. I have good reason to think that the amiable jailer Bridle petitioned through an understrapper at the Secretary of State's office, to have me committed to his care. When the news arrived at Ilchester, that I was committed to the New Bailey at Manchester, Bridle was sitting in the bar of the inn in Taunton reading a newspaper, and he exclaimed with an oath, ‘ I wish they would send him to my jail by G—d, I would take care of the fellow, I should like to have the care of him, I would bring the fellow to his senses, and teach him what it was to be in a prison.’ As soon as the verdict of the York jury was known at Ilchester, Bridle and his wife allotted a particular room and bed in his house for my occupation, and they used to call it publicly Hunt's room, and Hunt's bed, and the servants were sent to fetch things out of Hunt's room, or bring such a thing from Hunt's bed. Bridle was returning from Salisbury on his way from Portsmouth, upon the subscription coach, when the guard informed him of my sentence of two years and a half in Ilchester gaol. ‘ Aye, aye,’ said he



‘I expected I should have the fellow, I will teach him manners, I’ll warrant you.’ He appeared to be quite aware that I was coming here, and enjoyed the idea of having me in his clutches most amazingly. This amiable gentleman, this most worthy agent of the system, little dreamt that I was destined to detect and expose all his goings-on ; that himself, the surgeon, and two of his turnkeys would be discharged, that a commission sent down by the government would report him guilty of all kinds of atrocities, that he would be tried and convicted of committing torture upon one of his prisoners by a Somersetshire special jury. The government little thought the vile and horrible system of torture practised in the jails, would be so completely exposed. The worthy parson and squire magistrates little dreamt, when they chuckled at my being sent here that they would get their conduct exposed in the House of Commons, and that all their plans, &c. for persecuting me, would be turned to their own disgrace ; they little dreamt that they would be compelled to pass sentence and discharge their own jailer and associate Bridle ; they never dreamt that they would be compelled, against their will, to denounce their own *crack jail* of Ilchester, and that the grand jury of the county, of which they, themselves, formed the materials, would be compelled to present their own dear jail, at the assizes, as totally unfit and unworthy to remain any longer as the county jail, they little thought they would be compelled to come to a unanimous vote at the quarter sessions, that their dear jail should be removed and razed to the ground ; they little thought that the county rates, which they had the disposal of, should be reduced from twenty-eight thousand a year, to eight thousand a year, thus reducing the expenditure of the county money more than two-thirds, and at the same time reducing their patronage two-thirds ; they little thought that the expenses of this precious establishment of a jail would be reduced from six thousand a year to two thousand a year. The pious and humane parson-justices little thought that all the implements of torture would be abolished in this gaol, and that I should be the means, and have the pleasure of witness-



ing, while I yet remained here, all the heavy chains, bars, and bolts with which the prisoners used to be chained and fastened down to the iron bedsteads, should be knocked off and totally abolished; they had no idea that fetters and irons would be removed from all the prisoners, and that not one prisoner would have irons on, they never thought that all the prisoners would be allowed to receive and send their letters without having them opened and overhauled by the jailer, the turnkeys and their families; they never dreamt that the walls which surrounded my dungeon, would be lowered from twenty feet, to seven feet, they, good souls, never thought that all my friends would be allowed to visit me at all hours in the day time without the slightest interruption, in spite of their positive printed rules and regulations to the contrary sanctioned by a full bench of magistrates, in quarter sessions, and signed by Judge Best; they never thought it possible that I should be the means of liberating poor old Charles Hill, who had been incarcerated here for sixteen years. Yet all these things have taken place, and I have received the thanks of all the prisoners, not only in this jail, but in all the jails of the county, and from upwards of twenty county jails, acknowledging that the beneficial influence of my exertions here, had reached even to them. If the government and the magistrates had been told that I should have had the kind attention and sympathy of all classes of the inhabitants of the county, except themselves, and that on the day of my liberation, I should be hailed as the deliverer of this country from oppression and bondage, and that the freeholders and yeomanry would give me a public dinner and presented a handsome piece of plate to me, of the value of one hundred sovereigns, as a tribute of their approbation, respect and esteem; I think, if they could have believed this possible, they would like Castlereagh, have become their own executioner, and have cut the carotid arteries of their own throats, to save themselves from the disgrace that was in store for them. If the ministers had thought that the table of the House of Commons would have been covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom praying for my liber-



ation; if they could have anticipated Sir Francis Burdett's motion, and that eighty four members of Parliament should have voted for my liberation, and if they had anticipated all that I have accomplished since I have been here, and that such honours would be conferred upon me, even then, I think their folly and malice would have induced them to have done as they have, there is always a falsity in the proceedings of wicked men, which providence ultimately turns to their own destruction."

From the foregoing extract, a correct estimate may be formed of the several circumstances which occupied Mr. Hunt during his incarceration in Ilchester jail, and it must be generally allowed that the cause which he professed to maintain, and for which he was then suffering a protracted imprisonment, gained by that very act a considerable accession of strength, and there were many, who at that time were wavering in their principles as to the necessity of a Parliamentary Reform, who now became staunch and uncompromising reformers, seeing the injustice which had been committed towards Mr. Hunt, and which perhaps would not have been done, had the Parliament been chosen by the voice of the people, rather than by the will of the boroughmongers. As one source of amusement to him in his solitary confinement, Mr. Hunt then determined to follow the example of a far greater man than himself, but who was also a prisoner at the time, though not exactly in a jail, and that example was to write his own life, which he actually accomplished. Of this work, little more can be said, than that in many parts of his private life, Mr. Hunt lets us only have a faint glimpse of many of the most remarkable incidents of his life, and over others he throws such a bright but deceptive view, that a false impression is excited, but such impression is generally in favour of the individual himself. It is also to be regretted that a spirit of egotism pervades the whole work, which is incompatible with the interests of truth, and which afterwards, exposed the autobiographer to some very severe reflections from his enemies.



MR. HUNT'S RADICAL MUSEUM.

Another source of amusement in which Mr. Hunt was the formation of, what he styles, a radical museum; the first article in it consisted of the model of a loom in full work, with an elegant specimen of a shuttle, accompanied with an ode, written by a weaver, wherein its wonderful powers are *melodiously* described, of which melody the following may serve as an example :—

In hostile rage, when line does charge the line,  
And broken columns baffle martial skill,  
Each national, adopted garb of thine,  
Instructs the hireling warrior whom to kill  
When flags, with murd'rous pomp the fields array,  
The boasting banners, works of thine display.  
To every clime that intercourse refines,  
'Thy works of use and ornament extend,  
And from the pole and equinoctial lines'  
Intensity, the human race defend.  
Whom in return, thy scanty drivers give  
The toil begotten privilege to kill.

“The loom and shuttle,” says Mr. Hunt, “which shall be placed in a conspicuous part of my intended museum, and which will confer equal honour upon the institution, or upon those, who have so handsomely presented it to me, is greatly enhanced in its value, in my estimation in consequence of its having been made by my much esteemed friend, Mr. John Irvin, the independent elector of Preston. In the same box, which brought me the loom and shuttle, was packed a neat pair of slippers, as a present from my brave friend Mr. James Huffman, the sturdy, unbending radical shoemaker. Although they fit as neatly as any pair of shoes that I was even measured for, yet they shall be carefully preserved in my museum for the inspection of the curious, but if I live till the next Preston guild, I shall be nearly seventy years of age, and if we can preserve the slippers, and am able, I will wear them at the masquerade then, and there to be given.”



We have reason to believe, that the two above mentioned articles, with a bag of his own roasted corn, formed the whole, of the radical museum; it is, however, at the same time curious to observe, how the human mind, in a state of abstraction from the customary affairs of life tends to and clings to objects which at any other time would appear as undeserving of notice.

A short time previously to the incarceration of Mr. Hunt he had commenced a manufactory of roasted corn, that was to supersede the necessity of coffee, and which being an exciseable article, was not palatable to the taste of the radicals. During his imprisonment the manufactory was carried on by one of his sons in Broadwall, in the parish of Christ Church, Surrey, and for some time, the radical coffee, as it was called, created some sensation amongst the lower orders; unfortunately, however, for Mr. Hunt, the excise stepped in to interfere with this speculation, an action was brought against Mr. Hunt for defrauding the revenue, and a verdict was obtained against him of a fine of £200 to the king. In vain Mr. Hunt endeavoured to prove that corn merely because it was roasted, could not be called coffee, the excise answered him by telling him that barley was not an exciseable article, but that as soon as it was made into malt, it became subject to the powers of the excise. Mr. Hunt eventually paid the fine, and the radical coffee establishment was broken up.

At the dissolution of Parliament, in 1820, Mr. Hunt offered himself as a candidate for the representation of Preston, opposing Horrocks, Hornby, and Williams, the two former being in the conservative interest. After a struggle, maintained with a considerable degree of acrimony on all sides, at the final close of the poll the numbers were, Horrocks 1527, Hornby 1338, Williams, 1380. Hunt 1043.

The 30th of October 1822, was the day of Mr. Hunt's liberation from the Ilchester bastile, and on the preceding day Sir Charles Wolesley, and Mr. Northmore arrived at Ilchester having voluntarily offered themselves as bail for Mr. Hunt,



having previously entered into their own recognizances in £500 each, and himself in £1000 as a security for his good behaviour for five years. The following is Mr. Hunt's own account which took place on the occasion of his liberation.

By the middle of the day my friends, Cousens of Heytesbury, Mr. Oliver Hayward, Mr. Perrott, and others, arrived together with two gentlemen from the *Times* and *Morning Herald* London newspapers, who came down to Ilchester, a distance of 127 miles, in order to report the proceedings. In the evening, friends arrived from Rochdale in Lancashire, from Bath, Frome, Devizes, and other places at a distance, so that the little town of Ilchester was so crowded, that a bed could not be obtained at any of the inns. The dirty Justices and petty-fogging attorneys, their diabolical and time-serving agents, foiled in their manifold attempts to destroy me while I was within their power, and, writhing with agony at the thoughts of my release, had devil-like, been setting their heads together, in order, if possible, to damp the general joy that pervaded every honest and humane breast, in anticipation of the day of my liberation. These attempts had been communicated to me, and although they excited the fears of my family, and gave pain to my friends, yet they elicited no other feelings in my breast than those of pity for their weakness, and the most sovereign contempt for their impotent malice. However, as they could effect nothing real that would serve their purpose, they resorted to the most cowardly, wanton, and diabolical falsehoods, which they fabricated and propagated with the most industrious perseverance, by all manner of reports, calculated to annoy my friends, and to deter the people from coming to Ilchester, to testify their abhorrence of that system which had consigned me to a dungeon, for such a lengthened period; and their execration of those dirty minions of power, who had inflicted every species of torture and privations upon me, during that time, in order to heighten the punishment which the ministers of the crown had intended to inflict upon me.

The first thing communicated to me was, that the brother of the amiable and venerable Judge Best had asserted at Yeovil



market, that he had it from the highest authority that the government had issued a Secretary of State's warrant to have me apprehended the moment I left the gaol, and that the worthy Somersetshire yeomanry were to be ready upon the spot to cut me and the people to pieces, if there was any show of resistance, or any of the slightest disapprobation evinced. The next report was, that the Secretary of State had given orders that I was to be turned out of the goal at twelve o'clock at night, the hour at which my imprisonment expired; these and many other reports were industriously circulated, in order to deter the people of the neighbouring villages and towns from coming into Ilchester to welcome me on the morning of my liberation; but as these appeared likely to fail of their intended effect, a last expiring effort was made by some of the blackest tools of the blackest agents of the system, some worthy gentlemen of the law. It was communicated in a very *confidential* way to some of my friends, that a *detainer* was to be lodged against me in the gaol for some pretended debt that I owed to somebody, and that this would be done late at night on the 29th, so that it would be necessary to send to Wells to the under sheriff, in the morning, a distance of eighteen miles, before I could procure my liberation, even by payment of the said debt. This was said to be done avowedly to delay the period of my liberation several hours after the time fixed upon. It was expected that this would create a sensation amongst the assembled multitude, which some government or magisterial emissaries were to heighten into violence, upon which the body-guard of the boroughmongers, the yeomanry cavalry, were to have a treat *a la Manchester*, and cut the people to pieces. All this was to be communicated to me in confidence, and the surgeon of the town was fixed upon as the dupe to convey it *privately* to me as if coming as a hint from a friend. These little dirty acts as a matter of course, annoyed my friends, and precautions were taken to meet and overcome the difficulties in case any such should occur. In the mean time, Mr. Hardy the keeper, conducted himself, as he had always done, with the strictest propriety. He came down to my room in the evening, and



addressed me in the presence of Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Northmore, and other friends, as follows :—

“ Sir, when the prison clock strikes *twelve* you are no longer my prisoner, and if you wish it, the doors of the prison shall be thrown open to you, but if you wish to remain till the morning, you are at perfect liberty to do so, although after twelve o'clock you will no longer consider yourself my prisoner. I have heard of the foolish and malignant reports about *detainers, arrests, &c.* of the truth of which I do not believe one word. If any such should be lodged against you before the doors of the prison are closed for the night, you shall have the earliest intimation ; but at *twelve o'clock* you are perfectly free from my controul, and after that hour I shall receive no detainer against you ; at any rate, I shall not act upon any such so as to detain you one moment.” Nothing could be more fair and honourable than this, and it was perfectly consistent with Mr. Hardy's conduct during the whole time that I was under his care. I thanked him for his civility, and told him that I did not fear any detainer or any creditor that I was unable to discharge his demand, and that I would sleep in my dungeon bed once more, and leave the goal in the morning. At twelve o'clock I retired to rest for the 898th night in Ilchester Bastile. The moment the clock began to strike, I heard the cannon roaring from my friend Oliver Hayward's battery, at Mudford ; this was a signal for the bonfires to be lighted upon the surrounding heights, and the rockets ascended from Ilchester. In the midst of these rejoicings and flattering testimonies of respect, I dropped into as sound and as sweet a sleep as ever was enjoyed by the most happy and contented being upon the face of the earth, and without the slightest interruption I slept till the clock struck seven, and I heard for the last time the door of my dungeon *unlocked*. The morn was lowering, but it soon began to clear up, and before I was dressed, my worthy friends, Wolseley and Northmore, with my son, were admitted to congratulate me on the arrival of the long-expected hour, which, by the bye, no man in England anticipated with more calmness and patience than did the captive himself. A little



before nine we took leave of Mr. Hardy and his amiable family, and, accompanied by these excellent friends, I stepped from the threshold of the Bastile into a barouche, that was standing at the door to receive me, amidst the spontaneous cheers and blessings of thousands of my fellow-countrymen and women. The horses had been removed and the carriage was drawn to the inn by those who had suffered persecution within the walls of the Bastile, headed by the venerable Charles Hill, the original captive who had been persecuted there for sixteen years. The shouts of the people made the old rotten walls of the Bastile shake again.

Mr. Hunt wore over his ordinary dress an elegant Argyle tartan cloak, presented to him by the reformers of Greenock; he was also decorated with the gold chain and medal, presented by the female reformers of Leeds. By the time the procession reached the Inn, a large body of farmers, and well-dressed people, had arrived at Ilchester, and gave that dull town an unusual bustle. At the door, Mr. Hunt stood up in his barouche, and addressed the people present, thanking them for the warm greeting they had given him, on his escape from his dungeon, and assuring them he was the same man as before his incarceration, no way daunted by his sufferings, but prepared to endure all the sacrifices to which his unabated efforts in his country's cause might subject him. Alluding to the agricultural distress, he said,—The object of the present government is to set the labourer against the farmer; their object is to get the landlord to screw the last shilling in the shape of rent, to make the farmer turn against the labourer, and for each class to press the other to the ground. I would caution both the labourer and the farmer against the consequence of such mutual discord—it is both of your interests to resist this snare, and you can effectually do so by taking one course, and only one; which is to join the manufacturing interests in seeking a reform in the representation of all Englishmen. (*Cheers.*) So long as you will play into the hands of the present government and permit them to divide you and set one class against another, just so long will you continue a ruinous career, and enable the govern-



ment to plunder you of sixty millions of taxes, while you yourselves can hardly get four shillings a bushel for your wheat. (*Hear.*)

The public breakfast then took place, to which seventy-nine persons sat down. When the cloth was removed, some ladies entered the room, and Mr. Hunt called out to have way made for them, and he shook hands with the visitors, observing, "You are come to see the lion, who is just out of his cage, and just as ready however to devour his enemies." He then said that he had no master of the ceremonies, and any gentleman who wished to be introduced to him, must come up like an Englishman, and let him take him by the hand. Mr. Hunt then walked round the tables, and was saluted by all present. He then reverted to his old plan of adding to the cordiality of the meeting by proposing three cheers, which were heartily given in the room, and reiterated from without.

"Nothing could be more grateful to my feelings," says Mr. Hunt, "than this testimony of respect shown to me by such a respectable body of my countrymen, and nothing could testify the feelings of the people of Somerset in a more decisive manner. The beautiful silver *flagon and salver* value one hundred and ten pounds, purchased by the people of Somerset to be presented to me, was then introduced and exhibited to the company. I should be doing an injustice to the people of Somerset if I did not here insert the following inscriptions, elegantly engraven on these handsome and massy pieces of plate.

Upon the Flagon, headed with my Crest:

A TALBOT.

TO THE PATRIOT,

HENRY HUNT, ESQUIRE.

The Inflexible, the Persevering, the Undaunted Champion  
Of the RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES of his FELLOW-MEN,

THIS FLAGON IS PRESENTED

BY THE PEOPLE OF SOMERSET, ON THE

THIRTIETH OF OCTOBER, 1822,



*The joyful Day of his Liberation from a Cruel and Unjust Incarceration of*

**TWO YEARS AND SIX MONTHS**

*In the County Gaol at Ilchester, since appropriately named*  
**ILCHESTER BASTILE.**

**AS A GRATEFUL MEMORIAL**

*Of the just sense they entertain of his unparalleled  
and successful Exertions*

**In the cause of Humanity and Freedom :**

**EXERTIONS WHICH BROUGHT TO LIGHT THE MOST FIEND-LIKE  
PRACTICES,**

**And the most diabolical acts of Persecution and Torture,  
Together with the most Wanton and Wasteful Expenditure of the  
COUNTY MONEY,**

**Long sanctioned by the gross negligence of those whose duty it  
was to have protected the Prisoners from**

**CRUELTY AND OPPRESSION,**

**AND THE RATE-PAYERS OF THE COUNTY FROM  
PLUNDER.**

**OLIVER HAYWARD, Mudford,**

**HENRY CRESWELL, Creech St. Michael,**

**THOMAS PERBOTT, Middlezoy**

} **COMMITTEE.**

**Inscription on the Salver :**

**A TALBOT.**

**TO THE**

**PATRIOTIC FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE,**

**HENRY HUNT, ESQUIRE,**

**This Salver belonging to and accompanying the Flagon,  
Is presented by the undersigned Committee, on behalf of the  
PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET,  
On the Thirtieth Day of October, 1822, the Day of his Liberation from  
ILCHESTER BASTILE.**

**On it they proudly record their just abhorrence of the  
CRUEL, VINDICTIVE, AND OPPRESSIVE SENTENCE,**

**Which consigned him to a Dungeon for  
TWO YEARS AND SIX MONTHS:**



To which unjust Incarceration was superadded,  
 By THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES,  
 RESTRICTIONS,  
 At which Humanity shuddered; the sympathies of the people  
 were aroused;  
 At the shout of their indignant voice,  
 The inmost door of the Dungeon flew open,  
 Injustice and oppression fell baffled to the Earth.  
 THE GAOLER  
 Was dismissed, disgraced and brought to justice !  
 HIS ABBETTERS AND SUPPORTERS  
 Hid their Heads abashed and confounded !!  
 THE GAOL  
 Was ordered to be raised to the ground !!!  
 AND SOMERSET  
 REDEEMED HER CHARACTER ! ! ! !

OLIVER HAYWARD, Mudford.

HENRY CRESSWELL, Creech St. Michael,

THOMAS PERROTT, Middlezoy,

} COMMITTEE

This piece of plate weighs about one hundred and fifty ounces, and for its size, is equal in beauty and workmanship to any thing of the sort ever seen."

On the suggestion of Mr. Hunt, a requisition was signed on the spot for a county meeting in Somerset, to petition for reform and redress of grievances. Mr. Northmore then delivered a speech abounding in humour and ability; and after another address from Mr. Hunt, the procession moved forward from Ilchester, with banners and music, preceded by a large cavalcade of yeomanry and farmers, and cheered enthusiastically by the increasing multitude. A number of well-dressed females occupied stations on the road, to view the ceremony. After being drawn through Somerton by the people, Mr. Hunt reached Glastonbury about four o'clock in the afternoon, at which time, the elevated positions were crowded with seven or eight thousand spectators, notwithstanding the occasional showers. As the procession entered, the people



again drawing the barouche,—the bells rang a merry peal. The Mayor had been swearing in *special constables*, thus affording a chance, where, as every body felt, none otherwise existed of disturbance; but the amiable design was abortive. Mr. Hunt, in returning thanks, said *he* was now going to swear in *his* constables, and would keep the peace, whether the Mayor did or no.

At five o' clock, Mr. Hunt held his Court Leet, in one of the rooms of the George Inn, as Lord of the hundred of Glaston and Lordship of Glastonbury: when two high-constables for Glastonbury, and thirteen tithing men, were sworn in. In his charge to the constables, Mr. Hunt said, he felt it his duty, acting in the name and on the behalf of the king, to address them on the subject of their offices. As it was the king's duty to protect the people, a ~~duty~~ which his majesty had sworn faithfully to perform at the coronation, so it was theirs to use the most humane and considerate care in executing warrants. He, who had so fresh a knowledge of what imprisonment was, must naturally have a considerate feeling for a prisoner. All that a constable had to do, was to take care of a prisoner's safe custody, and to detain him to abide the due course of law. "I charge you also," continued the Lord of the Manor, "when you recollect the extensive nature of the ploughed hides of this manor, and the number of juries you will have to empanel under the precept of the sheriff, that you are the persons, who are to select the jurors; the sheriff has nothing to do with the selection. I charge you to make it with entire impartiality, and select for the trial of others, those fair and honourable characters by whom you would yourself wish to abide in an hour of trial. (*Loud applause and cries of 'huzza Hunt.'*) Your Lord," said Mr. Hunt in conclusion, "is this day at liberty, and if on such an occasion you are disposed to rejoice, be merry and wise, recollect that you are this day the legal keepers of the peace, and if there be any irregularity, high or low, which you should be bound to notice, treat not the party like a brute or slave, and



use any person in custody, should such unfortunately be, with consideration and humanity." (*Loud applause.*)

After the business of the court, Mr. Hunt then proceeded, with some formalities, to put Mr. Northmore in possession of a small tract of ground near the abbey, by which he acquired a freehold of the county, and became competent to be a candidate (as was intended) to represent the county. The company at six o'clock sat down to a good dinner, Mr. Northmore in the chair; after which patriotic toasts were drank, and some good speeches delivered, till eleven o'clock, when the principal persons retired amid great applause.

I had been invited to a public dinner," says Mr. Hunt "to be given upon my liberation at the London Tavern, on the 11th of November; I had also been solicited to enter the metropolis publicly both these invitations I had accepted: however, it was ultimately decided to give up the dinner at the London Tavern, and to have it at the Eagle Tavern, in the City Road, for two reasons; first, because that the London was considered too expensive for the mechanics to dine at; and next, because in going to the Eagle Tavern, the procession would pass quite through the metropolis, from one end to the other. This arrangement was perfectly satisfactory to me; and on Sunday, the 10th of November, I slept at Hounslow, on my way to Knightsbridge, where I had promised to meet the people on the Monday morning at ten o'clock. About that time I arrived there in a post-chaise, accompanied by my son, where I was received by the people of the metropolis in a manner which was most flattering and grateful to my feelings. The committee of the useful classes had prepared a barouche drawn by six horses, into which they conducted me and my son; and after having received an address of congratulation and welcome from Mr. Gast, who was deputed by the committee to deliver it to me, and I had shortly replied, the procession moved forward, and I once more publicly entered the metropolis of England, after an absence of two years and a half, amidst the deafening cheers of the people. When we left Hounslow, the fog was so dense that we could scarcely see across the road; but



before we reached Kensington, the day was as clear and as mild as any day in May. Heaven and all nature appeared to welcome me with smiles and cheers: never did mortal man receive more spontaneous and unbought homage than Henry Hunt received from his fellow-men on the 11th of November, 1822. The whole active part of the population of the metropolis appeared to have turned out to greet me on that day. The multitude consisted of one solid mass from Knightsbridge to the City-road; and in passing that distance, I may fairly calculate that half a million of my fellow-countrymen and fellow-countrywomen welcomed me into the metropolis. In Finsbury-square, where the greatest multitude were assembled, I can honestly say that they did not amount in that one place to less than one hundred thousand persons. Such an honour was never paid to any other individual in England. There never lived an emperor, a king, a prince, a conqueror, a hero, a patriot, or a man, in any age or country, that would not have felt himself highly honoured and gratified by such a reception, and by such marks of respect from his fellow-creatures as was given to and conferred upon Henry Hunt on that day. What were the feelings of Henry Hunt on the occasion, may be much easier conceived by others than it is possible for him to describe. The observations and falsehoods of some of the dirty editors of some few of the London newspapers, excited by the envy, the hatred, and the malice of the base and unprincipled men who for hire fill that situation, are far too contemptible for me to notice. I have heard, for I never see the paper, that one unprincipled and abandoned villain, who writes for hire in an evening paper, which professes to support liberal principles and almost exclusive patriotism, had the unblushing folly to expose his raging envy and malice, by saying, that "they understood Mr. Hunt was so dissatisfied with his reception in London, that he intended to go into the country on purpose to make another entry," &c. When a person gives way to envy, malice, and lying, how weak and contemptible even a sensible man becomes. When we arrived at the Eagle Tavern, the crowd was so great that it was nearly a quarter of an hour be-



fore the carriage could be drawn up to the door. The great room, in which a dinner had been ordered for about 280 persons, the full number it was supposed to be capable of containing, was crammed, it was said, by nearly 400; and after every room in the house was filled, even to cramming, many hundreds retired disappointed for want of room. If the largest room in London had been engaged, or in fact, one that would have held 1,000 people to dine, it would have been overfilled: and yet some were fools enough to discover their own chagrin and mortification by saying, that Mr. Hunt was dissatisfied with his reception. Mr. Parkins, the late sheriff, was called to the chair, and he was supported by Mr. Wooler, Mr. Gale Jones, Mr. Birt, Mr. Galloway, Mr. Fulham, Mr. Goodman, of Warwick, and gentlemen from all parts of the country. My worthy friend Sir Charles Wolesley, had engaged to be present, and had in fact promised to meet me at Kensington to have accompanied me through the city, but he was unfortunately detained in the country by an accident that befel Lady Wolesley on the Thursday previous, which unavoidably detained him at home.

After we had retired from the dining table, Mr. Wooler, myself, and a few friends took some tea in a private room; amongst the number was Mr. Harmer. Soon after we were seated he was called out of the room, and when he returned, he informed me that a Mr. Becket, a magistrate, was waiting in the house, and wished to know whether I slept there; and if not, where I slept, as he had orders to communicate to the Secretary of State what hour I left and where I intended to sleep that night. Of course I did not condescend to gratify either the worthy magistrate or the worthy Secretary of State, although I have thought since whether the venerable and upright judges of the Court of King's Bench might not, upon application, rule that I had forfeited my recognizance, by deciding that this was not good behaviour. What fools these fellows are. I had forgotten to mention that the efforts of all the factions in London were united to prevent my public entry into London; and when they found they could not prevent it,



they exerted every nerve to prevent the people from coming out to meet me ; but all would not do.

“ I slept at my lodging over Blackfriars Bridge, near my ‘ROASTED GRAIN MANUFACTORY,’ where I found that my attendance had become absolutely necessary to prevent the utter ruin of the little remaining property that I possess.”

As it might naturally be supposed, Mr. Hunt appeared for a time to be sickened with politics, his incarceration for two years and a half, and the heavy recognizances with which he and his friends were bound, had taught him the salutary lesson that self-preservation is the first duty of man, and he therefore for a time retired from the political world, to the surprise of many, and the gratification of still more, who saw in his attempts at reform, nothing less than the subversion of the constitution of the country.

To the inquiries of the reformers respecting his conduct. Mr. Hunt thus replies:—

“ It has, I understand, been asked, “ *What is Mr. Hunt about ?* ” He begs deliberately to make this answer to the inquisitive, whether friend or foe—He is assiduously and perseveringly attending to his own *private concerns*, from which he has been forcibly abstracted for the last *two years and a half*, for having advocated the *public* rights and liberties of the people ; but at the same time he begs it to be understood, that although he is, he hopes, most justifiably attending to his *own private affairs*, yet he is as resolutely as ever determined in no instance to abandon his public duty. Should the people of England, Scotland. or Ireland think that Henry Hunt is capable of serving them, and they will give him a fair opportunity to make the attempt, their call shall not be made in vain.

In August 1830, Mr. Hunt again stood for the representation of the town of Preston, and the candidates were of the three political denominations ; Mr. Wood being in the Tory interest, Mr. Stanley in the Whig, and Mr. Hunt in the radical. The aspect in regard to the Whig interest was so unfavourable, that a very general and confident opinion prevailed, that in the event of Mr. Hunt making his appearance, Mr. Stanley would



be thrown out. To confirm this impression Mr. Hunt did arrive, amidst the shouts and acclamations of five thousand voters, and great was the consternation which the event occasioned. Mr. Stanley's friends were much alarmed at the probable consequence, and it was not until the most anxious appeals were made to the Tories, that the tide of Mr. Hunt's success was stopped. At the close of the poll the numbers were for Mr. Stanley 2996. Mr. Wood 2389. and Mr. Hunt 1308.

In December of the same year, Mr. Stanley was appointed to the office of chief secretary for Ireland, which obliged him to vacate his seat for Preston, and a new writ was accordingly moved. The nomination took place on the 14th, when Mr. Shawe proposed Mr. Stanley as a suitable person to represent the town of Preston in Parliament, and Mr. John Irvine proposed Mr. Hunt. A letter was sent to the latter announcing the intention of the electors to put him in nomination, to which he replied, that he had no hope of being returned, but promised that if the electors of Preston should place him at the head of the poll on the first day, he would come down to them as quickly as horses could carry him. At the commencement of the Preston election, Mr. Hunt was in Somersetshire, and he did not arrive in Preston until 3500 of the electors had voted for him, and his election actually secured. After a hard contest Mr. Stanley resigned, leaving Mr. Hunt in a majority of between 3 and 400.

Mr. Hunt did not remain long in Preston after the election but set off for London, it being determined that his entry into the city should be public.

The place appointed for the gathering was Islington-green, in front of the house bearing the cognizance of the Painted Lion; and here there assembled about four thousand people;—the majority certainly not representing either the property or the intellect of the metropolis; but, as it were, a small modicum of its unemployed physical force. Among them were the Society of Sawyers, with their banners; and there were also about a dozen other persons bearing banners supplied by the



- processional committee, or rather small flags of white linen or calico, on which were painted, in black letters, these mottoes following:—"Hunt, the man of the people;" "Hunt and Reform;" "Imitate the 3,730 electors of Preston;" and "Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the people delight to honour."

The placard-assembled crowd waited very patiently from 11 o'clock in the forenoon until nearly one in the afternoon, at which time there arose a loud cry of "Hunt! Hunt!" and the honorable member immediately came forward from the room where he was resting, and standing on a chair in the balcony, thus addressed them:—

"Good men are scarce, they say, and good members of parliament are scarcer—(cheers and laughter); therefore, my worthy friends, I shall take care of myself for your sakes. I have had a pretty tough job just now in the north, and I shall have a much tougher job at Westminster. (Cheers and laughter.) I am flattered and gratified to see the large proportion of the inhabitants of this metropolis who are here assembled to do justice this day to the brave men of Preston. (Cheers.) Your attendance here to-day I estimate highly, because it convinces me that you are ready to act in unison with the brave men of Preston who have had courage and honesty to elect a man as their representative who they think will undertake something for the good of the people. If I have the support of the whole people of England, as I have had that of the people of Preston—although I know what an Herculean task I am about to undertake—still I will try what one man can do in that house. I have more than a hundred times publicly said "Send me to the House of Commons, and you shall see what I will try to do there." And do you think I shall take a different course from that, now I am placed in a situation to go there? (Cries of No, and cheers.) No, although I anticipate the labor of a dray-horse, still I feel now as I did before I was elected; and I tell you honestly and fairly that I have never uttered a syllable out of that house that I shall not repeat within it." (Cheers.) The hon. member then went on to assure



them he would “move at once for a repeal of the accursed Corn Laws?” that he knew the set he was going to meet; and what he had to expect when he got among them, but he did not tremble at the prospect. He knew how to look honest men in the face, and he knew how to look thieves in the face. (Loud and continued cheers.) If he were supported by the whole people of England, he had honesty and zeal, and increased resolution to endeavour to serve them effectually; and all he asked was, that Heaven would grant him health and strength to carry his resolution into effect. The hon. member then admonished them to take care of their pockets, as there were rascally pickpockets among them, some of whom had been exercising their dexterity upon the pocket of his friend, Mr. Mitchel; and, his admonition ended, he proposed “three cheers for the men of Preston.” The three cheers were given heartily, the hon. member himself keeping time; and Mr. Mitchel having returned thanks on behalf of the Preston men, the procession set forward in the following order:—

The Society of Sawyers.

Mr. Hunt, and his friend Mr. Mitchel, in an open  
barouche and four.

The Preston white flags

Two other open barouches, with the Processional  
Committee.

Four horsemen, two and two.

Two persons in a gig.

Mr. Hunt's van, packed full of standing people, with crimson cockades in their hats;—the said van being inscribed, in large letters, “Hunt's matchless blacking.”

Three or four bands of music interspersed, and the whole led by a pair of bugles on horseback; and “Thus was it done unto the man whom the people delight to honor.”

The direct way to Mr. Hunt's house, in Stamford-street, would have been down St. John-street, across Smithfield, and over Blackfriars-bridge; but, instead of taking the direct road, he went round by Finsbury, through the City, along the Strand



and by Whitehall, over Westminster-bridge —for the purpose as he said, of making his bow to the outside of the House of Commons *en passant*.

Shortly after his arrival at home he appeared at the window, and proceeded to address the people. He thanked them most kindly for the manner in which they had thus accompanied him through the cities of London and Westminster. One thing had this day been proved, which ought to go out to the world —namely, that the Duke of Wellington, the bravest of the brave, had been afraid to go through the City, but he (Mr. Hunt) was not. (Laughter and cheers.) There was this difference, however, between his visit and the intended visit of the King and the Duke of Wellington, that in the latter case the corporation of London had agreed to spend £10,000 of the poor citizens' money, to give these great people a guttle and a guzzle. (Laughter.) He dared to say that the "paraphernalia" of that feast would not cost less. (Here there was a cry of "police.") What is the matter? asked Mr. Hunt. (Some of the crowd called out that a thief was taken.) A thief (continued he); now that you have got hold of one who is imitating government, take care of him. (Laughter.) Do you take care of the little pickpockets, and I'll look after the great ones. (Laughter.) He went on to observe, that the Duke of Wellington refrained from going into the City for fear of some disturbance. Now they had that day proceeded through the whole City without the assistance of the military, or the police, and yet not a single accident had occurred. If, however, the duke had attempted to go through there would perhaps have been a disturbance. It was ten to one but that some lives would have been lost. Three different times had he been publicly conducted through the metropolis. (Cheers.) And why was this? Because he stood alone; because he acted on his own honest views, and would not be guided by any other man. (Cheers.) On what occasions was this honour conferred on him? The first was, when he came from Manchester, after the bloody murders of St. Peter's-field (cheers,) because he



had escaped from the blood-thirsty. (Cheers.) For the part he took there he was sentenced to two years and a half imprisonment in Ilchester goal. (Shame, shame.) When his imprisonment had expired, the brave sawyers and the people of the metropolis came out to meet him, because they felt that he was a persecuted man on account of his anxious desire to forward their interests. (Cheers.) And the people now again, conducted him into town, because, since he had been elected a member of parliament, he had looked into himself, and found that he was just the same unflinching, uncompromising man as he had showed himself to be, during a twenty-five years' struggle in the cause of the people. (Cheers.) He had made no one promise before he came into parliament, that he would not sedulously endeavour to redeem. (Cheers.) Mr. Hunt then went over precisely the same line of observations which he had made at Islington, as to the necessity, in order that he might be really useful in the House of Commons, of his being strongly supported by the people of England. He would maintain, that for the last fifteen or sixteen years, the laws made by that house were intended to take from the pockets of the industrious poor, in order to swell the hoards of the unproductive rich. He again adverted to the corn laws, which he described as reducing millions to poverty, and declared his firm intention of calling for a repeal of those infamous laws. (Cheers.) If his motion were seconded, the people would then see who was for, and against them. (Cheers.) He did not know any Englishman who would second that proposition—but he believed he could find an Irishman who would do so. (Cheers.) He should be glad to know what the newspaper press of the metropolis was about when this great struggle was going on at Preston? It was perfectly silent on the subject. There were two papers printed at Preston, which even sent forth second and third editions relative to the election,—but these were not quoted in London,—Mr. Alexander Baring, the stock jobber, had gratuitously advertised his blacking in the House of Commons; but if he attempted to introduce that topic when they were face to face, he would make him as sick



of it as ever a dog was of eating scalding broth. (Laughter.) The editor of \* \* \* \* was mortified at the idea of Hunt's blackguards parading the city. But he was sure there were greater blackguards employed by him than any in the present meeting. That individual advised shopkeepers and others to keep their children and servants at home; and then, observed he, Hunt will be followed only by a few blackguards, who will be placed in their proper situation—the kennel. He, (Mr. Hunt) hoped, that if any of them met that person, they would give him a taste of the kennel. (We'll kennel him.) He declared it to be his intention to bring under the notice of parliament the recent proceedings under the special commission in Hampshire and Wiltshire, where the peasantry had been driven to outrage and were then visited with the severest penalty of the law. Mr. Hunt again thanked the assembly for the manner in which they had treated him and having proposed a vote of thanks to the electors of Preston, and nine cheers to the same body, both of which were carried, he retired.

Mr. Hunt was now in Parliament, and the first attack he had to sustain, was from Cobbett, who could not endure the idea of Mr. Hunt being returned for the very place which but a short time before had been so blind to their own interests, as Mr. Cobbett expresses himself, as to reject him as their member. In every Register which appeared, Cobbett took an opportunity of defaming the character of Mr. Hunt, when the latter in his third address to the radical reformers of England &c., retorts upon Mr. Cobbett in the following virulent strain.

I have known this cowardly being since the year 1802, the period when he had just fled to America, to escape being—I knew him when he was prosecuted for a libel by the government relating to flogging the local militia men in the Isle of Ely, when to save his carcase from improvement, he made the abject submission to those in power, offering the government never to write another line against them, and to give up the publishing of the Register, if they would not bring him up for judgment. When he was sentenced to two years imprisonment



in Newgate. I devoted full one year of that time in visiting him and performing all sorts of kind and friendly acts towards him, for which as the letter now in my possession will shew, he professed to be at the time very grateful. But when I was sentenced to pass two years and two months in Ilchester Bastile, how did he repay my kindness? why so far from ever visiting me, he coward-like took, every opportunity of abusing and vilifying me in his lying Register. I knew him in 1816 when the reform delegates were in London, at a meeting of those delegates he opposed universal Suffrage, and the Ballot although he had written a Register the week before in its favour: I knew him in 1817, when like-a dastardly coward he fled to America from his creditors, pretending that it was the six acts bill which drove him out of the country; I knew him on his return from America to England, when he was arrested at the Crown and Anchor the first day he appeared in public, Mr. Dolby and myself became his bail, and the way in which he rewarded the kindness was to endeavour to bilk his bail and leave Mr. Dolby to pay the amount. I knew all about his affair with the late John Reeves\* I knew all about the bill transaction with Mr. Clement his publisher, when he went to America and I know how in his own peculiar way he paid those bills, I know that Mr. Hinxman sent him out a great quantity of seeds to America, and I know they were never paid for. I know in what situation he left all the little shopkeepers and tradesmen at Botley when he fled to America, and I know how he paid them all off by an act of bankruptcy; when the creature lived in Hampshire, he wished to assist me at county meetings in Wiltshire, but he had no property in that county, I made him a present of a freehold, a carpenters shop and plot of ground, which let at three pounds ten shillings a year, When he became a bankrupt and never (that I could learn of) paid any dividend, he, I am told, never put the freehold in his schedule, therefore the tenant still holds the freehold

\* Mr Reeve of the Alien Office was the individual who managed the negotiation with Government, on the part of Cobbett, for the suppression of his Register. (See Cobbe's Life by the Author of this Work. Published by John Saunders, 25 Newgate Street.)



and pays no one, it is not his, he never conveyed it to his creditors, and therefore it is not theirs, and there stands the freehold, a jeer and a bye-word for every one that possess it ; ask the tenant whose property it is, and he replies, it is that old rascal Cobbett's ; I could write a volume of the fellow's infamies, read his Register if it amuse you, but put no trust in him he never wrote a line about himself and his family that was not false, at the same time that in his register he expressed his delight at my return for Preston, I received a letter by the same post not to believe a word of what he had written in that Register, for it was all hypocritical falsehood, adding that master (meaning the old ruffian) was raving about the room, tearing his hair and vowing vengeance against me, and d——g and blasting all the men and women of Preston as a set of ungrateful rogues and w——s, his envy, hatred and malice, were worked up to the highest pitch of frenzy imaginable, I was elected for a place, that had rejected him, that would have nothing to do with such a speculating bone grubber who offered for sale, Paine's hair in rings, when he knew that he had scarcely a sufficiency of that commodity in his possession to fill a single ring.

We will not follow the tirade of abuse and vilification any further, which was carried on by both parties to an extent at once disgraceful, to themselves, and injurious to the cause which they meant to serve.

Mr. Hunt took his seat in the House of Commons on Thursday the third of February, and the same day he presented two petitions, one from Thorne Falcon in Somersetshire, for a commutation of tithes, the diminution of taxation, particularly the duty on malt, the reduction of sinecures, and the total abolition of all places and pensions where no work is done, and lastly, that the whole of the people may be fairly represented in the House of Commons, and that in order to secure that object, the votes be taken by ballot.

Having read the prayer of his petition, Mr. Hunt expressed himself as follows, and from which a correct estimate may be formed of the line of conduct which he intended to pursue as



a member of Parliament on the great question of reform, which was then about to be brought forward.

"I know," said Mr. Hunt, "who have expressed themselves hostile to any extension of election which may effect the landed interest, but I, for one, am of opinion, that any measure for reform in Parliament, having for its object the protection of the landed interest which is so well protected already, will not be satisfactory to the country. My sentiments are pretty well known to the country, and therefore I have no hesitation in avowing myself a radical reformer. I have been a radical reformer ever since 1815, the period of the passing of the Corn Bill, since which period, I have constantly advocated the principle that every man has a right to vote for the election of representatives of the people. I have likewise been in favour of the ballot, which has now become so fashionable, and I know that there are many places in the North, that will pray not to have the curse of election at all, if they be not permitted to enjoy the protection of the ballot."

A short debate ensued on the presentation of this petition, in the course of which, Mr. Cutlar Ferguson alluded to the system of election adopted at Preston, which he openly avowed was not one that he expected, as bordering on universal suffrage. On Mr. Hunt, however, bringing up another petition from a district in Manchester praying for universal suffrage and vote by ballot, he entered into a justification of the mode of election adopted at Preston, and of his conduct during that election, which through a venal press, had been much misrepresented, and at the conclusion, he said, "that on the part of his constituents he disclaimed any hostility towards the ministry, and if they propose vote by ballot and an extensive suffrage, they shall have my support, but if they do not include those two objects in their measure of reform, they may as well abandon it altogether, for it will give no satisfaction to the country." Mr. Hunt then gave notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill for a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and to establish the importation and exportation of corn free of any duty or restraint.



On the question of the general fast, on which an argument ensued on the presentation of a petition from the members of the Fitzroy Episcopal Chapel, in London Street, Fitzroy Square, Mr. Hunt observed, "there is a notice on the paper by one honourable member for a general fast, and the honourable member, who presented the petition seems inclined to support that proposition. I would ask those honourable members, whether or not they are aware that one third of the population of this kingdom fasts almost every day in the year."

Mr. Perceval said, "I will answer that question by asking another, whether the honourable member is aware who is the giver of all blessings and the dispenser of all mercies?" Mr. Hunt replied, "I am perfectly aware of the object of the honourable member in putting such a question to me. I am aware who is the giver of all goodness, but I am also aware that the honourable member and other members of this House, who take from the poor, deprive them of the benefit, which the Almighty intended for them."

On the 8th of February, Mr. Hunt brought forward his important motion. "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to grant a general pardon and amnesty to those unfortunate agricultural and other labourers who had been tried and convicted at the late special commissions."

To show, however, the sense which the House entertained of this motion, it must be stated, that, with the exception of Mr. Hume, who seconded it, not another member could be found to support it, and when Mr. Hume rose for the purpose of inducing Mr. Hunt to withdraw his motion, rather than be left in a most miserable minority, he would not allow of the motion being withdrawn, but that it should be pressed to division; the latter after a very protracted debate was adopted, when the numbers were—for the motion 2, against it 269!! Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hume, the mover and seconder, formed the minority.\* Mr. Hunt was equally unsuccessful in his motion

\* Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hume for some time afterwards enjoyed in the House of Commons the soubriquet of No. 2.



for a copy of the regulations in the ' goal at Fisherton, and whether the written defence of Lush did or did not come into the hands of the gaoler. Mr. Hunt on this occasion withdrew his motion, considering that he had in some measure gained his point by drawing the attention of his majesty's government to the state of the county gaols.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Hunt presented three petitions two, of which did not contribute by any means to elevate his character in the opinion of the House of Commons, nor with the public at large. The first petition was from the inhabitants and working classes of Coleford in the forest of Dean, against the practice of paying labourer's wages by goods. The second petition was from an assembly of persons held at the celebrated or rather notorious Rotunda in Blackfriars Road, praying the House to address the king for a general pardon and amnesty to those convicted under the special commissions. Mr. Hunt adverting to his former motion on that subject, only moved that the petition do lie on the table, but he afterwards stated that he disavowed any connection with the petitioners, namely, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Carlile, Mr. Jones or Mr. Taylor, or any other of the persons, who lecture for money at the Rotunda, and further, he threw himself upon the protection of the House, in consequence of some threats of violence, which had been made by one of the parties assembling there, closing his remarks with stating that if the House would not protect him, he knew how to protect himself.

The third petition was from Southampton, the sentiments of which Mr. Hunt considered as well worthy the attention of the house. The petitioners in the first place disowned any connexion with a petition presented from Southampton, praying for a general fast, for they alleged that they had had quite fasting enough. The petitioners prays that the House will, instead of addressing the crown for a day of general fasting, after having effected a large reduction of the taxes which oppress the people, and after having passed an efficient bill of re-



form, address his majesty for a general feast and jubilee to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom.

The presentation of this petition occasioned a general laugh in the House, Mr. Hunt alone preserving a grave and solemn countenance. It was a subject, he said, not to be laughed at, and he was certain there was not a member in the House, who would laugh, if he had a good appetite and nothing to eat.

On the same day, Mr. Hunt delivered his sentiments on various subjects, the House being in a committee of supply; but a strong conviction must by this time have been impressed on his mind, that the House was by no means in a disposition to pay any attention to his speeches, or to consider them of any importance in the way of imparting information, or throwing any new or peculiar light upon the subjects under discussion. He frequently was interrupted by the coughing of the members and the cries of question, question, and the former having been carried to what, Mr. Hunt considered an unjustifiable extent, he said, "If honourable members hope to cough me down, they are mistaken, I will wait. If gentlemen persist in interrupting me, I will move the adjournment of the House immediately, and Mr. Speaker, I do now move, as the House will not hear me, that this House do now adjourn. Mr. Warburton seconded the motion. In deference, however, to the feeling of the House, Mr. Hunt withdrew his motion, and although he was invited by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to resume his speech, he declined again to address the House.

When Mr. Perceval brought forward the question of an address to his majesty, praying to appoint a general fast, Mr. Hunt rose and moved an adjournment of the House. Not a single member, however, would second his motion, and Mr. Hunt resumed his seat, saying "I have kept my word, and I have done."

On the 21st, when the House was in a committee of supply, Mr. Hunt again received the most uncourteous behaviour from the members, who continually annoyed him during his speech by the cries of question, question, on which Mr. Hunt said,







LORD JOHN RUSSELL.



if gentlemen are anxious to go home, they are at full liberty to do so, as soon as the clock strikes twelve, I shall move the adjournment; I am reminded that the clock in this House does not strike, never mind, as soon it moves to twelve, I shall move the adjournment, but I have a great deal more to say yet." This announcement was received with reiterated cries of question, question, but Mr. Hunt was not to be put down, and concluded by moving an amendment that the army instead of being increased from 81,000 to 88,000 be reduced to 71,000. On this amendment Mr. Hunt divided the House, when there appeared, for it 6, against it 250.

On the first of March, Lord John Russell brought in his bill for the reform in Parliament, and as the whole of the proceedings on that most important measure are before the public, we shall content ourselves with giving Mr. Hunt's speech on that occasion, especially as some parts of it exposed him to the animadversions of his constituents, on the ground, that he should have given his unqualified support to the ministers, and not have coupled with it the subjects of universal suffrage and ballot, as it was better to take the boon that was offered with its deficiencies, rather than lose it altogether by a division on a subject which might be left open to future discussion.

SIR,—I rose several times last night in the hope of catching the Speaker's eye, but I was not lucky enough to succeed. I have two reasons for wishing to obtrude myself thus early on the attention of the House;—first, because I have been for the last ten days labouring under indisposition, and I am afraid I shall not be able to deliver my sentiments late in the debate, and secondly, because I do not anticipate that I shall learn any thing new from the eloquent speeches of Honourable Members on either side of the House, about this great question of Reform, to the consideration of which I have devoted a great portion of my life. I have hitherto listened to what has fallen from Honourable Members, attentively and acutely—aye most acutely—and particularly to the statement of the Noble Lord opposite, the Paymaster of the Forces; and I have no hesitation in saying that the measure brought forward by the Noble Lord has gone *far beyond what I anticipated*. I have been alluded to personally



several times during the present debate; and having taken so prominent a part out of doors with respect to the question of Reform, I am sure that I shall not be considered presumptuous, if I now sincerely and honestly declare my sentiments in this House. I shall do so the more unequivocally, because I am convinced that the observations I am about to make will express the voice of MILLIONS. (*Hear, hear.*)

I acknowledge that the measure of Government now proposed by the Noble Lord, goes beyond my expectations. And I confess that I did not think that Ministers would have been able to have gone so far as they have done. I am sorry, however, that he has not mentioned one topic in the course of his speech, namely, the period for the *duration* of Parliaments. I also regret that the Noble Lord, in explaining the measure to the House, has so unequivocally expressed his opinion against the ballot and universal suffrage. The Noble Lord wishes, it seems, to steer a middle course between the two contending parties—that which desires no reform, and that which is anxious for a more extensive, and, what the Noble Lord has chosen to designate, a visionary reform. I sincerely hope that the Noble Lord will not verify the old adage, that between two stools a man is likely to come to the ground. The Honourable and Learned Member for Newport has declared himself against any reform whatever, and has called upon the House to adopt his views. The Honourable and Learned Member, in the first place, accuses the Noble Lord opposite of going too far, and says that he is opposed to all reform. And then in the latter part of his speech, as if for the purpose of currying favour with such reformers as I am, declares that the Noble Lord has not gone far enough to satisfy the wishes of the people. I shall not take the trouble to refute the Honourable and Learned Gentleman's arguments, because the latter part of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman's speech completely answers the former part. I have listened to the speech of the Honourable Member for Gatton, who has boldly expressed himself opposed to reform; and having heard the Honourable Member cheered by his side of the House, I shall assume that the sentiments of the Honourable Member are the same, as are entertained by his side of the House; and as the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne has been cheered by the other side, I assume for the sake of argument, that that Honourable and Learned Gentleman represents the feelings of his side of the House.



"The Honourable and Learned Gentleman unequivocally declared himself against universal suffrage; and his reason for supporting the measure of the Noble Lord opposite was, that it admitted the middle classes, who would join the higher orders to exclude the lower classes from the elective franchise. I am sorry that such an opinion should have been expressed, if this measure is intended for the purpose of conciliation. If the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had any real and honest intention to conciliate the people, would he have spoken of them in the manner he has done? I would have asked the Honourable and Learned Member, had he not left the House, whether, when he called the people *a rabble*, and unfit to be trusted with the elective franchise, he was willing to exempt that rabble from *paying taxes and serving in the militia*? because if he did, then, and then only, would there be any sense in his observations. My opinions are well known to the country. I have fearlessly and manfully advocated the rights of the people; and I should be unworthy a seat in this House, if, on an occasion like the present, I did not advocate the same sentiments here, that I have always done out of the House; *I have always contended for the right of every one to have a share in the elective franchise*, because, I have been taught to believe that the constitution of England admits of this principle—that representation and taxation go hand in hand, and that no man ought to be called upon to pay taxes, unless he has a share in the representation. Am I to be told, that the people, who have fought the battles of the country—the lower orders, whom I call the *useful classes* of society—are to be called upon to pay taxes on every article of human subsistence, and to be afterwards denied the right of choosing their representatives? I am told that the House should agree to give the elective franchise to the middling classes, with a view to keep down, and of preventing the lower classes attaining it. I plainly tell the House—and *I speak the voice of millions*,—that such exclusive doctrine will give no satisfaction out of doors. I am delighted that the rotten boroughs are all to be sacrificed. Some Honourable Members have called the measure proposed by the Noble Lord, not reform, but a revolution, and an alteration of the constitution. Now I will admit that statement to be correct the moment it is proved that rotten boroughs are part of the constitution. When the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne talked of the rabble he looked very hard at me. (*A laugh from several Honourable Members.*)



Mr. Hunt.—“I understand the meaning of that laugh, and I am only sorry that the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne did not remain in his place, that I might have looked at him, while I used the language I am about to utter. I would tell him, when he proposes to exclude the working classes from the enjoyment of the right of voting for representatives to this House, that if you deprive them of this privilege, *you ought to exempt them from the payment of taxes, and from serving in the army and navy, and fighting the battles of the country.* I say, in reason and justice, you ought to do so; and I ask the Honourable Member whether he is prepared to do this, and at the same time I ask him, if he knows what class of men it is, that return many of the Members of this House? How is this House constituted? How are many Members of it elected? Look to the borough of Ilchester, and the borough of Ludgershall, and those of Cornwall, and see what classes of men return Members to this House. I will tell the House of a fact, which has come to my knowledge, and which bears on this particular point. In the borough of Ilchester, where I was sent to gaol for two years and six months, for advocating the cause of reform. (*A laugh from several Honourable Members.*)

Mr. Hunt.—“I understand the meaning of that laugh again;—but I repeat that in Ilchester many of the electors are of the most degraded and the lowest class, who can neither read nor write, and who always take good care to contract debts to the amount of £35 previous to an election, because they know that those debts will be liquidated for them by the candidate. Is this then, the class of men whom the House is to be told represents the property of the country? I am one who think that this House ought to be what it professes to be—the Commons House of Parliament, representing the feeling and interest of all the common people in England. I do not stand up to approve of the disfranchisement of any persons, because I have always contended for the right of the whole people of England to have a share in the representation. That the people of England are perfectly competent to choose proper representatives, I am fully convinced. I have been in the habit, for many years past, of attending large public meetings, composed of persons, whom the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne has chosen to call *rabble*, but I will undertake to say that they are a much more intelligent *rabble* than the electors of Calne, who elect the Honourable Member.



Calne is one of the most degraded of rotten boroughs ; and I wonder by what chance the ministers have overlooked that most rotten and stinking hole of corruption in their sweeping measure of reform. We have been told by the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne, that if the present measure is not conceded to the middle classes, we shall have revolution and massacre. What sort of massacre is it that the Honourable and Learned Member has alluded to? I remember that the people of Manchester assembled together in 1819, as legally and as peaceably as the Honourable Members are now assembled in this House. The people were assembled for the purpose of petitioning for a reform in Parliament and a repeal of the Corn Laws ; and their petition was couched in much more respectful and moderate language than many petitions which have recently been presented to this House. Then indeed there was a massacre.

Several Honourable Members.—No ! no ! no !

Mr. Hunt.—“ I say yes, yes, yes, the meeting was legally and peaceably assembled and what was the result? Why a drunken and infuriated yeomanry—(*order, order, question, question.*)—with newly sharpened sabres—(*question, question,*)—rushed among the people and chopped them to pieces.—(*no, no, order.*)—They slaughtered to death fourteen,—(*no, no,*)—cut and badly wounded six hundred and eighteen.—(Here the cries of dissent and question became so loud and frequent as to interrupt the Honourable Member for some time. At length, exerting all the strength of his powerful voice, he exclaimed in a tone which was heard above all the noise which prevailed in the House.)—Where is the man who says no? I repeat that this infuriated yeomanry murdered fourteen—(*no, no, order, question.*)—wounded and slaughtered six hundred and eighteen—(*question, question, order.*)—of as peaceable and as well disposed subjects of his majesty, and as legally assembled as any I see around me at this present moment. At that meeting, I was advocating the cause of reform and I am astonished to hear the Noble Lord—the paymaster of the forces, say, in bringing forward the present measure, that the government had not taken up the question before, because the people of England had not called upon them in a manner to justify the interference of government. The people of England have for many years past, been anxious for reform, and in the years 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819, loudly expressed their wishes for some measure to amend the state of the representation ; and how were their complaints attended



to, how were their prayers answered? — By dungeon bills, and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. I do not believe that ministers, in bringing forward the present measure, have yielded to any thing like intimidation, or are frightened by the violent language of the petitions which have been presented to the House; yet those who have watched the signs of the times must know, that until some measure of reform is granted, there will be danger. I do not condemn the ministers for not going the full length of my views upon the subject; on the contrary, I will give the measure they have introduced the support of my humble powers, both indoors and out of doors. If, indeed, they had only gone the length of disfranchising one rotten borough, they will have my support upon principle. I am sorry for the intemperate language which the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne has been betrayed into, as it has a tendency to create a great division out of doors, and make the people believe that it is a question of the middle against the lower classes. The tendency of such arguments is, that because the working classes are poor, and because they are suffering, they are to be deprived of their rights; and I fear that when they hear the nature of the measure proposed, and the arguments by which some persons support it, they will not view it with much gratification. I do not wish the rabble, as the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne designated them, to have votes, but I contend that the labouring mechanic; who pays from three to ten pounds a year in rent, and who earns his fifteen to thirty shillings per week, will give as independent and honest a vote as any person; and I give notice, that if the labouring classes are excluded from the representation, I shall move that they be exempted from serving in the militia, navy or army, and from paying taxes. When we depart from principle we always get into difficulties. And I appeal to the lawyers, whether the principle of the constitution is not, that all men are entitled to a share in the representation? When any man is indicted in a court of justice, and pleads in mitigation, that he is ignorant of having committed any offence against the laws, he is told, that he ought to know what the laws are, because he is a party to the making those laws by himself, or by his representative. I certainly think that the scene which was exhibited in this House yesterday, when the Noble Lord brought forward the reform measure, has never been equalled since the time of the Revo-



lution, when Cromwell marched his troops into the House, turned the members out and ordered the bauble of a mace to be removed.

When I was tried, condemned, and sentenced to suffer two years and six months imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon.—

Several Honourable Members.—Question, question.

Mr. Hunt.—“I think it very extraordinary that while some members in arguing this question of reform, have gone back to the time of Edward III, I am not allowed to refer to transactions which have taken place within the last twenty years.

Several Honourable Members.—Question, question.

Well, then, I tell the people of England that the man they sent to this House to advocate their rights, is not allowed to be heard.

Several Honourable Members.—No! no!

Mr. Hunt.—But I say yes! yes! once more. Then I repeat, I was condemned to suffer two years and six months imprisonment in a solitary dungeon, for advocating this question, which is now advocated by so many Honourable Members of this House. I little expected to be present when such a measure of reform would be proposed by government; though I knew that Lord Chatham had said, “that if reform did not come from within, it would come from without with a vengeance.” The Honourable and Learned Member for Calne, said that none but a few crazy radicals in the streets, would ever dream of invading the rights of the throne. I ask the Honourable and Learned Member, where any of these crazy radicals are to be met with? I am as thorough going a radical as ever paced the Strand, but I defy the Honourable and Learned Gentleman to prove that I have ever proposed to attack the privileges of the crown, though I have often enough protested against the profligate extravagance of the family on the throne. It is the profligacy of the two last reigns, the extravagance of the family on the throne, and the misconduct of this House in pandering to that profligacy, which have brought the institutions of the country into disrepute. I would not object to the passing of a civil list, but I do object to the profligacy of that family which has brought the institutions of the country into disrepute, and which has encouraged the demoralization of this House, to the situation to which this House and the country have been brought, the royal family, I contend, have mainly contributed. (*While Mr. Hunt was stating this, he looked the Duke of Cumberland, who was sitting under the gallery,*



*full in the face.*) I hope that the measure before the House will be carried, if only because it gives the country an increase of 500,000 electors; although I could tell the Honourable and Learned Member for Calne, that ten times the number of good and honest voters will still be excluded. I trust that when the Honourable Member has occasion to speak on the subject again, he will remember this, and deliver himself with a different temper and tone when he has occasion to mention the state of the people. It has been said that ten pounds is the proper qualification, but I think the best vote is that, which comes from the industrious artificer or manufacturer, who earns from fifteen shillings to three pounds a week, and I am determined in the course of these discussions, to take an opportunity of submitting a proposition on that subject, to the consideration of the House. I repeat that all who pay taxes should have a vote, and I know the feeling to be strong in the metropolis, that in the city of London a number of persons who had no vote, returned that circumstance as a ground of exemption in their militia papers.

An Honourable Member.—Oh! Oh!

Mr. Hunt.—I repeat, they consider themselves exempt, and demand an exemption, because they have no share in the choice of representatives. In the North, I can tell the House, that many of the young men have declared that they are determined to rot in gaol rather than serve in the militia, unless they obtain a voice in the choosing of members of Parliament.

An Honourable Member—No! no!

Mr. Hunt—I say yes, and I will go further. I will tell Honourable Members, that if I were in their situation, I would do the same. If I am deprived of my right of speaking in this House, I shall naturally take another course. The law says, that if a man drawn to serve in the militia, refuses to do so, he is to be committed to prison; and I for one, think that I should be right, under such circumstances, to take the consequence of a refusal. I know what it is to be in goal I was confined two years and a half, and I know that persecution never makes converts or alters opinions. Although I look with respect on the Right Honourable Baronet near me, and respect his high talents, I remember the time when I was in his custody. But now, independent of his high talents and his large fortune, I am on an equal footing with respect to him—for, standing in this House as



the representative of the people of Preston, I consider myself quite as high in the scale of society as the Right Honourable Baronet who represents the borough of Tamworth. (*Hear, hear.*) I do so, because I am a representative of the people, and my constituents are as respectable as his. I know no way in which my constituents are affected by this measure; but if they are, and a great constitutional object is about to be achieved, I shall be willing to make a sacrifice. I beg it, however, to be remembered, that I consider the borough of Preston as good as any in the kingdom. Is it because they possess universal suffrage, that it can be said they have chosen improper men to represent them? certainly not. They have chosen for their representatives at different periods, members from some of the highest families in the kingdom, and for two sessions they have returned the Secretary for Ireland; and the exercise of their privilege has never been found fault with, *until now*. I, it is true, do not possess large property. The late government took care that I should not become rich; for it placed me in gaol: but did I seek the suffrages of the people of Preston? After the massacre of Manchester, I was invited to stand for that borough, then under the influence of the great manufacturers, and although the good will of the electors was as great as it has been since, I was defeated, and 400 families were afterwards, in the year 1820, expelled from their houses and homes, in consequence of voting for me. The people of Preston then had been twenty years endeavouring to free themselves from the tyranny of their masters. I did not fail to prophesy most of the consequences, telling them the case was hopeless I feared, because I was resolved never to spend a shilling in securing my return, never expecting to be their representative, until there was a reform in Parliament and vote by ballot. (*A laugh from some Honourable Members.*)

Mr. Hunt—There is no need of that expression of surprise. Has not the Noble Lord, the member for Devonshire, told as plainly as I have done, how elections are secured? But to return to Preston and my last election—is it not clear that the people have emancipated themselves, when, in the short space of three days, whilst I was distant 250 miles, not less than 3008 persons voted for the man of their own choice? And why did they not vote for the Right Honourable Member for Windsor? Not because they had any hostility to him—for they respected both him and his family, and they,

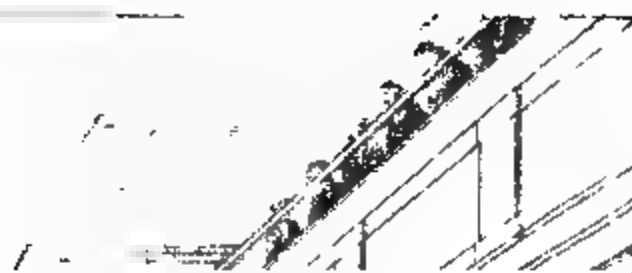


knew him to be a man of ability—but because they had read in the act of settlement that *no placeman* or pensioner should have a seat in the House of Commons, and the electors of Preston did not chuse to be made a party to the fraud of electing a placeman to sit in that House. It was on this account that they did not re-elect the Right Honourable Member for Windsor on his accepting a place. I hope the Honourable Member for Calne will not let it go forth to the country that he desires the present measure to succeed, with a view to prevent the lower classes having any share in the choice of the Members of this House. I trust he will take an opportunity of explaining himself on this point. I hope that this measure will be carried, and that there will be no re-action, although I may ask, how can the great mass of the people be called on to come forward and ask this House to support a reform, from the benefits of which they are to be excluded, and which is intended for those above them? I myself cannot see the good sense of the restriction in the Noble Lord's bill—namely, that a man who rents a house at £9. per annum shall not have a vote, whilst he at £10 has. Surely any one who says that property should be represented (I have never maintained that it should not) will hardly contend that a voter at £9. rental is not fit to be considered as a good voter, and as pure, as one at £10. I understand in every session of Parliament we are accustomed to hear a declaration read from this table that it is a high crime and misdemeanour for a member of the peerage to interfere in the election of members to the House of Commons. Yet what is the use of this declaration practically? How is it evaded? There are some who object that this is so sweeping a measure of reform that they must of course, go further, and sweep out the House of Lords. If there is any thing *dirty* there, in God's name let it be swept; but I think they themselves are the persons entitled to attempt it. I will predict one thing, that if the voters are protected by the *ballot*, this measure will be productive of a substantial reform, and prove satisfactory. Without that it will be neither; and it will only, in my mind, aggravate the evil, and make the representation more corrupt than it is at this hour. In truth and in fact, the voters will under the reformed system, require the protection of the ballot to enable them to act more freely than before. As to the alarm felt at the probable increase of agitation abroad, I do not share in that fear: I have recollected agitation in my time, and although the Noble Lord thinks









*Memorial of Mr. Hunt.*

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS



that there will be no agitation, and assures the House that there will be none; yet I know from good authority, that there will be such agitation in this country as has never been seen before; I expect there will be meetings all over England. The Noble Lord says, that there are now no persons going about the country agitating this question, and that the itinerant orators are not heard of now. It is not necessary that the people should be excited to call for reform, for they now demand it from one end of the country to the other. There are to be meetings of the Common Hall, and the Common Council, and there will be meetings held throughout the kingdom, on the subject of reform. While I have the power to address myself to this House, and am listened to with attention, I will do very little out of doors. Here I have the privilege of speaking that which I conceive is likely to benefit the cause I espouse; and I therefore leave to others the task of doing the work elsewhere. I have done that long enough, let others work in that way. I assure the House that no new light has broken in upon me with reference to this matter, for I have always held the same opinions. At purity of election dinners, and elsewhere,—where a little knot of political members condescend once a year to meet their constituents, and where I have heard them utter language they would not have dared to make use of in this House,—I have always recommended that such persons should be sent to say those things in the place, where the whole world would hear them, and benefit from them; and that by rendering duty to their constituents, those constituents might also be left to play their own part when the occasion required it. I may occasionally have been led to use expressions respecting this House which are thought disrespectful: but I confess I have in some measure been misled by others, and that with the exception of some interruptions, of which I can scarcely complain more than others, and at which, therefore, I am not angry, I am bound to say, that I have been mistaken with respect to the character of its members, and that it does not deserve all the censure I have sometimes cast on it. I have little more to say; for I have already trespassed too long on the attention of the House; but I must add, that those who say the ballot will make men greater hypocrites, seem to know little of human nature or of society. They do not seem to recollect, that, at the clubs of the higher class in England, the ballot is constantly resorted to as a means of evading the odium of a vote; but if any man



were to say, that in these clubs the ballot made its members hypocrites, he would have his heart made a very cullender with bullets. The principal of the measure in question is founded on property, and intended for its protection; but I am prepared to contend, that without the ballot, the principle would be wholly defeated in its operation.

I must apologize for having trespassed on the House so long. I do not often do so, but the importance of the occasion must be my apology; I know the anxiety with which the House wishes to hear the Right Honourable Baronet and the Learned Member for Boroughbridge; and I confess I share in that anxiety, for I have not yet heard a single argument or observation on the subject of reform with which I have not been familiar for the last twenty years. I am sure that they will not make use of my arguments to serve their purposes. I say that you must have a great and efficient reform if you would prevent a revolution. The Honourable Member for Newport said that the lower classes are in favour of a revolution, but I can tell that Honourable Gentleman that he will not find one industrious man among them in favour of a revolution—they all say, ‘Let us have a thorough reform, to avoid the necessity of a revolution.’ I hope that, if opposition is to be offered to this measure of reform, there may be some reason found in those who offer it.

In regard to this speech, various opinions were hazarded upon it, but the real truth was, that it pleased neither party, and thus from the beginning almost of his Parliamentary career, Mr. Hunt may be said to have almost stood alone in the House. He was not with the Tories, nor was he with the Whigs, but he stood there “alone in his glory” as the champion of universal suffrage and the ballot, to neither of which was either of the great political parties inclined.

It was not, however, to be expected that Mr. Hunt, superior as he was in many respects to Mr. Cobbett, could escape a severe castigation from the pen of that individual, in whose breast still rankled a deal of malicious animosity towards Mr. Hunt, on account of his having been returned for a place, by the electors of which, he had been rejected. Mr. Hunt had also given an additional offence to Mr. Cobbett, in coupling







.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.



his name with those of Carlisle, Taylor, and Jones, in the petition which he presented from a meeting at the Rotunda, against the prosecution instituted against Mr. O'Connell, and in which Mr. Hunt disclaimed all connection with those individuals or with Mr. Cobbett. In the Register of the 12th of February, Cobbett thus lays his heavy bludgeon on the member for Preston,

“The hackerings, the stammerings, the boggleings, the blunderings, and the cowerings down of the Preston Cock, I should not have noticed, though they have given a spring to the shoulders, and a lifting of the hands and the eyes of all those, who expected any thing from him, and is this, the use to which he means to turn the power which the people of Preston have put into his hands? Was it for this that the good, and sincere, and generous people of Preston sent him to the Parliament House? It was not, however, only in the Register of the 12th of February but in many subsequent ones, that Mr. Hunt was exposed to as galling a fire from the battery of the Register, as ever was directed towards an individual. Every little incident, every little disparaging circumstance was carefully and malevolently raked up, by which the character of Mr. Hunt could be assailed and injured, and it must be added, that a strict adherence to truth was never a decided feature in the character of Mr. Cobbett, many exaggerations and misstatements defiled the pages of the Register, some of which, however, were so glaring, as to carry with them their own refutation. A war of scurrility and abuse then commenced between the two radical leaders, with not the slightest benefit to themselves, but a direct injury to the cause which they had espoused, and in the prosecution of which, they were looked up to as the chief supporters.

In regard, however, to the disclaimer of Mr. Hunt of his holding any connection with the political characters, who at that time formed the junta, who sent forth their inflammatory speeches from the Rotunda in the Blackfriars Road, it must have been a wonderful act of forgetfulness in him, not to designate it by a harsher term, for we find him at the very time that he made



his avowal in the House of Commons, of holding no connection with the Rotunda politicians actually presiding at a meeting in that place, at which, some violent resolutions were passed relative to the *rights* of the people to universal suffrage and the ballot. It is these glaring mis-statements, which threw such a deep shade over the character both of Hunt and Cobbett, and placed in the hands of their enemies a weapon, which they knew well how to employ to the injury of the offending individuals.

On directing our attention to the first Parliamentary campaign of Mr. Hunt, we there find, that powerful and influential as he might exhibit himself, when addressing a multitude from the top of a table or from one of his blacking vans, his influence in the House of Commons was at the lowest possible ebb. He was a member *sui generis* for none of the great leading parties could claim him as belonging to them. He vented his abuse indiscriminately on Whig and Tory. The leaders of the former party, were bullies, profligate, thick-headed, truculent traitors to the cause of reform, whilst the latter were copiously bespattered with the foulest vilification, which could flow from the mouth of an uneducated man. In his published addresses to the radical reformers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, he represents himself in the House of Commons as carrying every thing before him—as having an influence and a standing in the House superior to that of any other person, and this vaunted superiority was made to consist in him supposing himself to be the representative of the *millions*, whilst all the other members around him were nothing more than the tools and instruments of the boroughmongers and the aristocrats. There were, however, some votes which Mr. Hunt gave that conferred upon him great credit, although it may literally be said that he almost stood alone. His opposition to the grant of money to the queen and the Princess Victoria was founded on a proper regard to the interests of the people but a single voice could not prevent the *representatives* of the people from voting away their money to satisfy the rapacious maw of the royal cormorants.

The motion which Mr. Hunt made for the repeal of the



corn laws, in which he displayed considerable knowledge of the subject, particularly in its practical details, was met with that decided opposition, not only from the ministers, but from the great land owners, who had seats in the House, that it may be designated one of the most decided failures, which the session of 1831 exhibited. In the generality of his motions he was left in a pitiful minority, sometimes not more than two or three voting for him, it appearing to be the determination of the House to crush him, and to show him that the House of Commons was not the sphere in which he was calculated to shine, or in fact, that he had any business there at all. On his motion for an address to his majesty, for an act of grace for the misguided men, who had been convicted of breaking thrashing machines and committing other outrages, destructive of the internal tranquillity of the country, he was supported by only three members, Mr. Hume, Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, and the late Mr. Dawson, being one from each country, one Englishman, one Scotchman, and one Irishman. On the question of the increase of the army to 10,000, Mr. Hunt moved that it be reduced 10,000, but here again he was supported by only *two* members. When the civil list came under consideration, it appeared to Mr. Hunt, that King William the Fourth *professing* himself to be a Whig king, should not get as much from the people as George the Fourth who was a Tory king, but in despite of this sensible opinion, the Whigs carried it, and further, when Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hume moved for a committee to inquire who were not entitled to have their pensions continued, the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the whole House opposed the granting of a committee, and Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hume stood alone in the minority.

It was well known to the ministers, and indeed to the country at large, that there was a clique surrounding his majesty, at the head of which, appeared the *ci-devant* pauper Princess of Saxe Meiningen, supported by that rare and unique specimen of the centaur, commonly known by the style and title of the



Duke of Cumberland, the aim and extent of which clique, were to use every means, however foul they might be, of preventing those measures of reform taking place for which the people were so clamorous, and which the ministers, under the fear and certainty of losing their places, were about to bring forward in Parliament. The same ministers held their places by a pledge given to the people that the utmost economy should be used in the expenditure of the public money, but they found themselves here upon the horns of a dilemma. The king was considerably advanced in years, and as he had chosen to marry a young wife, it was most probable that the people of this country would be blessed with the knowledge of her existence long after his majesty had been consigned to the tomb of all the Guelphs,

This circumstance was greedily seized upon by the *economical* Whig ministers, to show to her majesty, that although they were fully aware of all her intrigues and machinations to arrest the progress of reform, yet that they were imbued with such a sense of regard for her disconsolate situation, supposing her to appear in the character of a widow, and actuated by a noble spirit of forgetfulness of all the hatred which she bore for them, and which she did not hesitate to show on every occasion which came within her power, they proposed to the faithful Commons, that they should grant to her majesty the sum of £100,000 a year in the case of the death of the old patriot Whig king, with two palaces, in addition to one in London and the other at Bushey, at which the king, her husband, had lived with Mrs. Jordan, by whom, as the English people know and feel to their cost, the said king, when Duke of Clarence, had a numerous and expensive family, saddled upon the back of John Bull for their support, and to whom, had the Whig poor law then been in force, the said bastards could only have looked for support, the father by the said law being exempt from the maintenance of his illegitimate blood. If any thing thought the truckling ministers could win the favour of the inimical queen, and bring her over to their side, it was the



extraordinary attention which they showed to render every consolation and comfort in her hapless state of widowhood, and therefore in what manner could that desirable end be brought about more effectually than by obtaining for her an income of £100,000 a year, which is about ten times more than the income of the entire principality, in which so many princely and royal paupers have been born, and in which (*thanks be to an all bountiful Providence*) the present Queen of England first condescended to enjoy the light of Heaven. The measure was brought forward by ministers, and passed with a knot of their most servile supporters around them, at between two and three o'clock in the morning, when the majority of the members had left the house, supposing that no business of any importance would at so late an hour have been brought forward.

The pliant and accommodating temper of the House of Commons having manifested itself in this instance, the ministers were emboldened to bring forward a grant of £10,000 a year for the education of the Princess Victoria. Mr. Hunt opposed this grant, and moved that it should be reduced to £5000, which he considered was quite enough for a child, having £6000 a year already. So well disposed, however was the House of Commons to expend the people's money in the education of the presumptive heiress to the crown, that Mr. Hunt was the only member who could be found to oppose it, and Sir Francis Burdett declared that he believed there was no man in England, however poor, who would object to the grant, but the member for Preston. This, however, shows Sir Francis Burdett's ignorance of the opinion of the people of this country, for we will venture to say, that 19 out of 20 of the reflecting part of the community would express their decided opposition to the grant of £16,000 a year merely for the *education* of one individual, in whatever rank of life that individual might stand. If her royal highness had a dozen preceptors and preceptresses, and each had £500 a year for their labour, the whole amount would be only £6000 and that is a pretty decent sum for a people to pay to have a princess



taught how to move her feet in a quadrille, how to stretch her fingers upon a piano, how to draw o's and pothooks between two parallel lines, or to draw a tree, or a house upon a bit of paper, which perhaps no one would know it was a tree or a house until the preceptor had touched up the rude production so as to make it in any degree resembling the object which it was meant to represent. It must, however, be taken into consideration, that princesses not being very common in England, however abundant they may be in the principalities of Saxe Meiningen, Saxe Coburg, Saxe Leiningen, or all the other Saxes, which occupy about one degree of latitude and one of longitude on the map of Germany; the mode of education adopted with them is also not of the common sort. Thus, we find individuals appointed as the preceptresses, who are as well calculated to instil any useful branch of knowledge into the mind of their pupil, as one of the Chicksaw Squaws would be to teach the etiquette of a ball room. Thus, for instance, we find the Duchess of Northumberland, the head preceptress of the Princess Victoria; now we are utterly at a loss to consider what particular subject of education it fell to the lot of her grace to impart to her royal highness, and further, we are at a loss to know what subject her grace *could* teach, unless it were to engraft a quantity of the Percy pride upon the already superabundant stock of the Guelphs; nor can we believe that her grace undertook the task for the mere *honour* of it, there must have been an emolument attached to it, and here we have an instance of the wife of one of the richest noblemen degrading herself by the acceptance of a *douceur* for the execution of an office to which she was neither qualified by station nor talent. It would be absurd to say, that £16,000 a year could be expended actually upon the education of any individual, and therefore Mr. Hunt, although he stood alone, was right in his opposition to the grant. Would our limits allow us, we could enter into a full and rather curious statement of the manner in which this £16,000, is drawn from the pockets of the people, and spent upon what is called *education*; whereas in reality, education in its true and legitimate sense



has as little to do with it as darkness with the sun or heat with ice.

The grant, the scandalous, the infamous grant, which Mr. Hunt most vigorously, but of course unsuccessfully opposed, was the *additional* grant of £160.000 and £10.000 *more* to furnish *two* new rooms in Windsor Castle, £270.000 having been already paid for *furnishing* the said Castle, and these enormous grants were proposed by ministers professing the principles of economy. The Austrian godsend, gave the extravagant and debauched George the Fourth £250.000 for the repairs and finishing of Windsor Castle, telling the public at the same time, that the cormorant appetite of the castle, which nothing seemed to satisfy, would *certainly* be satisfied, if half the Austrian godsend were granted for the purpose. The money was granted, upon the common principle "of lightly come, lightly go," and a very short time elapsed before the Whig ministry proposed a grant of a further sum of £170.000 for the mere furniture of *two* rooms. In the House of Commons, only thirteen members could be found to oppose this scandalous grant which went to the support and encouragement of the extravagances of one of the most profligate princes that ever sat upon the English throne, and when we look at some of our Henry's and our Charles's, it is no trifling accusation.

We have already given Mr. Hunt's speech on the reform bill, and his whole conduct throughout the progress until the termination of that important measure, was, it must be allowed one of consistency and a firm support of the people's rights. When the clauses were separately considered, Mr. Hunt moved several amendments, particularly to that clause, which enjoins the payment of all assessed and parochial taxes to entitle a person to vote. His amendment to that clause was, "that all persons, householders, paying rates and taxes, should have a vote by this bill." One member only voted for this amendment, and that was Alderman Wood. He then moved an amendment. That all persons excluded from voting by this bill should be exempted from the payment of all rates and taxes and should be exempted from serving in the militia or by im-



pressment in the navy. This motion was carried in the negative, *not an individual voting for it*. The motion however which Mr. Hunt subsequently made, put the sincerity of the Whigs to the test, and in no more appropriate words can it be related than in Mr. Hunt's own." The Whig measure of reform professed to put an end to nomination boroughs. Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, Lord Milton, Macaulay, the member for Lord Lansdownes' rotten borough of Calne, and all the Whig Lord Johns, Lord Bobbies, and Jemmies, and all their Whig nominees, in nameless and countless numbers, exclaimed in loud and glowing terms of indignation against peers *boroughmongering peers*, sending their nominees into the House of Commons; that House which ought to be the people's House of Commons. Night after night I have listened with astonishment and delight to hear the Whigs denounce borough nominees and boroughmongers, sent by the duke of Newcastle, Lord Lonsdale &c., and then the Tories have retorted back again, denouncing the denouncers on the other side, with being the nominees of the Duke of Devonshire, of Lord Lansdowne, of Lord Fitzwilliam, of the Duke of Norfolk and of Lord Grosvenor &c. &c. &c.; such personalities, such scolding, such unmeasured terms of reproach and retaliation. The boroughmongers of both sides were denounced as having robbed and plundered the people by means of their nominees in the House of Commons; the Whig Lordships and nominees being much more coarse and unmeasured in their language than that of the Tories, the Whigs accusing the Tories of having plundered the people by this means for so many years. The Tories accusing the Whigs of wishing by this bill to have the power, the preponderating power of doing this in future themselves.

In fact the time was spent, night after night with one faction accusing the other with having divided all the good things amongst them for such a number of years. The other faction accusing their opponents of being as bad as themselves, and they only brought forward this Reform, which they called revolutionary, merely to keep the power of plundering the people in their own hands, and that it was only meant to take the



EARL SPENCER.

LATE LORD ALTHORP







LORD BROUGHAM.







power out of the hands of the Tories to secure it to the Whigs. Sometimes it was most amusing, at other times the most disgusting, even so, that I have often compared their squabbles to the pot and kettle, calling each other black names, "Tantarara." The abuse of the boroughmongers surpassed every night during the debate, any ever written or spoken by Major Cartwright; it surpassed and exceeded in vituperation all that ever occurred at any and at all the great radical meetings I ever attended. I never heard anything equal to it at any of the great out door meetings at Spa-fields, at Smithfield, at Manchester, at Bath, at Bristol, in fact it more resembled the squabbling of the fish women at Billingsgate; it always ended in nearly an equality of abuse, and to the conviction of every impartial person, who listened to them, that there was nearly an equality of Whig and Tory nominees in the House of Commons, only that the preponderance was rather in favour of the Tories as to numbers, which had enabled them to keep a power and place so long, to the discomfiture and to the mortal hatred and envy of the Whigs, the hungry, gasping, gaping, and place hunting Whigs. However it did not require much penetration to discover that by this Whig reform bill, the Whigs meant very naturally to take care of themselves. The keen eye'd penetration of Messrs. Peel, Wetherell, and Croker, soon discovered the workings of the scheme, and night after night, they exposed and laid bare to naked view all the artful and cunning plans of the hungry and grasping Whigs; night after night, they detected and exposed the crafty sophistry of my Lord John and his hopeful associates.\* It was evident to all who did not close their ears and their eyes, that the plan of my little Lord John was not to do away with nomination boroughs. That it was by no means his intention to lessen the influence of the peers in returning members to the House of Commons, although

\* It was this general and indiscriminate abuse which Mr. Hunt lavished upon the Whigs, and his accompanying eulogium of the Tories, that gave the first wound to the confidence which his constituents had reposed in him. It was clear to many, and suspected by still more, that Mr. Hunt was fighting the battles of the Tories under radical colours.



*cunning little Isaac* took away 120 nominations from the peers with *one hand*, Schedule A, yet he restored 200 nominations to the peers with the other hand in an indirect manner the only difference was this, that the cunning little Whig took care in the restoration, to appropriate a much larger share of these nominations to the Whigs than the Tories, that they may by such means retain the power, which they have now got in their hands, and which they have so many years been looking for in vain.

“The fate of the following clause which I moved in the committee, at the end of the reform bill, will show the sincerity of Whigs as well as Tories, as to their wishing to prevent peers from sending their nominees into the House of Commons. ‘And be it enacted, that from and after the first day of January 1832, if any peer of Parliament or any prelates shall interfere in the election of any member to serve in the Commons House of Parliament, such peer shall on conviction, pay to the state the sum of £10,000, and be imprisoned in the Tower for one year. And if any peer shall be convicted of such interference a second time, he shall, on conviction, pay to the state the sum of £20,000, and be imprisoned in his majesty’s jail of Newgate for the space of two years, and if any peer shall be convicted of this a third time, the culprit shall be deprived of his title, and be transported beyond the seas for his natural life.’ This motion was negatived without a division, not a single member being found to support me.”

Whatever may have been Mr. Hunt’s own opinion of his conduct in Parliament, it is certain that he did not please some of his constituents, particularly by some who had been instrumental in procuring his election. We have by us the copies of several of Mr. Hunt’s letters to Mr. John Irvin of Preston, in which, he expresses his concern as to the disapprobation which had been manifested by Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Johnston, and some other of his constituents. The secret, indeed, began gradually to transpire, that Mr. Hunt was any thing but an efficient member in the House. Not one of his motions succeeded, but on the contrary, he could scarcely find



one member in the House to support him—his own colleague gave his support to the ministers, upon the principle that as the reformers could not get *all* they wanted, it was better to take what they could get, than to revert to the old system, and throw the government of the country into the hands of the Tories. In so far, therefore, Mr. Hunt was a dangerous member in the House, and under the show of fighting the cause of the people, he was in reality fighting the battle of the Tories, for the ministers scarcely brought forward any motion, to which Mr. Hunt did not move an amendment, which sometimes was so extravagant and inconsistent that it was rejected by every member present. Mr. Hunt ought to have seen with a single glance, that the great bodies of the reformers were not disposed at this period to agitate the question of annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, and the ballot, and therefore, had he used sound discretion, he would have fallen into the ranks of the reformers, glad to obtain the boon which had been wrung by the voice of the people from the haughty aristocracy, and have left the other questions to be gained by a future contest. Mr. Hunt, however, wished to jump at once into possession of all the advantages which his ultra-radicalism suggested, and because he could not gain his point, he became the opponent of the very ministers, whom he was sent to support, and the systematic opposition to whom, ultimately lost him his seat for Preston. There was, however, one clause in the reform bill, to which the opposition of Mr. Hunt was both politic and wise, and that was the qualification by which an individual before his vote could be received, was obligated to pay up all arrears of taxes, assessed and parochial, thereby rendering the reform bill the active instrument of enforcing the payment of the extravagant taxation of the country, before a person could be put in possession of those rights, to which he was entitled as an Englishman, and which ought not to have been made dependent upon the performance of the very act which it was the grand aim of the reformers to abolish altogether. Still, however, by a reference to the Parliamentary



history of the session of 1831, an accurate estimate can be formed of the services rendered by Mr. Hunt to the reform interest, which he himself conceived were great, but which were in an inverse ratio to what many of his constituents expected from him. Mr. Hunt, however, as will be seen by the following letter, addressed to Mr. Gilbert Martin of Blackburne,\* complains most bitterly of the manner in which he was mis-represented by the press, and the consequent unfavourable impression which was made upon the minds of his constituents.

London, October 26th, 1831.

My dear Sir,

“I was from home yesterday, when your favour arrived. I am much obliged to you for the enclosed letter to the working classes of Blackburn, and the very complete answer by a Huntite. This is the way to meet “the bill” men. Never was such trash at any former period attempted to be imposed upon the people. What motive could possibly induce me to stand up against all the hired press of England, but that of principle, that of consistency. How much easier would it have been for me to have swam down the tide of popularity, to have plunged into the ministerial stream, and to have obtained any thing that selfishness could have suggested, if I would but have followed the example of Hume and O’Connell, and have deserted the radicals in the hour of need and of danger also. It has been a dreadful task, I assure you, to have been so mis-represented, to have had speeches actually made and published as mine, which I never uttered, and breathing such dark sentiments as I never entertained, to bear all this and to rely solely upon the good sense, and upon the confidence of the brave men of the North, in which alone I

\* We readily take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to Mr. Martin for the voluminous mass of papers and documents which he forwarded to us, relative to the political relations of Mr. Hunt with the town of Preston. Our limits were far too confined to admit of their insertion, but at some future time they may perhaps be published as a separate work.



have to rely, and not having been able to appear in my proper character in any portion of the press, but in the midst of all this, to have been compelled under such circumstances, to have depended wholly upon my own sense of integrity, whilst I had no means of defending myself, was a situation the most distressing. Whenever I complained in the House of misrepresentation and explained, not one word of it appeared in any of the papers the next morning. An infamous falsehood was propagated, and then every venal tool of the Whigs, although they knew it was a lie, yet they argued, as if it were truth. However, a self-approving conscience enabled me to bear up against such mighty odds. I only wonder that I have been able to survive it."

The remainder of the letter touches merely upon Mr. Hunt's intended visit to the North, but enough may be gleaned from it, to show that Mr. Hunt was not at that time, reposing on a bed of roses; the great cause of his uneasiness, however, arose from the conduct of a Mr. Mitchell, who, for some reasons not explained, became the bitter foe of Mr. Hunt, and who, if the following statement be true, as copied from one of Mr. Hunt's letters, proved himself to be a most unprincipled fellow. There is little doubt that this Mitchell was a spy of government, and a co-adjutor of the celebrated Oliver. When he began to display his villainy in Preston, Mr. Hunt waited upon Sir John Byng, then commander of the Northern districts, to see if Sir John would own to a knowledge of Mitchell. Amongst the rest Byng made use of this remarkable expression. "You know, Mr. Hunt, it won't do to tell tales out of school." Sir John treated Mr. Hunt very courteously, although it must be owned, that Mr. Hunt's errand was a very strange one. Mr. Hunt left Sir John Byng strongly impressed and quite satisfied that Mitchell was really not only the companion, but the *guilty* companion of Oliver, and as a paid spy of Sidmouth, he had frequent communication with Sir John Byng. The following, however, gives a further description of his character, and as the act which he committed exposed Mr.



Hunt to some very unpleasant circumstances, we will here relate it. It appears that Mrs. Vince had lost £65 out of a bag, which money was supposed to have been extracted by Mitchell of which transaction, Mr. Hunt gives the following description.

“He (Mitchell) is calculated to deceive and betray the very devil, we have not the slightest doubt of his dishonesty, and there is no ground of suspicion can be cast upon any one but him for the loss of the £65. I wrote for him and Mrs. Vince to meet me at Barnet on the Sunday, as I wished to know how I was to enter London. Mitchell pretended to be ill, and wished to stay at home to nurse. Mrs. Vince took one servant with her, and left a man and a maid at home. While she was gone for the day, he sent the man on a message of two hours, and then sent the maid-servant with a letter to a house at Walworth, which took her an hour and a half, so he was locked in my house by himself nearly two hours. When the maid got to Walworth, there was no such person as he directed his letter for, and she brought it back to him again. We never heard a word of this person afterwards. The day before he had seen Mrs. Vince take nearly twenty sovereigns out of a bag, which she lent him, that contained about 260, and he saw her put it back again into her wardrobe, the lock of which, we find can be easily picked with a common picker to a knife. The money was not counted till three or four days afterwards, and when we discovered the loss, we told him of it, and he laid it upon the servant, and said it was better to put up with the loss, and not make a piece of work about it as we should never recover it, without we detected the maid with a lot of money. We are now convinced that neither of the servants ever had £5 at any time since, in fact, nothing but their wages; but we think it very fortunate he did not take the whole.

The sequel of this story has been furnished us by Mr. Martin. When Mitchell advised Mr. Hunt to keep the business secret as he suspected the servant maid to be the thief; Mr. Hunt and Mrs. Vince thought it best to part with her at once, than run any further risk of mischief; they accordingly paid her her



wages, and discharged her instantly on the spur of the moment, gave her no character, but did not accuse her of any thing as they of course could not prove it against her. This female had been with Mr. Hunt a considerable time, and we believe was with him at the time of his death. The poor girl being now placeless, homeless, characterless, and spiritless sought a temporary asylum with the woman who used to serve them with milk. The milk woman communicated the circumstance the day after to Mrs. Vince, who used to enquire every morning of the milk woman about the girl. The girl having very little money, it soon went; by degrees her clothes were conveyed piece-meal to the pawnbrokers to gain her sustenance, she having no claim upon the generosity of the milk woman. The milk woman communicated every circumstance to Mrs. Vince, but at length began also to complain rather loud on the poor girl's behalf, for said the milk woman, her money is all gone, nearly all her clothes are pawned, you turned her away without giving a reason, she is without a character; she cannot obtain a place she does nothing but lament and weep from morning to night, and if you do not take her back, she will surely soon die broken hearted. Thus all hopes of hearing of a display of a large sum of money on the part of the girl was at an end. Mr. Hunt sent for her, enquired how she had spent her time, and her money since she left him; asked her if she recollected Mrs. Vince going to Barnet to meet him, told her of the sixty-five sovereigns being gone from the escrutoire, and endeavoured to prevail upon her to confess it, under the promise that nothing more should be said about it, and she should have her place again. She solemnly protested her innocence of it, exclaiming it must have been that gentleman from Preston. Mr. Hunt's reply was, that was impossible, as he had never had the range of the house; she then told the affair of herself, and the man being sent on some errand by Mitchell. After this, the man was called into the room and questioned, the girl being ordered to be silent; the man confirmed the girl's account of the two wild goose errands. Mr. Hunt hesitated not to take



the girl back into his service, being quite convinced that Mitchell was the robber.

We have in the foregoing transaction given the clue to all the persecution, the annoyance and machinations which Mr. Hunt endured from a particular party at Preston, and which at one time were carried to such an extent, as to induce him to threaten to resign his seat. That Mitchell was the instigator of all these proceedings cannot be doubted, and it speaks not a little for the courage and resolution of Mr. Hunt, that he was able to bear up against such an accumulation of oppressive wrongs and in one of his letters he thus speaks feelingly of himself.

“ If you knew or could guess what I have gone through and what I have endured for principle and consistency sake, you would indeed have compassion for me. The fact is this, I am *abandoned, hated, and feared*, by every pretender to patriotism, who has not the courage or the honesty to follow my example and set both factions at defiance, by exposing cant and fraud, and attempting upon all occasions to do justice to the people, the plundered, the oppressed people. I really begin to doubt my physical power to sustain it much longer, I grow old, I want rest, and peace and quietness, for I have no one to call my political friend, no one to whom I can hope for help in the hour of need, because I have exposed and denounced both parties and both factions, and have at all times stood by the rights of the working classes. Do not think me desponding. I am prepared to die in the cause of truth, justice, and humanity if it be necessary, and I shall die with the satisfaction of knowing that under all circumstances, through good and through evil report, I have never deserted or abandoned the cause of the suffering millions.”

At the close of October 1831, Mr. Hunt left London for his northern tour, having received the most pressing invitations from the radicals of the manufacturing districts to pay them a visit. The first place he visited was Macclesfield, at which place he arrived by appointment, on Monday the 1st. of No-



venner. He was met at Congleton by the committee of the radical union with an open carriage, and about two miles from the town by many thousand persons, with flags and banners and an excellent band of music. As he approached, the numbers increased to such an extent, as completely to fill the large square in the market place, so much so, that it required considerable time before the horses could get through the dense mass to draw up on one side of the square. There were at least twelve thousand people, and every house and window round the place was thronged with well dressed persons. Mr. Hunt addressed the populace for above an hour, and then retired to dine with the working classes, on good English beef, pudding, and home brew'd ale.

From Macclesfield, Mr. Hunt proceeded to Bullock Smithey, when he intended to have passed a quiet night, as it was a pleasant retired village, about three miles from Stockport. On his arrival there, however, he found instead of that retirement and solitude which he was seeking, several thousand persons from Stockport accompanied with a coach and four, a band of music, and innumerable flags and banners, the committee of the Stockport union with Mr. Harrison at their head entreated Mr. Hunt to proceed to Stockport, where a public supper to welcome him was provided, and where the Manchester union were to receive him in the morning and conduct him to Manchester. Mr. Hunt accepted the invitation, and proceeded with them, the band playing the whole of the way, being accommodated on the roof of the coach; many many of the houses illuminated in honor of radical reform. On the following morning the committee of the union of the working classes arrived from Manchester in a barouche and four to take me to that town, where I was received with the usual kind and flattering testimonies of respect and affection by that excellent people.

It would be but a repetition of the same inflated description of the enthusiastic manner in which Mr. Hunt represents himself to have been received by the radical reformers on this political tour, were we to transcribe the account as he gives it



of his progress from Manchester to Bolton, Blackburn, and thence to Preston. His account of his reception in that town is however too pompous and *grand* to be wholly omitted. A large concourse says Mr. Hunt met me by appointment on the hill about half a mile from the town. *It was excessively dark*, but on a signal being given, upwards of *two hundred flambeaux*, and *this by tar barrels* fixed on platforms carried by four men each, presented an instantaneous blaze; and the whole atmosphere was illuminated as if by magic. A full band of music, forty flags and banners, with appropriate mottoes, waving in the air. Thus we entered Preston accompanied by an immense multitude, cheering as we went along, *every face at every window* appeared to be illuminated with the extraordinary brilliancy of the scene. There were many new flags, on one was painted an Englishman in chains and fetters, with a padlock on his lips. I am represented walking up to him with a key in one hand to unlock the padlock, to release him from his fetters and his chains. On another was painted the Queen with £100,000 inscribed over her; again the Princess Victoria with £16,000 a year inscribed over her. On the flag was painted a poor woman in rags with £10 a year inscribed over her and by her side a little girl with £5 a year inscribed over her. Motto. *We have both the same Maker, and we are both the same flesh and blood.* It was conducted through the principal streets of the town to the house of my friend, Mr. John Taylor, where I alighted. In the front of the house, there might have been from *eight to ten thousand persons*. When I addressed them, there was the most profound and breathless silence observed, and although it was a fine evening, I felt it difficult to make myself heard by the immense crowd, and for the first time in Preston, I learnt that many on the outside of the meeting could not hear all I said. However, I put a few questions to them. I called upon all those to hold up their hands, who thought the *Bill, Lord John's Bill*, was either calculated or intended to benefit the working classes? Not a hand! On the contrary—*unanimous*. The next was for those who had confidence in his majesty's



ministers to hold up their hands? *Not one. Not one Whig present.* Those who had no confidence in his majesty's ministers? *Immense show of hands!!*

In the sentiments contained in the latter passage may be traced the decline of Mr. Hunt's popularity with the people of Preston. The statement as given by Mr. Hunt, highly coloured as it is, and carrying on the face of it, the most unequivocal signs of exaggeration, fully exposed to the voters of Preston, what kind of a member they had. Mr. Hunt certainly labours hard to shew that *every one* of his constituents was satisfied with the line of conduct which he had pursued in Parliament, whereas the direct contrary was the case. It was evident to them, that instead of having an individual in Parliament who was to support the ministers in their plans of reform, they had sent one who openly declared his hostility to them and who in the motions and amendments which he made, as far as their influence could extend, was even more annoying and harassing, than any who were openly marshalled in the ranks of the opposition. And not only did he oppose the ministers, but in the addresses which he put forth, he vilified in the most unmeasured terms, all those, who had fought in the ranks of reform, but who unlike himself, if they could not obtain *all* that they desired, declared themselves satisfied with what they could get. Every editor of a newspaper, who advocated the cause of reform, was sure to come in for his share of abuse from Mr. Hunt; Hume, O'Connell, Cobbett, and all the radical reformers in the House, were in the estimation of Hunt, nothing more than a gang of political hypocrites, Mr. Hunt himself, being the only consistent and principled member in the House. The eyes of the people of Preston were opened as to the actual injury which Mr. Hunt, if his power had been equal to his inclination, would have committed in the House. He was always either voting against Ministers, or pairing off with some staunch Tory, thereby actually nullifying the very aim and purpose for which his constituents had sent him to Parliament. The good sense of the people of Preston ultimately



prevailed over "the idolatrous affection," as Mr. Hunt terms it, which they entertained for their representative, and in the election of 1833, the Derby influence, combined with the disapprobation of Mr. Hunt's parliamentary conduct, succeeded in unseating Mr. Hunt and restoring him to that sphere of life from which his ambition had drawn him, but from which, he would never have abstracted himself, had he been guided by sound judgement or a proper estimate of his own character.

It is scarcely possible to mention two failures more decidedly confirmed than the Parliamentary career of Hunt and Cobbett. Accustomed as they had been to harangue a promiscuous and motley crowd from platforms, windows, and blacking vans, where they might rave and bluster, and spout unintelligible stuff without the fear of contradiction, they fancied themselves fit persons to appear as members of the most enlightened assembly in the world, when they scarcely possessed a single qualification for so high an office. Neither Hunt nor Cobbett could divest themselves of the native coarseness of their early life. Accustomed to the society of the lowest grade of politicians, they found themselves on the floor of the House of Commons evidently in a sphere, for which they were by no means suited, and where they were surrounded by men, in whose society they felt themselves not at home. As a politician, Mr. Hunt never rose above mediocrity, nor will his name descend to posterity, as that of a great or enlightened character.

On his retirement from the political world, Mr. Hunt applied himself to the prosecution of his commercial pursuits, the principal of which, was his blacking manufactory. In the month of February 1835, he set out upon a journey to the west of England, where he had a considerable connection, for the sale of his blacking and annato, or cheese colouring. On the 15th of that month, he stopped at Alresford in Hampshire, and was in the act of stepping from his phaeton, when he was seized with a violent fit of paralysis, which after a short interval proved fatal.

In regard to the private character of Mr. Hunt, we much



fear that we are there entering upon tender ground. The repudiation of his wife, without any ostensible ground of complaint against her, with no positive charge of misconduct, or any breach of matrimonial affection on her part exposed him at the time to the severest animadversions, and it was an act, the consequences of which followed him through life. His mawkish sensibility for her grief on this occasion, sat with a bad grace upon him, and his boasted liberality in settling upon her more than she demanded, was a pitiful attempt to gloss over the criminality of the act. In the relation of a brother, he appeared equally unamiable and faulty, and the example of Mr. Hunt ought to operate upon those parents, who misled by a false confidence in the honour and integrity of the elder branch of the family, leave the junior branches of it to his kind and merciful protection. At the death of his father, as the natural protector of his brothers and sisters, he was called upon to perform those services, which should promote their future advancement in life. This, however, he wholly neglected—their patrimony became wasted in the extravagant pursuits of his early life, and they were reduced to a state little short of beggary. As a father—his offsprings are still living, and it would not become us to expose those family feuds, which ended in the total destruction of all domestic happiness. The relations of husband, father, and brother are three of the most important of human life, and he who acts not up to their principles, can never be deemed a virtuous or a moral man.

We are in possession of some curious and rather discreditable circumstances connected with the burial of Mr. Hunt, which, for the sake of the feelings of some of the survivors, we shall forbear from noticing. It will be sufficient to state that Mrs. Vince, the acknowledged mistress of Mr. Hunt was the natural child of Lord ———, her maiden name being Bishop. It was determined by Mrs. Vince that the body of Mr. Hunt, should be deposited in the vault belonging to her family. This, however, was strenuously opposed by them who acknowledged no consanguinity with Mr. Hunt, and who looked upon his connection with Mrs. Vince as disgraceful. In con-



sequence of this refusal, the corpse of Mr. Hunt laid for a night in Horsham Church, and the Bishops being determined to refuse the admission of his body amongst their ancestors, it was finally conveyed to the vault of Colonel Vince at Parham. Upon the outer coffin upon a silver plate were the words

HENRY HUNT, Esq.

Late M. P. for Preston,

Departed this life on the 15th day of February, 1835,  
in the 62nd year of his age.

We can only add.

No further seek his merits to disclose,  
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode.

FINIS.

W

M. ABEY. PRINTER, 52 BROAD-WALL, CHRIST-CHURCH, SURREY.

186

71 64 A C 55 4



















\_\_\_\_\_





